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EDITED BY

GEORGE LONG, M.A.

FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AND THE

REV. A. J. MACLEAN, M.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

VOL. IV.

HERODOTUS,

WITH A

COMMENTARY BY THE REV. J. W. BLAKESLEY, B.D.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO. AVE MARIA LANE;

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HERODOTUS,
[HISTORY]

III

WITH

A COMMENTARY

BY

JOSEPH WILLIAMS BLAKESLEY, B.D.

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΗ.

ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ.

ΟΙ δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν Περσέων καταλειφθέντες¹ ὑπὸ 1
 Δαρείου, τῶν ὁ Μεγάβαζος² ἦρχε, πρώτους μὲν Περινθίους Megabazus
proceeds
to take
Perinthus,
which had
previously
suffered by
an assault
of the
Pæonians.
 Ἑλλησποντίων, οὐ βουλομένους ὑπηκόους εἶναι Δαρείου, κατ-
 εστρέψαντο, περιεφθέντας πρότερον καὶ ὑπὸ Παίωνων τρηχέως.
 οἱ γὰρ ὦν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος Παίονες, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ στρα-
 τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Περινθίους καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐπικαλέσων-
 ται σφεας οἱ Περίνθιοι ὀνομαστὶ βώσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχειρέειν,
 ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχειρέειν³, ἐποίεον οἱ Παίονες ταῦτα·
 ἀντικατιζομένων δὲ τῶν Περινθίων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, ἐνθαῦτα
 μονομαχίῃ τριφασίῃ ἐκ προκλήσιός σφι ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα
 ἄνδρῖ, καὶ ἵππον ἵππῳ συνέβαλον, καὶ κύνα κυνὶ νικῶντων δὲ τὰ
 δύο τῶν Περινθίων, ὡς ἐπαιώνιζον κεχαρηκότες, συνεβάλοντο οἱ
 Παίονες τὸ χρηστήριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶναι· καὶ εἰπὴν κου παρὰ
 σφίσι αὐτοῖσιν “νῦν ἂν εἴη ὁ χρησμὸς ἐπιτελεόμενος ἡμῖν νῦν
 ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔργον” οὕτω τοῖσι Περινθίοισι παιωνίσασι ἐπι-

¹ καταλειφθέντες. The narrative is re-
 sumed from iv. 143.

² Μεγάβαζος. One MS (*b*) has Μεγά-
 βυζος. See the note 367 on iv. 143.

³ ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐπιβώσωνται, μὴ ἐπιχει-
 ρεῖν. These words are omitted in one
 MS (S). The presumption is that the
 omission arises from a whole line being

left out by the transcriber, owing to his
 eye falling upon the second ἐπιχειρέειν
 instead of the first. But it is possible
 that there is here a real variation; for the
 sense will be a perfectly complete one
 without the words, although the construc-
 tion will not be so symmetrical. See note
 531 on ii. 173.

χειρέουσι οἱ Παίονες, καὶ πολλῶ⁴ τε ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἔλιπόν σφεων
 2 ὀλίγους. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Παίωνων πρότερον γενόμενα ὧδε ἐγένετο·
 τότε δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας γινομένων τῶν Περι-
 θίων, οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Μεγάβαζος ἐπεκράτησαν πλήθει. ὥς δὲ
 ἐχειρώθη⁵ ἡ Πέρινθος, ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Μεγάβαζος διὰ τῆς
 Θρηίκης, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων
 ἡμερούμενος βασιλεῖ· ταῦτα γάρ οἱ ἐντέταλτο ἐκ Δαρείου, Θρηίκην
 καταστρέφεισθαι.

He then
 attacks
 Thrace,
 and reduces
 the parts
 near the sea
 (§ 10).

3 Magnitude
 of the Thra-
 cian race.

Their cus-
 toms are the
 same, ex-
 cept in the
 case of the
Getæ, Trau-

3 Θρηίκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι, μετὰ γε Ἴνδους, πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἄρχοιτο ἢ φρονέοι κατὰ τῷτὸ, ἅμαχόν
 τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ πολλῶ κρᾶτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν
 ἐμήν⁶. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἄπορόν σφι καὶ ἀμήχανον μὴ κοτε ἐγγένη-
 ται, εἰσὶ δὴ⁷ κατὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενέες. οὐνόματα δὲ πολλὰ ἔχουσι
 κατὰ χώρας ἕκαστοι νόμοισι δὲ οὗτοι παραπλησίοισι πάντες
 χρέωνται κατὰ πάντα, πλὴν Γετέων καὶ Τραυσῶν⁸ καὶ τῶν κατ-
 4 ὑπερθε Κρηστωναίων⁹ οἰκούντων. Τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν Γέται οἱ

⁴ πολλῶ. The majority of the MSS, which Gaisford follows, have πολλὸν, and in § 102, below, all have πολλὸν ἐσώθησαν. But the more general form is πολλῶ, and this is probably latent here under πολλῶν, the reading of S.

⁵ ἐχειρώθη. One manuscript (F) has ἐπεχειρώθη, which would be a fitting word if Perinthus was an addition to former conquests; and this was probably the case, although Perinthus was the first city attacked subsequently to the return of Darius (§ 1).

⁶ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. THUCYDIDES, whose close connexion with Thrace gave him a right to form a judgment, takes a very different view of the matter: ἡ βασιλεία μεγίστη ἐγένετο χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ· ἰσχυρὴ δὲ μάχης καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολλὴ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν (ii. 97). But the notion of Thrace formed by Herodotus was one of a more extensive territory.

⁷ εἰσὶ δὴ, "they are, after all." See note 6 on i. 1.

⁸ Τραυσῶν. If these are the inhabitants of the valley of the *Trauos*, the information relative to them would probably be derived from the Hellenic town *Dicaea*. See vii. 109, below.

⁹ Κρηστωναίων. These persons appear to be the inhabitants of the town *Creston*, mentioned by Herodotus (above,

i. 57) as inhabited by "Tyrrenenes," inland of whom were some "Pelasgians," apparently the same people that are here coupled with the Trausi and Getæ. Whether these are to be regarded as Thracians or Pelasgians, it would seem that they are a very anomalous people, retaining customs of an oriental character which, in the belief of the writer, are peculiar to themselves. It will be observed that he gives them no name (either here or in i. 57), and the account of their customs may very well have passed through two or three hands before it reached him. *Creston* is simply described by STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS as a Thracian town, and its local deity appears to have been exactly identical (even as regards his sacred symbol, the wolf) with the Roman *Mars*. LYCORHON speaks of τὸν Κρηστώνης θεὸν Κανδαῖον ἢ Μάμερτον, ὀπλίτην λύκον (937). And that Thracians, Crestonians, Pelasgians, and Tyrrenenes belonged to the same race, that is, were different waves of the great human flood which set westward from Asia and poured down into the Italian and Hellenic peninsulas, seems evident from the circumstance of their all being mixed up together in the peninsula of Mount Athos, where they formed a bilingual population. (See THUCYDIDES quoted in note 186 on i. 57.) The two languages were no doubt

ἀθανατίζοντες ποιεῦσι, εἰρηταί μοι. Τραυτοὶ ἐὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
 πάντα κατὰ ταῦτά τοῖσι ἄλλοισι¹⁷ Θρηξὶ ἐπιτελέουσιν, κατὰ δὲ
 τὸν γινόμενον σφί καὶ ἀπειρημένον ποιεῦσι τοιαῦτα τὸν μὲν
 γενόμενον περαιομένοι οἱ προσήκοντες ὀλοφύρονται. ὅσα μιν οὐκ
 ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο ἀναπλῆσαι κακῇ, ἀνηγάμενοι τὰ ἀνθρωπότητα
 πάντα πάθει· τὸν δ' ἀπογενόμενον παίζοντες τε καὶ ἰδόμενοι γῇ
 κρύπτουσι, ἐπιλέγοντες ὅσων κακῶν ἑξαπαλλαχθεὶς ἔστι ἐν
 πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ¹⁸. Οἱ δὲ κατ' ὅπερθε Κρηστανάλων¹⁹ ποιεῦσι
 τοιαῦτα ἔχει γυναῖκας ἑκαυτὸς πολλὰς ἐπειὶ ὡς τις αὐτῶν ἀπο-
 θάνῃ, κρύβει γίνεται μεγάλη τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ φίλων σπουδαί-
 ῃσυχναὶ περὶ τοῦδε, ἥτις αὐτῶν ἐφαλέετο μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός·
 ἢ δ' ἂν κριθῇ καὶ τιμηθῇ, ἐκκομιασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ
 γυναικῶν σφάζεται ἐς τὸν τάφον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκηϊοτάτου ἐωντῆς,
 σφαχθεῖσα δὲ συνθαπτεται τῷ ἀνδρὶ· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι σιγηφώρην
 μεγάλην ποιεῦνται· ὄνειδος γάρ σφί τοῦτο μέγιστον γίνεται.

Τὸν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Θρηίκων ἐστὶ ὅδε ὁ νόμος· πωλεῦσι τὰ
 τέκνα ἐπ' ἑξαμερῇ· τὰς δὲ παρθένους οὐ φελεύουσιν· ἄλλ' ἑῶνα
 αἰεὶ αἰεταὶ βουλεύονται ἀνδράσι μίσγεσθαι, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἰσχυρῶς
 φυλάσσουν· καὶ ὠνεύονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρη-

the Pelasgian (i. e. the common parent of Greek and Latin) and the Greek of commerce, arising from the mixture of Chalcidian settlers. The conjecture of Niebuhr (who would read Κροῦσια instead of Κρηστανά in l. 57) seems quite irreconcilable with this passage. At the same time DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS found Κροστανάται there.

¹⁷ ἄλλοισι. The manuscripts S and V omit this word.

¹⁸ τὸν μὲν γινόμενον . . . ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίῃ. EURIPIDES, in his play of *Cresphontes*, had a sentiment of this kind:—

Ἴδει γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιουμένους
 τὸν φῦτα θρηγνύν, εἰς ὅς' ἔρχεται κακὰ·
 τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόων τετανυμένον
 χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπει δόμων.

STRABO (xi. c. 12, p. 441), who quotes the three last of these lines, seems to attribute the practice described in them to Asiatic barbarians. But Euripides would be likely to hear of such habits at the Macedonian court; and in that case they would more probably be fathered on the race with

whom the Macedonians had most to do, i. e. European Thracians. Doubtless the religious ideas connected with such a practice would come from the east; and in the time of Strabo instances of the practice itself might be known in Asia.

¹⁹ οἱ δὲ κατ' ὅπερθε Κρηστανάλων. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (s. *Getia*) states it to be a custom of the Getas: ἐπισφάζειν τὴν γυναῖκα τῷ ἀνδρὶ. The Hindu habit of *suttee* will occur to every reader. The practice of immolating wives at the funeral of their husbands was surpassed in barbarity by a custom which prevailed in Poland before it was Christianized, and of which DITMAR, who was bishop of Merseburg in the year 1008, speaks as existing in the generation before him. "Unequeque mulier post viri exequias sui igne cremati decollata subsequitur: et si meretrix inveniebatur, in genitali suo, turpi et miserabili poenâ, circumcidebatur, idque (si sic diei licet) præputium in foribus suspenditur." (*Chronicon*, viii. *init.*, cited by Perizonius on Ælian, V. II. vii. 18.) See note 205 on iv. 73.

μάτων μεγάλων· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται¹³, τὸ δ' ἄστικτον ἀγεννές· ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον¹⁴, γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην, ἀτιμότατον· τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ ληϊστύος κάλλιστον· οὗτοι μὲν

7 σφεων οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι νόμοι εἰσὶ. Θεοὺς δὲ σέβονται μούρους τοῦσδε· Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀρτεμιν¹⁵. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν, πῖρεξ τῶν ἄλλων πολιητέων, σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν· καὶ ὁμνύουσι μόνον τοῦτον, καὶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμῆος ἑωυτούς¹⁶. Ταφαὶ δὲ τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ αἶδε· τρεῖς μὲν

8 ἡμέρας προτιθέασι τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ παντοῖα σφάζαντες ἱρήϊα εὐωχέονται, προκλαύσαντες πρῶτον· ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι κατακαύσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως¹⁷ γῇ κρύψαντες· χῶμα δὲ χέαντες, ἀγῶνα τιθεῖσι παντοῖον, ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἄεθλα τίθεται κατὰ λόγον μονομαχίης¹⁸. ταφαὶ μὲν δὴ Θρηίκων εἰσὶ αὐται.

9 Τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέῳ τῆς χώρας ἔτι ταύτης¹⁹ οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι τὸ ἀτρεκές, οἵτινές εἰσι ἀνθρώπων οἱ οἰκέοντες αὐτήν· ἀλλὰ τὰ πέρην ἤδη τοῦ Ἰστρου ἐρήμος χώρα φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ ἄπειρος. μούρους δὲ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι οἰκέοντας πέρην τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀνθρώ-

¹³ τὸ μὲν ἐστίχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται. This apparently has reference to a custom of tatowing; in which case nobility would of course be denoted by peculiar (and probably superabundant) marks,—a practice that might easily be described as in the text, by a Greek trader.

¹⁴ ἀργὸν εἶναι κάλλιστον. This maxim, a natural one in the case of a warlike race wholly or mainly pastoral, is noticed by TACITUS as prevailing among the Germans of his time. (*Germ.* § 14.)

¹⁵ Ἄρεα καὶ Διόνυσον καὶ Ἀρτεμιν. The combination of the deities here mentioned will be easier understood, if we consider that Herodotus is probably following an account received from Hellenopontine traders, who would compare the Thracian deities with those that they were familiar with in Pontus and Asia. Dionysus therefore is not the rustic deity, the god of the vine-dressers, but the oriental conqueror with his army of bachelors, prophesying amid the inspiration of his orgies. This Dionysus was, in a Lydian legend (STEPH. BYZ. v. Μάσταυρα), made the reputed son of Ares, with whom he is associated in the text. So too the Artemis of the Thracians is not the huntress goddess, the sister of the Dorian Apollo, but analogous to the

cruel Tauric Artemis, the Artemis ὄρθια and ταυροπόλος of Taygetum, and the Artemis Brauronia of Attica. The identity of the first of these with the Latin *Bellona* and the Hellenic *Enyo* is decisively proved by the great temple of Enyo at Comana in Cappadocia; the orgies of which were said to be brought by Orestes and his sister Iphigenia from the Tauric Chersonese. (STRABO, xii. c. 2. p. 5.)

¹⁶ λέγουσι γεγονέναι ἀπὸ Ἑρμῆος ἑωυτούς. The chieftains were probably the representatives of a race originally different from that of their subjects, and hence had a different tutelary deity.

¹⁷ ἄλλως, "simply." The use of the word is like that in iii. 139, *δίδωμι δ' ἄλλως*, "but I offer it as a gift," i. e. simply, without conditions.

¹⁸ κατὰ λόγον μονομαχίης, "in the way of single combat." This expression would lead one to believe that the different contests which were rewarded with a prize were conducted on the principle of one champion challenging the field; not in the way which would be usual in Greece, by selecting as the victor the best out of a number of competitors.

¹⁹ τῆς χώρας ἔτι ταύτης, "still within the limits of this country."

Their chiefs worship *Hermes* besides the popular deities, *Ares*,

Dionysus, and *Artemis*. Mode of burial.

The northern parts of Thrace are uncertain.

πους, τοῖσι οὖνομα εἶναι Σιγύννας²⁰ ἐσθίητι δὲ χρεωμένους Μηδικῇ· Across the Ister dwell the
 τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτῶν εἶναι λασίους ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα ἐπὶ πέντε
 δακτύλους τὸ βάθος τῶν τριχῶν, μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμούς²¹ καὶ *Sigynnes*, a
 ἀδυνάτους ἀνδρας φέρειν ζευγνυμένους δὲ ὑπ' ἄρματα, εἶναι ὄξυ- nation with
 τάτους²². ἄρμαθλατέειν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. κατ- small hardy
 ἡκειν δὲ τούτων τοὺς οὖρους ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν²³ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀδρίῃ, horses, said
 εἶναι δὲ Μήδων σφέας ἀποίκους λέγουσι. ὅκως δὲ οὗτοι Μήδων to be of
 ἄποικοι²⁴ γεγόνασι, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἐπιφράσασθαι γένοιτο δ' Median
 ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῇ μακρῇ χρόνῳ. (Σιγύννας δ' ὦν καλέουσι Λίγνες οἱ origin.
 ἄνω ὑπὲρ Μασσαλῆς οἰκέοντες τοὺς καπήλους· Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ 10
 δόρατα²⁵.) Ὡς δὲ Θρήικες λέγουσι, μέλισσαι κατέχουσιν τὰ The Thra-
 πέρην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ εἰσι^a· καὶ ὑπὸ τουτέων οὐκ εἶναι διελθεῖν τὸ cians say
 προσωτέρω. ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν, ταῦτα λέγοντες δοκέουσι λέγειν οὐκ that bees
 οἰκότα· τὰ γὰρ ζῶα ταῦτα φαίνεται εἶναι δύσριγα· ἀλλὰ μοι τὰ occupy the
 ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον ἀοίκητα δοκέει εἶναι διὰ τὰ ψύχαια. ταῦτα μὲν country be-
 yond the
 Ister.

²⁰ Σιγύννας. Later writers seem to have placed this race further east. STRABO speaks of them as Asiatics (xi. c. 12, p. 444). This is easily to be accounted for. See note 24, below.

²¹ μικροὺς δὲ καὶ σιμούς. These are the ponies (*polnische pferde*) which no doubt in the time of Herodotus ran wild in the forests of Hungary and Transylvania.

²² ὄξύτάτους. Some MSS, including S, have ὠκυτάτους.

²³ κατήκειν δὲ τούτων τοὺς οὖρους ἀγχοῦ Ἐνετῶν. The Eneti may be regarded as spreading over Carinthia, or at least conducting the traffic a considerable way inland from the coast. See note 320, α, on iii. 115. There appears to have been a line of communication between the Adriatic and the Euxine by the medium of some entrepôt on the Danube, perhaps not far above the point to which vessels from the Euxine might ascend. There is a vague and exaggerated description in the Aristotelian treatise *περὶ θανυμασιῶν ἀκουσμάτων*, which indicates the existence of commercial intercourse by this route. From Delphium, a high peak in the mountains overhanging Istria, it was said that a view might be obtained of the ships sailing into the Euxine. Coreyean wine jars are said to have been an important article in this traffic (§§ 104, 105).

²⁴ Μήδων ἄποικοι. The mode in which

these races were descended from the Medes is to be explained on the principle stated in the note 336 on i. 94. From i. 196 it will be seen that a practice undoubtedly Asiatic existed among the Eneti, their neighbours. The custom of *suttee* too which prevailed among οἱ κατ' ὑπερθε Κρησσιῶν, — distinctly points to an eastern origin of the tribes inhabiting this region. See note 20, above.

²⁵ Σιγύννας δ' ὦν καλέουσι, κ.τ.λ. This clause has been considered by some as a gloss on a scholiast interpolated into the text. This may probably be the case; for although the name *σιγύννες*, given by the Ligurians to merchants, may bear upon the question of the Median origin of the race, the Cyprian word certainly would not. But on the other hand there are so many parts of the MSS as they exist at present which look like later additions, that it appears unjustifiable to consider the clause as an interpolation in the proper sense of the word. It seems possible that the word *zigemer* is etymologically connected with Sigynnes.

^a μέλισσαι κατέχουσιν τὰ πέρην τοῦ Ἰστροῦ εἰσι. The foundation for this story perhaps is the enormous swarms of *gnats* which are found in the depths of the unpenetrated forests of Poland and Russia. The mistake may be a similar one to that in iv. 7, where see the note 22.

νυν τῆς χώρας ταύτης πέρι λέγεται· τὰ παραθαλάσσια δ' ὦν αὐτῆς Μεγάβαζος²⁶ Περσέων κατήκοα ἐποίεε.

11

Darius on arriving at Sardis grants to Histiaeus *Myrcinus* in Edonis, and makes Coës tyrant of Mytilene.

Δαρεῖος δὲ, ὡς διαβὰς τάχιστα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπῆκετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐμνήσθη²⁷ τῆς ἐξ Ἰστιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου εὐεργεσίας, καὶ τῆς παραινέσιος τοῦ Μυτιληναίου Κώεω· μεταπεμφάμενος δέ σφεας ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐδίδου αὐτοῖσι αἵρεσιν. ὁ μὲν δὲ Ἰστιαῖος, ἅτε τυραννέων τῆς Μιλήτου τυραινίδος μὲν οὐδεμιῆς προσέχρυσεν²⁸, αἰτέει δὲ Μύρκινον τὴν Ἥδωνίδα, βουλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ πόλιν κτίσαι. οὗτος μὲν δὲ ταύτην αἰρέεσται· ὁ δὲ Κώης, οἶά τε οὐ τύραννος²⁹ δημότης τε ἐὼν, αἰτέει Μυτιλήνης τυραινέυσαι. τελεωθέντων δὲ ἀμφοτέροισι, οὗτοι μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἶλοντο ἐτράποντο.

12

Circumstances under which he first hears of the *Pæonians* of the Strymon.

Δαρεῖον δὲ συνήνεικε, πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἰδόμενον ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐντείλασθαι Μεγαβάζω, Παίονας ἐλόντα ἀνασπιάστους ποιῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ἦν Πίγρης³⁰ καὶ Μαντύης³¹, ἄνδρες Παίονες· οἱ, ἐπεὶ τε Δαρεῖος διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες Παιόνων τυραννέειν ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις, ἅμα ἀρόμενοι ἀδελφεὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐειδέα· φυλάξαντες δὲ Δαρεῖον προκατιζόμενον ἐς τὸ προάστειον τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· σκεύασαντες τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ὡς εἶχον ἄριστα, ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔπεμπον ἄγγος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος ἵππον ἐπέλκουσαν καὶ κλώθουσιν λῖνον³². ὡς δὲ παρεξήϊε ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπιμελὲς τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ Περσικὰ ἦν οὔτε Λυδία³³ τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς, οὔτε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας οὐδαμῶν

²⁶ Μεγάβαζος. See the note 367 on iv. 143.

²⁷ ἐμνήσθη. See iv. 97 and 137.

²⁸ τυραινίδος οὐδεμιῆς προσέχρυσεν. See the note 354 on iv. 138.

²⁹ οὐ τύραννος. He is described in iv. 97 as the *στρατηγὸς* of the Mytileneans. Apparently the constitution of Mytilene at the time was the one established by Pittacus when dictator (*αἰσυνμήτης*). ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* iii., p. 1285.

³⁰ Πίγρης. One MS has Τίγρης, and another Πύγρης.

³¹ Μαντύης. S and V have Μαστίης.

³² καὶ κλώθουσιν λῖνον. DR. HUNT describes the women of the neighbourhood of Acanthus as very hardy and industrious, and performing all agricultural labours

except ploughing. Their dress (he says) resembles that of the women in the Highlands of Scotland, except as to the head ornaments. They wear short petticoats without trousers, shoes, or stockings; and those who are mothers carry their young children slung in a square piece of cloth behind their shoulders while they are working in the fields. In going from place to place they not only carry their infants in this manner, but often have a lofty jar or pitcher upon their heads, and a rack and spindle in their hands with which they spin as they walk. He adds that they are Albanian colonists (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, p. 227).

³³ Λυδία. The manuscripts S and V have Λυδικά.

ἐπιμελὲς δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐγένετο, τῶν ῥορυφόρων τινὰς πέμπει κελεύων φυλάξαι ὃ τι χρήσεται³⁴ τῷ ἵππῳ ἢ γυνὴ· οἱ μὲν δὲ ὀπισθεν εἵποντο, ἡ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπύκετο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἤρσε³⁵ τὸν ἵππον ἄρσασα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγρος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐμπλησάμενη, τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν παρεξίμε φέρουσα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἐπέλαυνετα ἐκ τῆς βραχίονος τὸν ἵππον καὶ στρέφουσα τὸν ἀτρακτον. Θωμάζων δὲ ὁ Δαρῖος τὰ τε ἤκουσε ἐκ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ τὰ αὐτὸς ὤκτι, ἄγει αὐτὴν ἐκέλευε ἑωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν· ὥς δὲ ἤχθη, παρήσαν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφεοὶ αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἢ πρῶτω σκεπητὴν ἔχοντες τούτων εἰρωτίωντος δὲ τοῦ Δαρῖου ὑποδαπὴ εἰη· ἔβασαν οἱ πενήστικοι εἶναι Παίονες καὶ ἐκείνην εἶναι σφέων ἀδελφεήν· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο, τίνες δὲ οἱ Παίονες ἄνθρωποι εἰσι, καὶ κοῦ γῆς οἰκημένοι, καὶ τί κείνοι ἐθέλοντες ἔλθουσιν ἐς Σάρδεις; οἱ δὲ οἱ ἔφησαν, ὥς ἔλθουσιν μὲν ἐκείνῳ παροιστεῖς σφέας αὐτοὺς, εἴη δὲ ἡ Παιωνίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη· ὁ δὲ Στρυμὼν οὐ πρῶτω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἴησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι³⁶. οἱ μὲν δὲ αὐτὰ ἕκαστα ἔλεγον· ὁ δὲ εἰρώτα εἰ καὶ πάσαι εἴησαν αὐτόθι αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶ ἐργατίδες; οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔβασαν προθύμως αὐτῶ ἔχειν αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ ἐποίεετο.

13

Ἐνθαῦτα Δαρῖος γράφει γράμματα πρὸς Μεγάβαζον, τὸν ἔλπει ἐν τῇ Θρηάκῃ ἀπαρτηρῶν, ἀπελλόμενος ἐξαιαστῆσαι ἐξ ἡθίων Παίωνας, καὶ παρ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγαγῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτῶν. αὐτίκα δὲ ἵππους ἔθηκε³⁷ φέρων τὴν ἀγγάρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον· περαιωθεῖς δὲ διδοῖ τὸ βιβλίον³⁸ τῷ

14

He orders Megabazus to accompany the population to Asia.

³⁴ χρήσεται. The manuscripts S, V, a, d have χρήσαιο. See however note on vii. 213, by which the uncertainty of the documentary evidence will appear.

³⁵ ἤρσε. This word, in its ordinary use, is applied to the irrigation of land, the proper phrase for giving water to an animal being ποτίζειν.

³⁶ εἴησαν δὲ Τευκρῶν τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἄποικοι. STRABO (xiii. c. 1, p. 95) remarks on the extensive correspondence of Thracian and Teucrian names. Thus *Arishbe*, a town mentioned in the Homeric poems in connexion with Præctium, Sesotos, and Abydos, and therefore in their neighbourhood, is paralleled by *Arishbos*, a river in Thrace, a tributary of the Hebrus, on the banks of which are the *Cebrenii*, a Thracian tribe. The *Seæi* and *Xanthii*

are two other Thracian tribes, and there is also a river *Sciæus*, and a *Σκαῖον τεῖχος* in that country. *Rhesus* again is a Thracian king; while on the other hand at Troy there are the *Σκαῖα πῶλαι*, the rivers *Xanthus* and *Rhesus*, and the district *Cebrenia*. All these circumstances contribute with the tradition in the text to prove the *ethnical identity* of Teucrians and Thracians,—which, in the language of Herodotus's time, could hardly be described in other terms than making the one a colony from the other. See note 336 on i. 94.

³⁷ αὐτίκα δὲ ἵππους ἔθηκε. This was the ἀγγάρηος. See note 348 on iii. 126.

³⁸ τὸ βιβλίον, "the firman," the written document containing formal instructions for the expedition. The use of the

15

Megabazus
overruns
Pæonia, and
transports
some of the
tribes.

Μεγαβάζω· ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος, καὶ λαβὼν ἡγεμόνας ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Παιουίην. Πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Παίονες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ σφέας ἰέναι, ἀλισθέντες ἐξεστρατεύσαντο πρὸς θαλάσσης· δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν³⁹ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐμβάλλοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ Παίονες ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι τὸν Μεγαβάζου στρατὸν ἐπιόντα ἐρύκειν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι συναλίσθαι τοὺς Παίονας καὶ τὴν πρὸς θαλάσσης ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσοντας, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας, τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν τράπονται· λαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Παίονας ἐσπιπτοῦσι ἐς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, εὐσεύσας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμους· οἳ δὲ κεινῇσι ἐπιπεσόντες, εὐπετέως κατέσχον. οἱ δὲ Παίονες ὥς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένας τὰς πόλεις, αὐτίκα διασκεδασθέντες κατ' ἐσωτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, καὶ παρεδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι· οὕτω δὲ Παίωνων Σιροπαίονές⁴⁰ τε καὶ Παιόπλαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι τῆς Πρα-

16

Others suc-
cessfully re-
sist for the
time.

Description
of a fishing
town built
in the lake
Prasias,
near Mount
Orbelus.

σιάδος λίμνης, ἐξ ἡθέων ἐξαναστάντες, ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον οὖρος καὶ Δόβηρας καὶ Ἀγριαῖνας καὶ Ὀδομάντους καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν λίμνην τὴν Πρασιάδα, οὐκ ἐχειρώθησαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου. ἐπειρήθη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ ἐξαιρέειν, ὧδε κατοικημένους⁴¹. ἱκρία ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐξηγμένα ἐν μέσῃ ἔσθηκε τῇ λίμνῃ, ἔσοδον ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου στεινὴν ἔχοντα μὴ γεφύρῃ· τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς τοὺς ὑπεστεῶτας τοῖσι ἱκρίοις τὸ μὲν κου ἀρχαῖον ἔστησαν κοινῇ πάντες οἱ

article indicates the technical character of the proceeding, and that this was generally known. It seems not unlikely that much of this technicality was a part of Darius's system, to check the arbitrary power of the great satraps, and prevent their furthering their own ambitious views under the cover of the king's authority. It would appear that these rescripts were, in each case, at least bilingual,—one language being a dialect of the Assyrian, and the other that of the people among whom the decree was to be put into execution,—that they were both drawn up by officials of the central government, dated from thence, and authenticated by the king's signet. (See *Esther* iii. 12, 13; viii. 8—14, compared with *Ezra* iv. 7.) That they were also letters "patent," seems to follow both from the story told in iii. 128, and from the Pæonians being made aware of the intended expedition.

³⁹ δοκέοντες ταύτῃ ἐπιχειρήσειν. The impression of the Pæonians apparently

was, that the attack would be made upon them through the Hellenic maritime states. See § 10, *ad finem*.

⁴⁰ Σιροπαίονες. The Pæonians of Siris, a town which is called by the author Siris of Pæonia (viii. 115), to distinguish it from Siris in Italy, likewise mentioned (viii. 62).

⁴¹ τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ ἐξαιρέειν, ὧδε κατοικημένους. The MSS have τοὺς ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ κατοικημένους ἐξαιρέειν ὧδε, which Gaisford retains. But if that order be genuine, it would seem that the text here must have undergone a great change, and that the existing description of the habits of the people of the town on the lake, must have been substituted for one of the manner in which Megabazus attempted to conquer them.

A precisely similar description to that in the text, is given by HELIODOBUS of the habits of the population living in the marshes of the Nile. (*Æthiopica*, i. 11.)

πολιῆται μετὰ δὲ, νόμῳ χρεώμενοι ἰστᾶσι τοιῷδε· κομίζοντες ἐξ οὐρεος τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι "Ορβηλος, κατὰ γυναικα ἐκάστην ὁ γαμέων τρεῖς σταυροὺς ὑπίστησιν ἄγεται δὲ ἕκαστος συχνὰς γυναικας. οἰκεῦσι δὲ τοιοῦτον τρόπον, κρατέων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱκρίων καλύβης τε ἐν ᾗ διαιτᾶται, καὶ θύρης καταπακτῆς διὰ τῶν ἱκρίων κάτω φερούσης ἐς τὴν λίμνην· τὰ δὲ νήπια παιδία δέουσι τοῦ ποδὸς σπάρτῳ, μὴ κατακυλισθῇ δειμαίνοντες· τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι καὶ τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι παρέχουσι χόρτον ἰχθύς ⁴². τῶν δὲ πληθὺς ἐστι τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ὅταν τὴν θύρην τὴν καταπακτὴν ἀνακλίνῃ, κατῖει σχοίνῳ σπυρίδα ⁴³ κεινὴν ἐς τὴν λίμνην, καὶ οὐ πολλόν τινα χρόνον ἐπισχών, ἀνασπᾷ πλήρεια ἰχθύων. τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ γένεα δύο, τοὺς καλέουσι πάπρακάς τε καὶ τίλωνας. Παιόνων μὲν δὴ οἱ χειρωθέντες ἤγοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παίονας, πέμπει ἀγγέλους **17**
 ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἐπτὰ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν κείνον ἦσαν
 δοκιμώτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὗτοι παρ' Ἀμύν- Megabazus
sends an
embassy to
Amyntas,
king of
Macedonia,
 την ⁴⁴ αἰτήσαντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλεῖ. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς
 Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην· πρῶτα μὲν
 γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον, ἐξ οὗ ὕστερον τούτων τάλαν- which is
easily ac-
cessible
from the
lake Pra-
sias.
 τον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοίτα· μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέ-
 ταλλον, Δύσωρον καλεόμενον οὖρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακε-
 δονίᾳ ⁴⁵. Οἱ ὦν Πέρσαι οἱ πεμφθέντες οὗτοι παρὰ τὸν Ἀμύντην **18**
 ὡς ἀπίκοντο, αἵτεον ἐλθόντες ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ἀμύντεω Δαρείῳ
 βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὁ δὲ ταυτὰ τε ἐδίδου, καὶ σφεας ἐπὶ They are
well re-
ceived and
feasted,

⁴² τοῖσι δὲ ἵπποισι . . . χόρτον ἰχθύς. MARCO POLO asserts the existence of a similar practice on the coast of Hadramaut. Very small fishes, he says, are caught there during the months of March, April, and May, in enormous quantities. These are dried, laid up, and given to the sheep, oxen, and camels, throughout the year. There is no grass there, it being the most arid place in the world (p. 330).

⁴³ κατῖει σχοίνῳ σπυρίδα. This probably refers to the mode of taking fish by pots of basket-work, which would be unfamiliar to the Greeks of the Hellespont.

⁴⁴ παρ' Ἀμύντην. The court of Amyntas would be at Æge (or Edessa), which

was high up in the mountains, near the sources of the principal of the streams which fell into the lake at Pella. The kings of Macedonia were buried there as long as the kingdom lasted, even after Pella became the residence. (PLINY, N. H. iv. 10.)

⁴⁵ εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. At the time of SCYLAX's work being compiled, the boundary of Macedonia was the river Strymon (§ 67, p. 27, Hudson). But considerable changes seem to have taken place at or immediately after the invasion under Xerxes. See note on vii. 127. The mine from which the large revenue was derived perhaps passed over to Alexander at that time.

ξείνια ⁴⁶ καλέει· παρασκευασάμενος δὲ δεῖπνον μεγαλοπρεπές, ἐδέκετο τοὺς Πέρσας φιλοφρόνως. ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε· “ξείνε Μακεδὼν, ἡμῖν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἐπεὰν δεῖπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας ⁴⁷ ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους ⁴⁸. σύ νυν, ἐπεὶ περ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξαο μεγάλως δὲ ξεινίζεις, διδοῖς τε βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἔπειο νόμῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης· “ὦ Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν γέ ἐστι οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑόντες δεσπύοιτο προσχρήζετε τουτέων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταῦτα.” εἶπας τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀμύντης μετεπέμπετο τὰς γυναῖκας· αἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ τε καλεόμεναι ἦλθον, ἐπεξῆς ἀντίαι ἵζοντο τοῖσι Πέρσησι· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδόμενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρφους, ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι “τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφόν· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχῆθεν μὴ ἐλθεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας, ἢ ἐλθούσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀντίας ἵζεσθαι ἀλγυδόνας σφι ὀφθαλμῶν ⁴⁹.” ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης ἐκέλευε παρίξιν· πειθομενέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν, αὐτίκα οἱ Πέρσαι μαστῶν ⁵⁰ τε ἄπτοντο, οἷα πλεύνως οἰνωμένοι, καὶ κου τις καὶ φιλέειν ἐπειράτο· Ἀμύντης μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρέων ἀτρέμας εἶχε καὶ περ δυσφορέων, οἷα ὑπερδαιμαίνων τοὺς Πέρσας· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντεω παρεὼν τε καὶ ὀρέων ταῦτα, ἅτε νέος τε ἐὼν καὶ κακῶν ἀπαθῆς, οὐδαμῶς ἔτι κατέχειν οἷός τε ἦν· ὥστε δὲ βαρέως φέρων εἶπε πρὸς Ἀμύντεα τάδε· “σύ μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἶκε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἀπικόν τε ἀναπαύεο, μηδὲ λιπάρεε τῇ

19

at insult-
 ing the
 omen
 hom they
 ad caused
 y be
 ough
 table,

⁴⁶ ἐπὶ ξείνια. The MSS vary here and elsewhere between the forms ἐπὶ ξείνια and ἐπὶ ξεινία. Schweighäuser considers that both are common to Ionic Greek, but that the latter is appropriate to Attic. Such a distinction appears as purely accidental as that between the two phrases of ‘asking a person to come and dine’ and ‘asking him to come to dinner.’

⁴⁷ κουριδίας γυναῖκας. See note 463 on i. 135, and 405 on iv. 155.

⁴⁸ ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. See *Esther* i. 10, 11.

⁴⁹ ἀλγυδόνας ὀφθαλμῶν. The unfavourable criticism of LONGINUS (*De Subl.* § 4) upon this expression is well known. But after all it seems not unlikely to be the Greek equivalent of a Persian phrase, in-

tended as a high compliment,—and meaning something the same as the English expression of “a dazzling beauty.” Alexander the Great applied the same expression in pleasantry to the Persian ladies (εἰσὶν ἀλγυδόνες ὀμμάτων αἱ Περσίδες, PLUTARCH, *Alex.* § 21); and when it is considered that the sun and moon are the usual objects of comparison with female beauty at the present time in the east, it seems far from improbable that the Persians were employing the staple phrases of court gallantry in what they said to Amyntas.

⁵⁰ μαστῶν. This is the reading of all the MSS except one (*b*), which has μασθῶν. See note 516 on iv. 202.

πόσει· ἐγὼ δὲ προσμένων αὐτοῦ τῇδε, πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα παρέξω τοῖσι ξείνοισι.” πρὸς ταῦτα συνιείς ὁ Ἀμύντης ὅτι νεώτερα πρήγματα πρήξειν μέλλει Ἀλέξανδρος, λέγει “ὦ παῖ, σχεδὸν γάρ σευ ἀνακαιομένου συνίημι τοὺς λόγους, ὅτι ἐθέλεις ἐμὲ ἐκπέμψας ποιεῖν τι νεώτερον· ἐγὼ ὦν σευ χρητίζω μηδὲν νεοχμῶσαι κατ’ ἄνδρας τούτους⁵¹, ἵνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἡμέας⁵². ἀλλὰ ἀνέχεν ὀρέων τὰ ποιούμενα· ἀμφὶ δὲ ἀπόδω τῇ ἐμῇ πείσομαι τοι.” Ὡς δὲ ὁ Ἀμύντης χρήσας τούτων οἰχώκεε, λέγει ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος 20 πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας· “γυναικῶν τουτέων, ὦ ξεῖνοι, πολλή ἐστι ὑμῖν εὐπετεία, καὶ εἰ πάσῃσι βούλεσθε μίσγεσθαι καὶ ὁκόσῃσι ὦν αὐτέων· τούτου μὲν περὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποσημανέετε· νῦν δὲ, σχεδὸν γὰρ ἤδη τῆς κοίτης ὥρῃ προσέρχεται ὑμῖν καὶ καλῶς ἔχοντας ὑμέας ὀρέω μέθης, γυναῖκας ταύτας, εἰ ὑμῖν φίλον ἐστὶ, ἄφετε λούσασθαι· λουσαμένας δὲ, ὀπίσω προσδέκεσθε.” εἶπας ταῦτα, συνέπαινοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, γυναῖκας μὲν ἐξελθούσας ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν γυναικηίην· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἴσους τῇσι γυναιξὶ ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρας λειογενεῖους τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐσθήτῃ σκευάσας, καὶ ἐγχειρίδια δοὺς, παρήγε ἔσω. παράγων δὲ τούτους ἔλεγε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τάδε· “ὦ Πέρσαι, οἴκατε πανδαισίῃ τελέῃ εἰστίησθαι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσα εἶχομεν, καὶ πρὸς, τὰ οἷά τε ἦν ἐξευρόντας παρέχειν, πάντα ὑμῖν πάρεστι· καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε τὸ πάντων μέγιστον τίς τε ἐωυτῶν μητέρας καὶ τὰς ἀδελφείας ἐπιδαφιλευόμεθα⁵³ ὑμῖν· ὥς παντελῶς μάλιστα τιμώμενοι πρὸς ἡμέων τῶν πέρ ἐστε ἄξιοι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ τῷ πέμψαντι ἀπαγγεῖλητε, ὥς ἀνὴρ Ἑλλην Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος⁵⁴ εὖ ὑμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ κοίτῃ” are assassinated by Alexander the son of Amyntas.

ταῦτα εἶπας Ἀλέξανδρος, παρίζει Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ὥς γυναῖκα τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τέ σφεων οἱ Πέρσαι ψαύειν ἐπειρῶντο, διεργάζοντο αὐτούς. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τούτῳ τῷ μόρῳ 21 διεφθάρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ θεραπηγὴ αὐτῶν· εἶπετο γὰρ δὴ σφι All their attendants

⁵¹ κατ’ ἄνδρας τούτους. See note 515 on iv. 201.

⁵² ἵνα μὴ ἐξεργάσῃ ἡμέας, “that you be not the destruction of us.” Compare EURIPIDES, *Hippol.* 607: ὦ πρὸς σε γονάτων, μηδαμῶς μ’ ἐξεργάσῃ. *Helen.* 1104: Κούρη Διώνης Κύπρι, μή μ’ ἐξεργάσῃ.

⁵³ ἐπιδαφιλευόμεθα. This word is copiously illustrated by Hemsterhuis on

Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Dead*, xxx. 2, εὐγε, ὦ Μίνως, ὅτι καὶ ἐπιδαφιλεύῃ τῷ παραδείγματι. It is applied to a prodigal expenditure over and above what the circumstances of the case require.

⁵⁴ Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος. The use of the word ὑπαρχος instead of βασιλεὺς is to be remarked. Alexander speaks of his father as the “satrap” of Macedonia, he having done homage to Darius the “king.”

are slain
with them.

Alexander
gets the
matter
hushed up.

καὶ ὀχήματα, καὶ θεράποντες, καὶ ἡ πᾶσα πολλὴ παρασκευή· πάντα δὴ ταῦτα ἅμα πᾶσι κείνοισι ἠφάνιστο. μετὰ δὲ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ζήτησις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων μεγάλη ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ἐγένετο· καὶ σφεας Ἀλέξανδρος κατέλαβε σοφίῃ⁵⁵, χρήματά τε δούς πολλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὴν, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Γυγαίη· δούς δὲ ταῦτα κατέλαβε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Βουβάρη, ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους τῶν στρατηγῶν⁵⁶. ὁ μὲν νυν τῶν Περσῶν τούτων θάνατος οὕτω καταλαμφθεὶς ἐσιγίθη.

22

The Macedonian
kings belong to the
Hellenic
race.

Ἑλλῆνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκεω γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτὸς τε οὕτω τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος (καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι⁵⁷ ὑποδέξω ὥς εἰσι Ἑλλῆνες), πρὸς δὲ, καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα Ἑλλήνων οὕτω ἔγνωσαν εἶναι. Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου⁵⁸ καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἐξεργόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὥς εἴη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι Ἑλλῆνα καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεξέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

23

Megabazus,
on arriving
at Sardis
with the
Pæonians,
opens the

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω κη ἐγένετο. Μεγάβαζος δὲ ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας ἀπίκητο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ διαπεραιωθείς ἀπίκητο ἐς Σάρδις. ἅτε δὲ τειχέοντος ἤδη Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Μιλησίου τὴν παρὰ Δαρείου αἰτήσας ἔτυχε δωρεὴν, μισθὸν⁵⁹ φυλακῆς τῆς σχεδῆς, ἐόντος δὲ τοῦ χώρου τούτου παρὰ Στρυ-

⁵⁵ κατέλαβε σοφίῃ, "quashed the investigation by intrigue." So Cræsus (i. 46) endeavoured καταλαβεῖν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Περσῶν, to crush the power of the Persians while growing. καταλαμβάνειν is to get complete hold over an object, and so have the mastery of it.

⁵⁶ τῶν στρατηγῶν. This is the reading of all the MSS, and it is obviously corrupt. Gaisford adopts the emendation of Valcknaer τῷ στρατηγῷ. But here the article would be out of place. I should rather be inclined to transpose, and read τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν διζημένων τοὺς ἀπολομένους. The facts seem to have been that enquiries were instituted in various quarters by the commandants of Persian garrisons, and Bubares (son of Megabazus, vii. 22) was of these the one whose position brought him into contact with the Macedonian court. The relation in which Alexander stood to the Persian court

was in after times a very different one. See viii. 136, and the notes on vi. 44 and vii. 127.

⁵⁷ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι. This promise is redeemed in viii. 137, seqq. The Hellenic blood of the Macedonian kings was a point sufficiently doubtful to allow DEMOSTHENES (in spite of the authority of the Hellenodiceæ at Olympia) to deny it. He says of Philip: οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἑλλῆνος ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἄλλ' . . . ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας (*Philipp.* iii.). But of the liberties taken with historical (not to say mythical) evidence by the orators, see a striking example in the note 213 on i. 63. The judgment of THUCYDIDES (ii. 99; v. 80) coincides with that of Herodotus.

⁵⁸ Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου. Some MSS have here βουλομένου γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀεθλεύειν.

⁵⁹ δωρεὴν μισθόν. The MSS all have

μόνα ποταμὸν, [τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Μύρκινος⁶⁰] μαθὼν ὁ Με- eyes of Da-
γάβαζος τὸ ποιούμενον ἐκ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, ὡς ἦλθε τάχιστα ἐς rarius to the
τὰς Σάρδεις ἄγων τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε Δαρεῖω τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, rashness
κοῖον τι χρῆμα ἐποίησας ἀνδρὶ Ἑλληνι δεινῷ τε καὶ σοφῷ δούς of having
ἐγκτήσασθαι πόλιν ἐν Θρηίκῃ; ἵνα ἴδῃ τε ναυπηγήσιμός ἐστι given Myr-
ἄφθονος καὶ πολλοὶ κωπέες⁶¹, καὶ μέταλλα ἀργύρεα ὁμιλὸς τε cinus to
πολλὸς μὲν Ἑλλήν περιοικέει πολλὸς δὲ βάρβαρος, οἱ προ- Histiaeus.
στώτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ποιήσουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἂν κείνος ἐξηγήται καὶ
ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός· σύ νυν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα παῦσον ταῦτα ποι-
εῦντα, ἵνα μὴ οἰκνῇ πολέμῳ συνέχῃαι⁶². τρόπῳ δὲ ἡπίῳ μεταπεμ-
ψάμενος παῦσον· ἐπεὰν δὲ αὐτὸν περιλάβῃς, ποίειν ὅκως μηκέτι
κείνος ἐς Ἑλλήνας ἀπίξεται.” Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μεγάβαζος εὐπετέως 24
ἔπειθε Δαρεῖον, ὡς εὖ προορέων τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ, ἄγγελον Darius con-
πέμφας ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἔλεγε τάδε· “Ἰστιαῖε, βασιλεὺς ceals his
Δαρεῖος τάδε λέγει· ἐγὼ φροντίζων εὐρίσκω ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι apprehen-
πρήγμασι οὐδένα εἶναι σὺ ἄνδρα εὐνοέστερον· τοῦτο δὲ οὐ λόγοισι, sions, and
ἀλλ’ ἔργοισι οἶδα μαθὼν. νῦν ὦν, ἐπινοέω γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλα summoning
κατεργάσασθαι, ἀπικνέο μοι πάντως, ἵνα τοι αὐτὰ ὑπερθέωμαι.” Histiaeus to
τούτοις τοῖσι ἔπεσι πιστεύσας ὁ Ἰστιαῖος, καὶ ἅμα μέγα ποιεύ- him,
μενος βασιλέος σύμβουλος γενέσθαι, ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις·
ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἔλεγε Δαρεῖος τάδε· “Ἰστιαῖε, ἐγὼ σε μετ-
επεψάμην τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα ἐνόστησα ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν

μισθὸν δωρεήν, which Gaisford retains. Schaefer considers *μισθὸν* to be a gloss of *δωρεήν*. The reading of Gaisford and the MSS is perhaps defensible on the supposition that *μισθὸν* is used as an adjective, and that *μισθὸν δωρεήν* are equivalent to *ἀντάλλαγμα*. But by a simple transposition a plain sense is produced.

⁶⁰ [τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Μύρκινος]. These words appear to be a marginal note which has crept into the text. Herodotus had just before (§ 11) described the place by calling it Μύρκινον τὴν Ἡδωνίδα. The MSS here vary between Μύρκινος, Μύρκιος, and Μύρκινος, although unanimous in § 11.

⁶¹ πολλοὶ κωπέες. HESYCHIUS: κωπέϊς· τὰ εἰς κόπας εὐθετα ζύλα.

⁶² ἵνα μὴ οἰκνῇ πολέμῳ συνέχῃαι. The apprehensions of Megabazus seem extraordinary if the resources of Histiaeus

are to be considered as confined to Miletus, but well founded if the conjecture put forward in the note 354 on iv. 138 be adopted, and if he is to be considered as a kind of satrap over all the Ionian cities which still remained unimpaired in their resources, with the solitary exception of Chios. Miletus is presently called τῆς Ἰωνίης πρόσχημα,—a phrase which suggests something of the nature of a ἡγεμονία (§ 28). See too notes on § 33 and vi. 7. Naxos too, or at least the aristocracy (οἱ παχέες) within it, was in a state of alliance with Histiaeus (below, § 30); and Naxos could bring 8000 hoplites into the field (§ 31). A man so powerful in resources and in intellect seems just to have missed the establishing a dominion which would perhaps have forestalled Alexander.

καὶ σύ μοι ἐγένεο ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐδέν κω ἄλλο χρήμα οὕτω ἐν βραχείῃ ἐπεξήγησα ὥς σέ ἰδέειν τε καὶ ἐς λόγους μοι ἀπικέσθαι· ἐγνωκὼς ὅτι κτημάτων πάντων ἐστὶ τιμιώτατον ἀνὴρ φίλος συνετός τε καὶ εὖνοος· τά τοι ἐγὼ καὶ ἀμφότερα συνειδὼς ἔχω μαρτυρέειν ἐς πρήγματα τὰ ἐμά. νῦν ὦν, εἰ γὰρ ἐποίησας ἀπικόμενος, τάδε τοι ἐγὼ προτείνομαι· Μίλητον μὲν ἔα καὶ τὴν νεόκτιστον ἐν Θρηίκῃ πόλιν· σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ ἐπόμενος ἐς Σούσα, ἔχε

carries
him with
him to
Susa,

25 after leaving
Otanēs,
son of
Sisamnes,
in the Hel-
lespont, and
Artapher-
nes, his own
brother,
satrap of
Sardis.

Story of
Sisamnes,
father of
Otanēs.

τάπερ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ἐμός τε σύσσιτος ἐὼν καὶ συμβουλος." Ταῦτα Δαρεῖος εἶπας, καὶ καταστήσας Ἄρταφέρνηα⁶³ ἀδελφεὸν ἐωντοῦ ὁμοπάτριον ὑπαρχον εἶναι Σαρδίῳ, ἀπήλανε ἐς Σούσα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος Ἰστιαίων Ὀτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθαλασσίῳ ἀνδρῶν⁶⁴. τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Σισάμνην βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης γενόμενον τῶν βασιλῆων δικαστέων, ὅτι ἐπὶ χρήμασι δίκην ἄδικον ἐδίκασε, σφάζας ἀπέδειρε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπηήν· σπαδίξας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ δέρμα, ἰμάντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔταμε καὶ ἐνέτεινε τὸν θρόνον ἐς τὸν ἵζων ἐδίκασε· ἐντανύσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέδεξε δικαστὴν εἶναι ἀντὶ τοῦ Σισάμνεω, τὸν ἀποκτείνας ἀπέδειρε, τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Σισάμνεω, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ μεμνήσθαι ἐν τῷ κατίζων

26 θρόνῳ δικάζει. Οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ὀτάνης ὁ ἐγκατιζόμενος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον, τότε διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάξω τῆς στρατηγίης⁶⁵,

Otanēs takes
Byzantium,

⁶³ Ἄρταφέρνηα. Some MSS have the form Ἄρταφέρνηα both here and in vi. 94, and also in vii. 74. The latter form had a recommendation with the Greeks, as it allowed them better scope for an etymology. ÆSCHYLUS avails himself of this in the *Persæ* (769), where he says of the son of Darius's brother, *φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ῥακοστρόφουν*. It is quite clear that all the Persian names whose Greek equivalents end either in *φερνης* or *φρενης* themselves terminated in *frana*; which doubtless was significant in Persian, as it appears in the beginnings as well as the ends of names, e. g. *Pharnuchus*, *Pharnaspes*, and *Pharnabazus*, as well as *Tis-saphernes*, *Intaphernes*, *Artaphernes*, *Megaphernes*, &c.

⁶⁴ Ὀτάνεα δὲ ἀποδέξας στρατηγὸν εἶναι τῶν παραθαλασσίῳ ἀνδρῶν. This Otanēs is not to be confused with the father-in-law of Darius, whose father's name was *Pharnaspes* according to Herodotus (iii. 68), and *Socres* (Thukra) according to the Behistun Inscription.

⁶⁵ διάδοχος γενόμενος Μεγαβάξω τῆς στρατηγίης. From this time the old system of leaving a very large jurisdiction in the hands of one person, which seems to have prevailed in the time of Cyrus (see notes 331 and 350 on iii. 120 and 127), no longer appears to be the policy of the Persian court. Darius has apparently carried out his plan to a considerable extent. His own brother is placed in Sardis as viceroy, but another great officer, with an independent command and a large army, has his head-quarters in the Hellespont. The satrapy too of which Dascyleum was the centre has been again filled up by Cebares, son of Megabazus (vi. 33). We hear nothing more of Otanēs, the son of *Pharnaspes*, subsequently to the restoration of Syloson to Samos (iii. 149), except the solitary fact that at some subsequent time (*ὕστερῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ*) he recolonized Samos, a proceeding involving the possession of considerable power. But Herodotus leaves no hint as to what became of him, having apparently now got

Βυζαντίους τε εἶλε καὶ Καλχηδονίους· εἶλε δὲ Ἀντανδρον τὴν *Chalcedon, Antandros*
 ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι γῇ· εἶλε δὲ Λαμπώνιον λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ Λεσβίων *in Troas, Lampo-*
 νέας εἶλε Λήμνιον τε καὶ Ἴμβρον, ἀμφοτέρως ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασ- *niium, and,*
 γῶν οἰκομένας⁶⁶. Οἱ μὲν δὲ Λήμνιοι καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο εὐ καὶ 27
 ἀμυνόμενοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκακώθησαν τοῖσι δὲ περιεούσι αὐτῶν οἱ *by the help*
 Πέρσαι ὑπαρχον ἐπιστάσι Λυκάρητου, τὸν Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασι- *of the Les-*
 λεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεόν⁶⁷. (οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν *bians, Lem-*
 Λήμνῳ τελευτᾷ⁶⁸.) Αἰτία δὲ τούτου ἦδε· πάντας ἠνδραποδίζετο *nos and*
 καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης ἐπὶ Σκύθας αἰτιώμενος, *Imbros.*
 τοὺς δὲ σίνεσθαι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ὀπίσω ἀπο-
 κομιζόμενον· οὗτος μὲν νυν τοσαῦτα ἐξεργάσατο στρατηγήσας.

Μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν⁶⁹, καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ 28
 δεῦτερον ἐκ Νάξου τε καὶ Μιλήτου Ἴωσι γίνεσθαι κακί. τούτο *Flourishing*
 μὲν γὰρ ἡ Νάξος εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν νήσων προέφερε⁷⁰, τοῦτο δὲ *state of*
 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἡ Μίλητος αὐτῇ τε ἐωυτῆς μάλιστα δὴ *Naxos and*
 τότε ἀκμάσασα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα⁷¹. κατύπερθε *Miletus*
 δὲ τούτων, ἐπὶ δύο γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν νοσήσασα ἐς τὰ μάλιστα στάσι, *at this*
time.

into a cycle of traditions derived entirely from the intercourse between the Ionians and Hellenes and the Persian officials with whom they came into contact. Possibly he is the Otanes whose daughter Amestris married Xerxes (vii. 61); and if so, her malice against a son of Darius and his wife (ix. 103. 111) may have been partly hereditary. And considering his great personal power and high connexions, there can be little doubt that the Otanes here spoken of, and the Otanes of v. 116, and of vii. 40, were at least near relatives of his, whether or not identical with one another.

⁶⁶ ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκομένας. See note 179 on i. 56. It seems not impossible that this remark is added as a sort of salvo for the Lesbians having assisted the Persians in their subjection of Greek islands. In the time of Herodotus to have assisted the barbarian against any portion of the Hellenic race was a foul stain. But it is very doubtful whether this feeling exercised any wide sway before the time assigned to Darius's Scythian expedition.

⁶⁷ οἱ μὲν δὲ Λήμνιοι . . . τελευτᾷ. Schweighäuser considers that the whole of this passage is an addition by the author to his work subsequently to its completion. But there seems no reason to believe this

of more than the last sentence, οὗτος ὁ Λυκάρητος ἄρχων ἐν Λήμνῳ τελευτᾷ. No doubt the word τούτου in the next sentence cannot refer to the death of Lycaretus; and the subject of ἠνδραποδίζετο must be Otanes. But the expression τούτου seems to be a more appropriate mode of reference to the act of appointing Lycaretus satrap of Lemnus than to the series of operations just enumerated. That appointment was only one instance of a policy universally carried out, and consequently mention of it naturally led to the statement of what that policy was.

⁶⁸ Μαιανδρίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Σάμου ἀδελφεόν. See note 392 on iii. 142.

⁶⁹ ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν. This is the reading of Gaisford, who adopts the conjecture of Reiske, ἀνεσις, for ἀνεος or ἀνεως, which the MSS give. It is to me very unsatisfactory; but I can suggest nothing better.

⁷⁰ εὐδαιμονίῃ τῶν νήσων προέφερε. See note on § 31.

⁷¹ Ἰωνίης πρόσχημα, "the head and front of Ionia." For the power of Miletus, as a single state, see note 64 on i. 17. For its probable influence at this time as the head of a number of kindred states, note 354 on iv. 138.

Former dis-

29
sensions of
Miletus for
two genera-
tions how
finally com-
posed by
the Pa-
rians.

μέχρι οὗ μιν Πάριοι κατήρτισαν⁷². τούτους γὰρ καταρτιστήρας ἐκ πάντων Ἑλλήμων εἶλοντο οἱ Μιλήσιοι. Κατήλλαξαν δέ σφεας ὧδε οἱ Πάριοι⁷³. ὥς ἀπίκοντο αὐτῶν ἄνδρες οἱ ἄριστοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ὥρεον γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεινῶς οἰκοφθορημένους, ἔφασαν αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι διεξελθεῖν τὴν χώραν· ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ διεξιόντες πᾶσαν τὴν Μιλησίην, ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοιεν ἐν ἀνεστηκυῇ τῇ χώρῃ ἀγρὸν εὖ ἐξεργασμένον, ἀπεγραφέατο τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ δεσπότης τοῦ ἀγροῦ· διεξελάσαντες δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καὶ σπανίους εὐρόντες τούτους, ὥς τάχιστα κατέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, αἰλὴν ποιησάμενοι, ἀπέδεξαν τούτους μὲν τὴν πόλιν νέμειν τῶν εὐρον τοὺς ἀγροὺς εὖ ἐξεργασμένους· δοκέειν γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὕτω δὴ σφεας ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὥσπερ τῶν σφετέρων· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Μιλησίους τοὺς πρὶν στασιάζοντας τούτων ἔταξαν πείθεσθαι. Πάριοι μὲν νυν οὕτω Μιλησίους κατήρτισαν. Τότε δὲ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολλῶν ὧδε ἦρχετο κακὰ γίνεσθαι τῇ Ἰωνίῃ. ἐκ Νάξου ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου⁷⁴. φυγόντες

30
Exiles from
Naxos ar-
rive at Mile-
tus, where

⁷² κατήρτισαν. The meaning of this word has been somewhat mistaken by the commentators. The καταρτιστήρ is not a person 'who brings together what is forcibly separated,' but one 'who arranges in order that which is in confusion.' The great cause of trouble in the ancient states was the question of the assignment of the offices; and the quality of mind which constituted a good καταρτιστήρ would, in Hellenic apprehension, be what Aristotle calls 'distributive justice,' ἡ διανεμητικὴ δικαιοσύνη. Thus the service of Demonax at Cyrene was shown in his judicious arrangement of the citizens in their tribes (iv. 161), for upon this arrangement their share of public offices would mainly depend. The misapprehension of the fundamental idea of καταρτίζειν has led to a bad translation of *Matth. Evang.* iv. 21. The apostles were assisting their father in 'stowing,' not in 'mending' their nets.

⁷³ κατήλλαξαν δέ σφεας ὧδε οἱ Πάριοι. It is curious, and illustrative of the nature of the materials used by Herodotus, that from this account not the least information can be gained of the nature of the Milesian troubles,—or even of the time when they occurred,—although the political importance of Miletus then was probably at least equal to that of Athens at the time of the expedition to Sicily. Yet nothing is given of events spreading over

two generations, except the story of a piece of shrewd observation on the part of the Parians. It is as if in a modern narrative the whole series of events which terminated in the expulsion of the Stuart dynasty from England should remain unnoticed, except for the purpose of introducing the *mot* of Rochester, that 'Charles II. never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one.' See note 494 on ii. 160.

⁷⁴ ἔφυγον ἄνδρες τῶν παχέων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. This revolution must not be confounded in any way with that one which terminated in making Lygdamis tyrant of Naxos. (See note 214 on i. 64.) Under no circumstances could Lygdamis have become dynast at Naxos later than B.C. 527: for in that year Pisistratus died, eighteen years before the expulsion of his sons from Athens. (See CLINTON on that year.) And it is an assumption that Herodotus, in the passage in which he represents him as owing his success to Pisistratus (i. 64), means to place the alleged conquest of Naxos in the third period of Pisistratus's dynasty at Athens. Lygdamis may have become tyrant of Naxos forty or fifty years before the event mentioned in the text; and it is more in accordance with the account of Aristotle, and not less so with that of Herodotus (see note 214 on i. 64), to suppose that he was so at

δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μίλητον. τῆς δὲ Μιλήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος Aristagoras,
son-in-law
of His-
tiaeus, is
left vico-
roy.
ἔων Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεω, γαμβρός τε ἔων καὶ ἀνεψιὸς
Ἰστιαίου τοῦ Λυσαγόρεω, τὸν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐν Σούσοισι κατείχε· ὁ
γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου⁷⁵, καὶ ἐτύγχανε τοῦτον τὸν
χρόνον ἔων ἐν Σούσοισι ὅτε οἱ Νάξιοι ἦλθον, ξεῖνοι πρὶν ἔοντες
τῷ Ἰστιαίῳ ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ Νάξιοι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, ἐδέοντο
τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω, εἰ κως αὐτοῖσι παράσχοι δύναμιν τινα, καὶ
κατέλθοιεν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν· ὁ δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὡς ἦν δι' ἑωυτοῦ
κατέλθωσι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄρξει τῆς Νάξου, σκῆψιν δὲ ποιούμενος
τὴν ξεινὴν τὴν Ἰστιαίου, τόνδε σφι λόγον προσέφερε· “ αὐτὸς
μὲν ὑμῖν οὐ φερέγγυός εἰμι δύναμιν τοσαύτην παρασχεῖν, ὥστε
κατάγειν ἀκόντων τῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐχόντων Ναξίων· πυνθάνομαι He proposes
to enlist
Artaphernes
in their
cause,
γὰρ ὀκτακισχιλὴν ἀσπίδα Ναξίοισι εἶναι, καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ
πολλά· μηχανήσομαι δὲ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος· ἐπινόεω
δὲ τῆδε· Ἀρταφέρνης μοι τυγχάνει ἔων φίλος· ὁ δὲ Ὑστάσπεω
μὲν ἐστι πάϊς Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφεός, τῶν δ' ἐπιθλασ-
σίῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ⁷⁶ ἄρχει πάντων, ἔχων στρατιὴν τε πολλὴν
καὶ πολλὰς νέας· τοῦτον ὦν δοκέω τὸν ἄνδρα ποιήσειν τῶν ἂν
χρηζόμεν.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Νάξιοι προσέθεσαν τῷ Ἀρι- and they
agree to
find funds.
σταγόρῃ πρήσσειν ἢ δύναιτο ἄριστα· καὶ ὑπίσχεσθαι δῶρα ἐκέ-
λευον καὶ δαπάνην τῇ στρατιῇ, ὡς αὐτοὶ διαλύσοντες· ἐλπίδας
πολλὰς ἔχοντες, ὅταν ἐπιφανέωσι ἐς τὴν Νάξον πάντα ποιήσειν
τοὺς Ναξίους τὰ ἂν αὐτοὶ κελεύωσι, ὥς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώ-

least thirty. In this case, following the analogy of the known progress of events in other Hellenic states, we should conceive of the revolution of Lygdamis as one overthrowing an hereditary oligarchy; but of the one which led to the expulsion of the *πάχεις*, as similar to those of Corcyra and other places in later times, where the contending parties were a timocratic aristocracy, and a poor, but yet free commonalty. The tyranny of Lygdamis must have fallen before the commencement of the second revolution.

⁷⁵ *τύραννος ἦν Μιλήτου*. It seems very strange that Herodotus, after the account he has given in the last book of the prominent part played by Histiaeus, should now drily mention this. There would be no inappropriateness, however, if the ac-

count of Darius's expedition to Thrace were an addition to an earlier draft of the work.

⁷⁶ *τῶν δ' ἐπιθλασσίῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ*. The province of Otanes (whose headquarters appear to have been at Sestos) was the *παραθαλάσσιοι ἄνδρες* (§ 25). Assuming the two narratives to belong to the same cycle of accounts (which is not quite certain; see the last note), the principle upon which to reconcile them seems not to be to suppose that Artaphernes had the command in Asia, and Otanes in Europe,—for the operations of the latter were in Asia also, § 26,—but to regard Otanes as employed on the shores of the Hellespont, and specially in securing the means of uninterrupted transit between the continents.

τας· τῶν γὰρ νήσων τουτέων τῶν Κυκλάδων οὐδεμία κω ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ.

31

Aristagoras goes to Sardis, and persuades Artaphernes to undertake the expedition.

Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφέρνηα, ὡς Νάξος εἴη νήσος μεγάλη· μὲν οὐ μεγάλη, ἄλλως δὲ καλή τε καὶ ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀγχοῦ Ἰωνίης, χρήματα δὲ ἔνι πολλὰ, καὶ ἀνδράποδα. “σὺ ὦν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν στρατηλάτεις κατὰ γων ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς φυγίδας ἐξ αὐτῆς· καὶ τοὶ ταῦτα ποιήσαντι τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ἐτοῖμᾶ παρ’ ἐμοὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πάρεξ τῶν ἀναισιμωμάτων τῇ στρατιῇ· (ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δίκαια ἡμέας τοὺς ἄγοντας παρέχειν) τοῦτο δὲ νήσους προσκλήσειαι βασιλεῖ αὐτήν τε Νάξον καὶ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτημένας, Πάρον τε καὶ Ἄνδρον καὶ ἄλλας, τὰς Κυκλάδας καλευμένας⁷⁷. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμεώμενος, εὐπετέως ἐπιθήσειαι Εὐβοίῃ, νήσῳ μεγάλῃ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονι, οὐκ ἐλάσσονι Κύπρου καὶ κάρτα εὐπετεῖ αἰρεθῆναι. ἀποχρῶσι δὲ ἑκατὸν νέες ταύτας πάσας χειρώσασθαι.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο αὐτὸν τοῖσδε· “σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέος ἐξηγητῆς⁷⁸ γίνεαι πρηγμάτων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ταῦτα εὖ παραινέεις πάντα πλὴν τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· ἀντὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν νεῶν, διηκόσιαί τοι ἐτοῖμοι ἔσονται ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. δεῖ δὲ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι⁷⁹.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρισταγόρης ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε περιχαρὴς ἐὼν, ἀπήϊε ἐς Μίλητον· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφέρνης, ὡς οἱ πέμψαντι ἐς

32

On Darius giving his

⁷⁷ τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἡρτημένας . . . τὰς Κυκλάδας καλευμένας. The possession of all these dependencies, with the naval force implied by them, and a land army of 8000 hoplites, shows an amount of power very unfavourable to the notion that Pisistratus had conquered Naxos, and committed it to Lygdamis as a sort of province. (See note 214 on i. 64.) After its subjection to Persia, and the annihilation of its resources, described by Herodotus (vi. 96), the case was very different, and such a statement would not be obviously absurd. The contingent of ships furnished by Naxos at the time of the battle of Salamis is only *four* (viii. 46). And in the year B.C. 466 it was taken, and the inhabitants reduced to slavery by the Athenians (Thucyd. i. 98), apparently without any resistance worthy of mention.

⁷⁸ ἐξηγητής. This word is peculiarly

appropriate. (See note 138 on ii. 49.) Aristagoras had not merely spoken to Artaphernes in general terms of a favourable opportunity for advancing the king's interests, but he had gone through his plan step by step, showing him what power for advancing further each would give him as it was taken.

⁷⁹ δεῖ δὲ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι. The caution of Artaphernes in not taking this step without previously intimating it to Darius is striking when compared with the conduct of Aryandes, who sent the whole Egyptian army to the assistance of Pheretima (iv. 167), or that of Otanes, the son of Pharnaspes, who exterminated the whole population of Samos in direct contradiction to Darius's orders (iii. 147. 149). It adds an illustration to the points mentioned in note 38 on § 14 and 65 on § 26. See also note on § 123, ἐτάχθησαν.

Σούσα καὶ ὑπερθέντι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρεω λεγόμενα συνέπαινος consent, Ar-
καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἐγένετο, παρεσκευάσατο μὲν διηκοσίας τριήρεις, taphernes
πολλὸν δὲ κάρτα ὅμιλον Περσέων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων despatches
στρατηγὸν δὲ τουτέων ἀπέδεξε Μεγαβάτην ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν τῶν Megabates
'Αχαιμενιδέων, ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου ἀνεψιόν· τοῦ Πανσανίης ὁ with 200
Κλεομβρότεω Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰ δὴ ἀληθὴς γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος⁸⁰, ships.
ὕστερῳ χρόνῳ τούτων ἡρμόσατο θυγατέρα, ἔρωτα σχὼν τῆς Ἑλ- This Mega-
λάδος τύραννος γενέσθαι. ἀποδέξας δὲ Μεγαβάτην στρατηγὸν bates is
'Αρταφέρνης, ἀπέστειλε τὸν στρατὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀρισταγόρεα. said to be
father-in-
law of Pau-
sanias the
Lacedæ-
monian.

Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάτης ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τὸν τε Ἀριστα- 33
γόρεα καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιὴν⁸¹ καὶ τοὺς Ναξίους, ἔπλεε πρόφασιν The fleet
ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Χίῳ, ἔσχε τὰς νέας ἐς sails as for
the Hel-
lespont,
and makes
Chios,
Καύκασα, ὡς ἐνθεῦτεν βορρῇ ἀνέμῳ ἐς τὴν Νάξον διαβάλοι· καὶ where a
quarrel
between
Aristagoras
and Mega-
bates in-
duces the
latter to
give secret
information
to the Nax-
ians,
οὐ γὰρ ἔδεε τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ Ναξίους ἀπολέσθαι, πρῆγμα τοιούδε
συνηνέιχθη γενέσθαι· περιϋόντος Μεγαβάτεω τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν
φυλακὰς, ἐπὶ νεὸς Μυνδίας ἔτυχε οὐδεὶς φυλάσσω· ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τι
ποιησάμενος, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐξευρόντας τὸν ἄρχοντα
ταύτης τῆς νεὸς, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκύλαξ, τοῦτον δῆσαι διὰ θαλαμῆς
διελόντας τῆς νεὸς, κατὰ τοῦτο, ἔξω μὲν κεφαλὴν ποιεῦντας ἔσω δὲ
τὸ σῶμα⁸². δεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Σκύλακος, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ἀρι-
σταγόρῃ ὅτι τὸν ξεῖνόν οἱ τὸν Μύνδιον Μεγαβάτης δῆσας λυμαί-
νοιτο· ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν παραιτέτο τὸν Πέρσῃν, τυγχάνων δὲ οὐδενὸς
τῶν ἐδέετο αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἔλυσε· πυθόμενος δὲ κάρτα δεινὸν ἐποιή-
σατο ὁ Μεγαβάτης, καὶ ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ· ὁ δὲ εἶπε·

⁸⁰ εἰ δὴ ἀληθὴς γε ἐστὶ ὁ λόγος. THUCYDIDES (i. 128) speaks of the distinct proposition made by Pausanias, in a letter to Xerxes, to subject Sparta and the whole of Hellas to him on condition of receiving his daughter in marriage; but, according to his account, the plot was detected before any of the conditions were fulfilled. Pausanias, at the time of making the offer, had his head-quarters in Byzantium as the commander-in-chief of the operations against Persia.

⁸¹ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιήν. This is probably the contingent from the several Asiatic cities, making up altogether the 200 ships required, and assembled at Miletus in virtue of the ἡγεμονία of that city. See note 62, above. They were

not all *Ionian*. See § 37, below, and notes 269 and 354 on iv. 98. 137. One MS (F) reads τὸν τε Ἀρισταγόρεα ἐκ Μιλήτου καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα στρατιήν.

⁸² κατὰ τοῦτο, . . . τὸ σῶμα. These words appear to be an explanation of the expression διὰ θαλαμῆς δῆσαι διελόντας, and although it is true that they express *something* more than is included in it, yet I cannot help thinking they are a *subsequent* explanation. It is not likely that the punishment inflicted by the Persian officer was an extemporaneous one, and therefore its nature would be well understood. The novelty consisted in its being inflicted on a person in the position of Scylax.

“σοὶ δὲ καὶ τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι τί ἐστι ; οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἀρταφέρνης ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἂν ἐγὼ κελεύω ; τί πολλὰ πρήσσεις ;” ταῦτα εἶπε Ἀρισταγόρης· ὁ δὲ θυμωθεὶς τούτοις, ὡς νῦν ἐγένετο, ἔπεμπε εἰς Νάξον πλοῖον ἄνδρας φράσσοντας

34 τοῖσι Ναξίοις πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφί πρήγματα· Οἱ γὰρ ὦν Νάξιοι οὐδὲν πάντως προσεδέκοντο ἐπὶ σφέας τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ὀρμήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ μὲν τοι ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα μὲν ἐσπεύκοντο τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος παρεσκευάσαντο δὲ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι· καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ τὸ τεῖχος⁸³ ἐσάξαντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν παρεσκευάδατο ὡς παρεσόμενον σφί πολέμου, οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τε διέβαλον ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὰς ρέας εἰς τὴν Νάξον, πρὸς πεφραγμένους προσεφύροντο· καὶ ἐπολιόρκεον μῆνας τέσσερας· ὡς δὲ τὰ τε ἔχοντες ἦλθον χρήματα οἱ Πέρσαι ταῦτα καταδεδαπάνητό σφί καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ προσαναίσιμωτο πολλὰ, τοῦ πλείνός τε ἔδεδετο ἢ πολιορκίῃ, ἐνθαῦτα τεῖχεα τοῖσι φυγάσι τῶν Ναξίων οἰκοδομήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον, κακῶς πρήσσοντες.

35 Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν ὑπόσχασιν τῷ Ἀρταφέρνηϊ ἐκπληρῶσαι· ἅμα δὲ ἐπέζε' μιν ἡ δαπάνη τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπαιτούμενη, ἄρρωδέε τε τοῦ στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτη διαβεβλημένος· ἐδόκεε τε τὴν βασιλιήν τῆς Μιλήτου ἀπαρῆσεσθαι· ἄρρωδέων δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα ἐβουλεύετο ἀπόστασιν· συνέπιπτε γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν⁸⁴ ἀπῆχθαι ἐκ Σουσέων παρὰ Ἰστιαίου, σημαίνοντα ἀπίστασθαι Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἀπὸ βασιλέος· ὁ γὰρ Ἰστιαῖος, βουλόμενος τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ σημῆναι ἀποστήναι, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἀσφαλῶς σημῆναι, ὥστε φυλασσομενέων τῶν ὁδῶν ὁ δὲ τῶν δούλων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποξυρήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐστιξε, καὶ ἀνέμεινε ἀναφύναι τὰς τρίχας· ὡς δὲ ἀνέφυσαν τάχιστα, ἀπέπεμπε εἰς Μίλητον ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆκται εἰς Μίλητον,

⁸³ τὸ τεῖχος. The MSS are divided between καὶ τὸ τεῖχος and καὶ τεῖχος. Gaisford reads τὸ τεῖχος. Schaefer considers the words an interpolation. But it is as difficult to conceive how they should come there as a corruption of the text, as to explain the use of them.

⁸⁴ τὸν ἐστιγμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν, “the man with the tatowed head.” The article appears to be used from the general notoriety of the story ; although Herodotus still goes on to give an account of the particulars. See notes 206, 222, and 232 on Book ii.

κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ξυρῆσαντά μιν τὰς τρίχας κατέδελναι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν· τὰ δὲ στίγματα ἐσήμαινε, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἶρηται, ἀπόστασιν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐποίεε, συμφορὴν ποιεύμενος μεγάλην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατοχὴν τὴν ἐν Σούσοισι ἀποστάσιος ὧν γινομένης, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας μετήσεσθαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν μὴ δὲ νεώτερόν τι ποιεύσης τῆς Μιλήτου οὐδαμὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἔξαι ἐπι ἐλπίζετο. Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν ταῦτα διανοούμενος, ἀπέπεμπε τοῖς ἄγγελοις Ἀρισταγόρην δὲ σιφάτιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. ἐβουλεύετο ὧν μετὰ τῶν στασιωτῶν, ἐκφήνας τὴν τε ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου ἀπιγμένα· οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες γνώμην κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐξεφίμωτον, καλῶντες ἀπὸντασθαι. Ἑκαταῖος δὲ ὁ λογοποιός⁸⁵ πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἔα πείθεσθαι βουλῇ τῶν Περγείων ἀναιρέεσθαι, καταλέγων τά τε ἔθνη πάντα τῶν ἥρχε Δαρείος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, δεύτερα συνεβούλευε ποιεῖν ὅπως ναυκράτες τῆς θαλάσσης⁸⁶ ἴσονται· ἄλλως μὲν νυν οὐδαμῶς ἔφη λέγων⁸⁷ ἐνορᾶν ἐσόμενον τοῦτο· ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν Μιλησίων εἶδεν ἀσθενεία⁸⁸. εἰ δὲ τὰ χρήματα κατααιρεθείη τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Βραγχίδῳσι τὰ Κροῖσος ὁ

36

He has
this docHe has
advice
not fol-
lowed.

⁸⁵ Ἑκαταῖος ὁ λογοποιός. Herodotus mentions this person again with the same title in ii. 143, and below, § 125. It is to be observed that he gives the same title to Aesop (ii. 134). See the note δ on i. 1 for the wide signification of the word λόγιος at this time, at which it is highly unlikely that Aesop's productions existed in a written form. ΔΙΚΛΙΑΝ (*Expeid. Alex.* v. 6) couples Herodotus himself together with Hecataeus as οἱ λογοποιοί.

⁸⁶ ναυκράτες τῆς θαλάσσης, "in command of the sea." In vi. 9 he uses the expression ναυκράτορες in the same signification. THUCYDIDES (viii. 83) adopts the more expressive compound θαλασσοκράτορες.

⁸⁷ ἔφη λέγων. See note 414 on i. 118.

⁸⁸ ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν Μιλησίων εἶδεν ἀσθενεία. It is at first sight difficult to reconcile this assertion with what has just before been said, that Miletus was at this time at the acme of its prosperity (§ 28). But there is no real contradiction. There was no accumulation

of ready money,—which was the thing wanted for the purpose of taking up a large number of seamen. The same necessity was felt by Pericles at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war; and he contemplated a similar proceeding to that of Hecataeus with the gold in the temple of Athenē. (THUCYD. ii. 13.) It should be remembered that public credit, on the strength of which large sums may be readily procured at any time, is a creation of modern days. The ancient states had no means whatever of acquiring a large fund of ready money except by hoarding, and no means of doing this safely except by dedication in some temple. The procedure of Croesus (i. 50) and that of Pericles (v. 92) are illustrative of the difficulty of suddenly procuring any considerable amount of specie. Compare, too, the negotiation between Polycrates and Orotes (iii. 122, 3), where the possession of only eight chests of gold was considered as enough to turn the scale of probable success in the event of revolt against Persia.

Λυδὸς ἀνέθηκε, πολλὰς εἶχε ἐλπίδας ἐπικρατήσῃ τῆς θαλάσσης· καὶ οὕτω αὐτοὺς τε ἔξιν χρήμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ συλήσειν αὐτά. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἦν ταῦτα μεγάλα, ὡς δεδήλωται μοι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων⁸⁹. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη· ἐδόκεε δὲ ὅμως ἀπίστασθαι, ἓνα τε αὐτῶν πλώσαντα ἐς Μυοῦντα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Νάξου ἀπελθόν, ἐὼν ἐνθαῦτα, συλλαμβάνειν πειράσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐπιπλέοντας στρατηγούς.

37

The rebellion breaks out.

Aristagoras establishes popular governments throughout Ionia,

Ἀποπεμφθέντος δὲ Ἰητραγόρεω κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καὶ συλλαβόντος δόλῳ Ὀλιάτον Ἰβανώλιος Μυλασέα⁹⁰, καὶ Ἰστιαῖον Τύμνῳ Τερμερέα⁹¹, καὶ Κῶν Ἐρξάνδρῳ⁹², τῷ Δαρείῳ Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδῳ⁹³ Κυμαίων, καὶ ἄλλους συχνοὺς, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπεστήκεε, πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν λόγῳ μετεῖς τὴν τυραννίδα ἰσονομίην ἐποίεε τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ὡς ἂν ἐκόντες αὐτῷ οἱ Μιλήσιοι συναπισταίαιτο· μετὰ δὲ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ τῷτο τοῦτο ἐποίεε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξελαύνων τῶν τυράννων, τοὺς δ' ἔλαβε τυράννους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν συμπλευσασέων ἐπὶ Νάξου, τούτους δὲ φίλα βουλόμενος ποιεέσθαι⁹⁴ τῇσι πόλισι ἐξεδίδου, ἄλ-

38

and sets out for Laco-

λον ἐς ἄλλην πόλιν παραδιδούς ὅθεν εἴη ἕκαστος. Κῶν μὲν νυν Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα παρέλαβον, ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευ-

⁸⁹ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων. The allusion is to i. 92, where see the note 327, from whence it will appear that Hecataeus's apprehensions were not ill-founded. In fact, one may doubt whether the priests at Branchidae were not more attached to the Median than the Hellenic interest. See note 527 on i. 157.

⁹⁰ Μυλασέα. It is rather curious that a Mylasean, likewise son of an Ibanolis, is the leader of a body of Carians who entirely destroyed a Persian force in the course of the war thus begun (§ 121). Yet just after the fall of the Lydian monarchy Harpagus appears to have succeeded in overrunning Caria without any important resistance (i. 174). The Carians are represented (i. 28) as forming a part of the subjects of Croesus. There was a certain affinity between the Lydians and them, evinced by the common use of the ancient temple at Mylasa. (See note 577 on i. 171.)

⁹¹ Τερμερέα. STEPH. BYZANT. *sub v.* makes Τέρμερα a city of Lycia, and

STRABO (xiv. c. 2, p. 202) puts it in Caria, —the promontory *Termerion* being just opposite to a corresponding headland in the island Cos, and with an interval of no more than forty stades. That the boundaries of Caria and Lycia were not very accurately defined seems to follow from the remains of the ancient Lycians (*Termilæ*) found in Carian cities. (See note 585 on i. 173.) It is worth while to remark that *Termera* (if near to the *Termerion* of Strabo) was close to Mynus, the town of Scylax, who had just been so grossly insulted by the Persian commissioner (§ 33). Histiaeus, the son of Tymnes, appears in the list of the Carian naval commanders in the flotilla of Xerxes (vii. 98).

⁹² Κῶν Ἐρξάνδρῳ. See note 29 on § 11, above.

⁹³ Ἀρισταγόρην Ἡρακλείδῳ. See iv. 138.

⁹⁴ φίλα βουλόμενος ποιεέσθαι. See note 466 on ii. 152.

σαν· Κυμαῖοι δὲ τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἀπήκαν· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ ^{demon to} ^{negotiate} ^{an alliance} ^{if possible.}
 πλεῖνες ἀπίεσαν. τυράννων μὲν νυν κατὰπανσις ἐγένετο ἀνὰ τὰς πόλιας.

Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος ὡς τοὺς τυράννους κατέπαυσε στρατηγούς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν πολλῶν κελεύσας ἐκάστους καταστήσαι, δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα⁹⁵ τριήρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο· ἔδεε γὰρ δὴ συμμαχίης τινός οἱ μεγάλης ἐξευρεθῆναι.

Τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης⁹⁶ Ἀναξανδρίδης μὲν ὁ Λέοντος οὐκέτι περιεὼν 39
 ἐβασίλευε, ἀλλὰ ἐτετελευτήκε· Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew ^{History of} ^{Sparta re-} ^{sumed from} ^{the reign of} ^{Anaxan-} ^{drides and} ^{Ariston.}
 εἶχε τὴν βασιληήν, οὐ κατὰ ἀνδραγαθίην σχῶν ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Ἀναξανδρίδῃ γὰρ ἔχοντι γυναῖκα ἀδελφεῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ
 εὐούσης ταύτης οἱ καταθυμίας, παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο· τούτου δὲ
 τοιούτου ἐόντος, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι αὐτὸν, “εἴ τοι
 σύ γε σεωυτοῦ μὴ προορᾷς, ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν τοῦτό ἐστι οὐ περιοπτεύον
 γένος τὸ Εὐρυσθέneos γενέσθαι ἐξίτηλον. σύ νυν τὴν μὲν ἔχεις
 γυναῖκα, ἐπεὶ τε τοι οὐ τίκτει, ἔξεο⁹⁷, ἄλλην δὲ γῆμον· καὶ ποιέων
 ταῦτα, Σπαρτιήτησι ἀδήσεις.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο φὰς τούτων οὐδέτερα
 ποιήσειν· ἐκείνους τε οὐ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν παραινέοντας τὴν
 ἔχει γυναῖκα, εὐούσαν ἀναμάρτητον ἑωυτῷ, ταύτην ἀπέντα ἄλλην
 ἐσαγαγέσθαι οὐδὲ σφι πείσεσθαι. Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ 40
 γέροντες βουλευσάμενοι, προσέφερον Ἀναξανδρίδῃ τάδε· “ἐπεὶ ^{Anaxan-} ^{drides mar-}
 τοῖνυν τοι περιεχόμενόν σε ὀρέομεν τῆς ἔχεις γυναικὸς, σὺ δὲ ^{ries a se-} ^{cond wife}
 ταῦτα ποίεις καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε τούτοισι, ἵνα μὴ τι ἄλλοιον περὶ ^{during the} ^{lifetime of}
 σεῦ οἱ Σπαρτιῆται βουλεύσωνται· γυναικὸς μὲν τῆς ἔχεις οὐ ^{his first,}
 προσδεόμεθά σευ τῆς ἐξέσιος· σὺ δὲ ταύτῃ τε πάντα ὅσα νῦν
 παρέχεις παρέχε, καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐσάγαγε γυναῖκα τεκνο-
 ποιόν.” ταῦτά κη λεγόντων, συνεχώρησε ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης· μετὰ
 δὲ, γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο διζὰς ἰστίας οἶκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμῶς Σπαρ-
 τητικά. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἡ ἐσύστερον ἐπελθοῦσα 41
 γυνὴ τίκτει τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τούτον⁹⁸. καὶ αὕτη τε ἔφεδρον ^{who bears} ^{Cleomenes,}

⁹⁵ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. These words are governed by a word the equivalent of ἀπόστολος ἐγίνετο. See note 72 on i. 21.

⁹⁶ τῆς δὲ Σπάρτης. The thread of the Lacedæmonian history is resumed from i. 68.

⁹⁷ ἔξεο, “discard.” This is the ex-

tremely ingenious emendation of Schaefer from ἐκ σέο, the reading of most of the MSS, from which no sense resulted. The substantive ἐξέσις appears in the next section.

⁹⁸ τὸν δὴ Κλεομένεα τούτον. See note 6 on i. 1.

after which the first bears Doricus, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus.

βασιλέα⁹⁹ Σπαρτιήτησι ἀπέβαινε, καὶ ἡ προτέρη γυνὴ τὸν πρότερον χρόνον ἄτοκος ἐοῦσα τότε κῶς ἐκύησε, συντυχίῃ ταύτῃ χρησαμένη· ἔχουσιν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ οἱ τῆς ἐπελθούσης γυναικὸς οἰκίῳι πυθόμενοι ὥχλεον, φάμενοι αὐτὴν κομπέειν ἄλλως βουλομένην ὑποβαλέσθαι· δεινὰ δὲ ποιούντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ χρόνου συντάμνοντος, ὑπ' ἀπιστίας οἱ ἔφοροι τίκτουςαν τὴν γυναῖκα περιζόμενοι ἐφύλαξαν· ἡ δὲ ὡς ἔτεκε Δωριέα¹⁰⁰ ἰθέως ἴσχει Λεωνίδην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰθέως ἴσχει Κλεόμβροτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι¹⁰¹ Κλεόμβροτόν τε καὶ Λεωνίδην γενέσθαι· ἡ δὲ Κλεομένηα τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθούσα γυνὴ, ἐοῦσα θυγάτηρ Πρινητάδεω¹⁰² τοῦ Δημαρμένου, οὐκέτι ἔτικτε τὸ δεύτερον.

42

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεομένης, ὡς λέγεται, ἦν τε οὐ φρενήρης ἀκρομανής¹⁰³ τε, ὁ δὲ Δωριεὺς ἦν τῶν ἡλίκων πάντων πρῶτος· εὐ τε ἐπίστατο κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς σχίσων τὴν βασιληήν· ὥστε ὄν οὕτω φρονέων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε Ἀναξανδρίδης ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χρεώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κλεομένηα, ὁ Δωριεὺς δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξίων ὑπὸ Κλεομένηος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λαὸν Σπαρτίτας

On the death of Anaxandrides, Cleomenes succeeds as king.

⁹⁹ ἐφεδρον βασιλέα, "a successor to the crown." The metaphor is taken from the practice in the games, illustrated in note 423 on i. 125. It is to be remarked that all the MSS without exception agree in this form, while in § 65 they are equally unanimous for ἐπέδρην.

¹⁰⁰ Δωριέα. A suspicion arises out of the subsequent conduct of Cleomenes that his mother was not of Heraclide, but of Achæan blood. (See note on § 72.) If this was the case, the choice of the name Doricus for the son of the original wife was probably determined by a wish to put his Heraclide descent prominently forward. By his father's side Cleomenes was pure Dorian. (See the pedigree, vii. 204.)

¹⁰¹ οἱ δὲ καὶ διδύμους λέγουσι. For the uncertain character of the Lacedæmonian history down to comparatively recent times see note 217 on i. 65. With regard to this particular point see note on vii. 205.

¹⁰² Πρινητάδεω. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Aldus gives the form Περηντάδεω.

¹⁰³ ἀκρομανής. It has been considered that this word is to be interpreted "half-mad;" and this version has been defended

by the case of some words compounded of ἄκρος, which have pretty much the same force with others compounded with ἡμι and the same root. A list of these is collected by CORAY on Xenocrates, p. 180. But there is a fallacy in supposing that because, for instance, a preparation of salt fish, where the seasoning was confined to the upper side, might either be called ὀψάρια ἀκρόπαστα or ὀψάρια ἡμίπαστα, the force of the elements ἄκρο and ἡμι is the same; the fallacy consisting (as pointed out in note 520 on iv. 203) in mistaking an inferential meaning growing out of the circumstances of the individual case for one essentially resident in the word. The use of ἀκρομανής (raving mad) in this passage is rather to be explained by its having reference to the subsequent condition of Cleomenes, which seemingly, in great measure, occasioned his notoriety throughout Hellas. See the history of his case as given in vi. 75. In his early life he was ὑπομαργότερος, the same expression which is applied to Cambyses (iii. 29) and to Charilaus (iii. 145), but at a particular period αὐτὸν ὑπέλαβε μανίῃ νοῦσος. (vi. 75.)

ἄγε ἐς ἀποικίην· οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς
 ἦντινα γῆν κτίσων ἦ, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων οἷα
 δὲ βαρέως φέρων, ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τὰ πλοῖα· κατηγέοντο δὲ
 οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι. ἀπικόμενος δ' ἐς Κίνυπα¹⁰⁴, οἴκισε χῶρον
 κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ ποταμόν· ἐξελασθεῖς δὲ ἐνθεύτην
 τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε καὶ Λιβύων¹⁰⁵ καὶ Καρχηδονίων,
 ἀπίκητο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀντιχάρης, ἀνὴρ
 Ἑλεώνιος¹⁰⁶, συνεβούλευσε ἐκ τῶν Λαΐου χρησμῶν Ἡρακλήην
 τὴν ἐν Σικελίῃ κτίζειν, φὰς τὴν Ἐρυκος χώραν πᾶσαν εἶναι
 Ἡρακλιδέων, αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέος κτησαμένου. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα
 ἐς Δελφούς οἶχeto χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρέει ἐπ' ἣν
 στέλλεται χώραν; ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ οἱ χρᾶ αἰρήσειν παραλαβὼν δὲ
 ὁ Δωριεὺς τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἦγε, ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν
 Ἰταλίην. Τὸν χρόνον δὲ τοῦτον, ὡς λέγουσι Συβαρίται, σφέας
 τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Τῆλυν τὸν ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα¹⁰⁷ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν

Dorieus
 heads a pri-
 vate enter-
 prise to
Ciamps in
 Libya, from
 whence he
 is expelled,
 and returns
 home.

He next
 proposes
 to found
Heraclea
 in Sicily,
 and sailing
 along the
 coast of
 Italy,

lands at
Crotona,

¹⁰⁴ ἐς Κίνυπα. For the fertility of the region here, which bore the same name as the river, see iv. 198.

¹⁰⁵ Μακέων τε καὶ Λιβύων. In the topographical description given in iv. 175, the Macæ are represented as one of the many tribes to which in the aggregate the name Libyans would be given. Here however the "Libyans" must be regarded as some special portion of the whole. Perhaps the Nasamones may be what the narrator has in his eye. These appear (from iv. 172 and 182) to have had in their hands the caravan traffic between the date-country (Augila) and the coast. The three parties to the attack upon the new colony will no doubt each in some way have considered their interests affected by its establishment. The Macæ would of course suffer, as their land would be seized, and they themselves reduced to the condition of perieccians. The Carthaginians naturally were jealous of commercial rivals; and the most obvious third interest is that of the carriers to the existing settlements.

¹⁰⁶ ἀνὴρ Ἑλεώνιος. This individual appears to have been a native of Eleon, a hamlet in the neighbourhood of Tanagra, so called (according to STRABO, ix. c. 1, p. 254) from its marshy situation. It is not easy to suggest how Dorieus should have been brought into connexion with him as described in the text. It is possible, that as he was a possessor of cer-

tain professed oracles of Laius, he may have been in some way connected with the Lacedæmonian temple mentioned by Herodotus as dedicated to the Ἐρίνυες Λαΐου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω. See the note 384 on iv. 149.

¹⁰⁷ Τῆλυν τὸν ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα. HERACLIDES PONTICUS (*De Justitiâ*) gave a very different account of the circumstances leading to the destruction of Sybaris. According to him, the revolution in which *Telys was dethroned* was followed up in such a spirit of fury, that his partizans were butchered at the very altars. In the course of these horrors the image of Hera averted its eyes, and a fountain of blood burst up from the base, to stop which they covered the floor in the neighbourhood with a pavement of brass. The entire destruction of the Sybarites was a judgment for this offence. (Compare the passage of ARISTOTLE, cited in the next note.) But the origin of their impiety lay further back. They wilfully fixed the time in which the Olympian festival was held for a similar one at Sybaris, and endeavoured to draw away the athletes from the former by the value of the rewards they offered (*ap. Athenæum*, xii. p. 522). PHYLARCHUS made the sacrilegious act of the Sybarites to consist in their destroying thirty ambassadors who had come from Crotona, and casting their bodies to the wild animals (*ap. Athenæum*, l. c.). He

and takes part in the capture of Sybaris. Varying accounts of the Sybarites and Crotoniates.

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Evidence which they respectively produce.

στρατεύεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ Κροτωνιήτας περιδεέας γενομένους, δεθῆναι Δωριέος σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεϊθέντας· συστρατεύεσθαι τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωριέα καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν¹⁰⁸. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Συβαρίται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωριέα τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξεῖνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου, εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων μάντιν Ἥλειον μῦνον, καὶ τοῦτον τρόπῳ τοιῶδε· παρὰ Τήλως τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας, ἐπεὶ τε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρεε χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα. ταῦτα δὲ ὦν οὔτοι λέγουσι. Μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἑκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε· Συβαρίται μὲν, τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν εἶοντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν¹⁰⁹ Κράστιν¹¹⁰, τὸν ἰδρύσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίῃ ἐπωνύμῳ Κραστή¹¹¹. τοῦτο δὲ,

also mentioned the fountain of blood and the wrath of Hera, although this last was shown in a dream seen on the same night by all the officials.

¹⁰⁸ *συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν*, "contributed to the capture of Sybaris." By this the oracle which he received at Delphi was fulfilled. In taking part against Sybaris, Dorieus may perhaps have sought a gratification of his spite against his half brother Cleomenes, who boasted himself to be 'not a Dorian, but an *Achaean*' (§ 72). The *Achaëans* became predominant in the population of Sybaris, and, taking advantage of this circumstance, expelled their fellow-citizens, who were of Troezenian origin. By doing this they brought an *ἄγος* upon themselves, for which the capture of the city was considered a divine punishment. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. p. 1303.)

¹⁰⁹ *παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράστιν*, "by the side of the dry Crastis." This phrase, I apprehend, describes a dry channel of the river,—its bed having shifted. The commentators assume that an opposition is intended between the Crathis in Achaia, which had a perennial stream (see the next note) and the river in Sybaris, which they conceive was dry in the summer. This theory involves the necessity of an arbitrary alteration of the text, which I have endeavoured to show (see next note) is not justifiable.

¹¹⁰ *παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράστιν*. Wesseling proposes to read *Κράθιν*, because in i. 145 Herodotus, speaking of Ægæ in

Achaia, says, *ἐν τῇ Κράθις ποταμὸς ἀέναος ἔστι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὃ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ποταμὸς τὸ οὐνομα ἔσχε*. There is no question that the same river is meant, and that in subsequent times this was called Crathis. But here all the MSS (with the exception of S, which has *Κράστον*) read *Κράστιν*, and in the other passage they are unanimous in favour of *Κράθιν*. Assuming that passage not to be an addition to the text subsequent to the time of Herodotus, I should be rather disposed to explain the difference between the forms by the change which language is perpetually undergoing. If at the time of the first settlement of Sybaris the word was pronounced *Crasthis*, there would be nothing strange that in process of time this should change in the one case to *Crastis*, and in the other to *Crathis*. Herodotus is in this passage professedly following a Sybarite tradition, which in the other he certainly is not.

¹¹¹ *ἐπωνύμῳ Κραστή*. In dedicating this temple to Athene, Dorieus, both as an Heraclide and as an adventurer, would probably have regard to the characteristic of the goddess which makes her the guide and protectress of heroes upon their adventures, of whom Heracles is the most complete type. It is to be remarked that this is *not* the form which her ritual assumed in Lacedæmon, where, as in Athens, she was associated with Poseidon;—that is to say, she belonged not to the Dorian, but the Achaean cycle of deities. (See this point further elucidated in the note on § 72.)

αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῦνται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποιέων διεφθάρη· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μηδὲν ἐπ' ᾧ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεε, εἶλε ἂν τὴν Ἑρυκίνην χώραν καὶ ἔλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη. οἱ δ' αὖ Κρωτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνῦσι Καλλίῃ μὲν τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἑξαίρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κρωτωνιήτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, (τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίῳ ἀπόγονοι,) Δωριεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπογόνοισι οὐδέν· καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεὺς, δοθῆναι ἂν οἱ πολλαπλάσια ἢ Καλλίῃ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται· καὶ πάρεστι ὁκοτέροισί τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοισι προσχωρεῖν. Συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριεῖ 46 καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιητέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εὐρυλέων· οἱ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκοντο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες ὑπὸ τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἑγεσταίων· μῦθος δέ γε Εὐρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστέων περι- ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ πάθεος· συλλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους ἔσχε Μινώην τὴν Σελινουσίῳ ἀποϊκίην, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινουσίου τοῦ μουνάρχου Πειθαγόρεω¹¹². μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τοῦτον κατέειλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινούντος, καὶ ἐμουνάρχησε χρόνον ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οἱ γάρ μιν Σελινούσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς ἀγοραίου βωμόν. Συνέσπετο δὲ Δωριεῖ καὶ συναπέθανε Φίλιππος ὁ Βουτακίδεω, 47 Κρωτωνιῆτης ἀνὴρ· ὃς ἀρμοσάμενος Τήλῳ τοῦ Συβαρίτεω θυγατέρα ἔφυγε ἐκ Κρότωνος· ψευσεθεὶς δὲ τοῦ γάμου οἶχετο πλέων ἐς Κυρήνην· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ὀρμεώμενος συνέσπετο οἰκητῇ τε τριῆρϊ καὶ οἰκητῇ ἀνδρῶν δαπάνῃ, ἐὼν τε Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ κάλλιστος Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατ' ἐωυτόν. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐωυτοῦ κάλλος ἐνείκατο παρὰ Ἑγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώϊον ἰδρυσάμενοι θυσίησι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται. Δωριεὺς μὲν νυν 48 τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτελεύτησε· εἰ δὲ ἡνέσχετο βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος καὶ κατέμενε ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἐβασίλευε ἂν Λακεδαιμόνος. οὐ γάρ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἦρξε ὁ Κλεομένης, ἀλλ' ἀπέθανε ἄπαις θυγατέρα μούνην λιπὼν τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργῳ.

Ἀπικνέεται δ' ὢν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος ἐς τὴν 49

On arriving in Sicily, the expedition is defeated by the Carthaginians and Segestans. Euryleon, the only surviving commander, becomes for a short time tyrant of Selinus.

Philip, a Crotoniate, who fell with Dorieus, is venerated as a hero by the Segestans.

Cleomenes reigned but a few years, and left no male issue.

¹¹² Πειθαγόρεω. Some MSS have Πυθαγόρεω.

This Cleomenes is king of Sparta at the time of the arrival of Aristagoras, who explains his views to him with the aid of a chart.

Σπάρτην, Κλεομένεος ἔχοντος τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἦϊε, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ἔχων χάλκεον πῖνακα¹¹³ ἐν τῷ γῆς ἀπάσης περιόδος ἐνετέμνητο, καὶ θάλασσά τε πᾶσα καὶ ποταμοὶ πάντες· ἀπικνεόμενος δὲ ἐς λόγους ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε· “Κλεόμενες, σπουδὴν μὲν τὴν ἐμὴν μὴ θωμάσης τῆς ἐνθαῦτα ἀπίξις· τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντά ἐστι τοιαῦτα¹¹⁴. Ἰώνων παῖδας δούλους εἶναι ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρων ὄνειδος καὶ ἄλγος μέγιστον μὲν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν, ὅσῳ προέστατε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. νῦν ὦν, πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων, ῥύσασθε Ἰωνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης, ἄνδρας ὁμαίμονας. εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶά τε χωρέειν ἐστὶ¹¹⁵. οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοὶ εἰσι, ὑμεῖς τε τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκετε ἀρετῆς πέρι· ἢ τε μάχη αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιήδε, τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα· ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες¹¹⁶ ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι οὔτω εὐπετέες χειρωθῆναί εἰσι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἡπείρου ἐκείνῃν νεμομένοισι, ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι συνάπασι ἄλλοισι ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένοισι, ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς ποικίλη καὶ ὑποζύγιά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα· τὰ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι¹¹⁷ αὐτοὶ ἂν ἔχοιτε. κατοίκηνται δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ φράσω. Ἰώνων μὲν τῶνδε οἶδε Λυδοὶ, οἰκέοντές τε χώραν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολυαργυρώτατοι ἐόντες.” δεικνὺς δὲ ἔλεγε ταῦτα ἐς τῆς γῆς τὴν περίοδον τὴν ἐφέρετο ἐν τῷ πῖνακι ἐντετμημένην· “Λυδῶν δέ,” ἔφη λέγων ὁ

¹¹³ ἔχων χάλκεον πῖνακα. The nature of this tablet is a matter which has been frequently referred to by writers upon the history of physical philosophy, it being generally considered the first recorded instance of any attempt to represent to the eye the distribution of the several parts of the earth's surface. It is important to observe that Herodotus does not speak himself of having seen it, but distinctly states that the Lacedæmonians related Aristagoras to have had such a one at the time of his interview with Cleomenes. Under these circumstances it is certainly not safe to press the terms of the description too closely, and infer from it that Aristagoras brought to Sparta any thing like what we understand (or what even Eratosthenes would have understood) by a chart of the known world. That certain attempts at this existed in the time of Herodotus is plain from what

he says in iv. 36; but the arbitrary character of the positions laid down in them appears from the same passage.

¹¹⁴ τὰ γὰρ κατήκοντά ἐστι τοιαῦτα, “for the matters which touch us are such as I will explain.” See the note 344 on i. 97.

¹¹⁵ εὐπετέως δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα οἶά τε χωρέειν ἐστὶ, “and easily by you may these results be accomplished.” Compare iii. 39, πάντα οἱ ἐχώρεε εὐτυχῶς.

¹¹⁶ ἀναξυρίδας ἔχοντες. See note 239 on i. 71.

¹¹⁷ θυμῷ βουλόμενοι. This expression is significant of more than βουλόμενοι, which would simply mean “at your option.” But the addition of θυμῷ, “with strong determination,” implies that the Lacedæmonians would have to fight for these good things Aristagoras promised to them.

Ἀρισταγόρης, “οἷδε ἔχονται Φρύγες, οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ¹¹⁸, πολυπρό-
 βατώτατοί τε ἔοντες ὑπάντων τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ πολυκαρπώτατοι.
 Φρυγῶν δὲ ἔχονται Καππαδόκαι, τοὺς ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν¹¹⁹.
 τούτοισι δὲ πρόσουροι Κίλικες, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε ἐν
 ᾗ ἦδε Κύπρος νήσος κέεται· οἱ πεντακόσια τάλαντα¹²⁰ βασιλέϊ τὸν
 ἐπέτειον φόρον ἐπιτελεῦσι. Κιλικῶν δὲ τῶνδε ἔχονται Ἀρμένιοι
 οἶδε, καὶ οὗτοι ἔοντες πολυπρόβατοι. Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ματιηνοὶ¹²¹,
 χώρην τήνδε ἔχοντες. ἔχεται δὲ τούτων γῆ ἦδε Κισσίη· ἐν τῇ δὴ
 παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κείμενά ἐστι τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα¹²²,
 ἔνθα βασιλεὺς τε μέγας δίαιταν ποιέεται καὶ τῶν χρημάτων οἱ
 θησαυροὶ ἐνθαυτά εἰσι. ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, θαρσέοντες
 ἦδη τῷ Διὶ πλούτου πέρι ἐρίζετε. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν χώρας ἄρα οὐ
 πολλῆς οὐδὲ οὕτω χρηστής, καὶ οὕρων σμικρῶν, χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας
 μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι¹²³ πρὸς τε Μεσσηνίους ἔοντας ἰσοπαλέας,

¹¹⁸ Φρύγες, οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ. Gaisford prints these words without a stop after Φρύγες, in which case a distinction seems to be intended between these Phrygians and some others. Perhaps an opposition may be intended to the Phrygians which came nearer to the coast, and possibly even to some kindred races in the European continent. (See note on vii. 73.) But an easier solution of the passage seems to be to conceive Aristagoras as following the line of the great road which ran through Tyanitis. (See note 243 on i. 72.) At Cydra (or Cydrara) on this line, a column had been erected by Croesus marking the confines of Lydia and Phrygia. This would no doubt appear on Aristagoras's chart; for at that point the road divided, two branches (the one from Caria, the other from Sardis) meeting there and continuing through Phrygia (vii. 31). Translate: “And next to the Lydians,” proceeded Aristagoras, “here join on the Phrygians,—these as you go eastward—the greatest flock-masters of all men I know, and likewise richest in the products of the soil.”

¹¹⁹ τοὺς ἡμεῖς Συρίους καλέομεν. STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 333) says that *both* the Cappadocians, *οἱ τε πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ*, up to his day were called White Syrians. Probably the term *Λευκόσυροι* was substituted for *Σύριοι* when the Greeks became familiar with the inhabitants of Assyria, whose complexions

would be of a swarthier cast. The wide extent of the Cappadocian race explains the text. The *Pontine* Cappadocians are conterminous to the Phrygians, the *Taurine* Cappadocians to the Cilicians,—formerly not confined to the south side of Taurus: see LEAKE, cited in the note on i. 72,—and these Cilicians to the Armenians. (See note 132, below.)

¹²⁰ πεντακόσια τάλαντα. The particulars of the Cilician tribute are more fully given in iii. 90.

¹²¹ Ματιηνοί. See, for an attempt to explain Herodotus's notions of the site of these people, note 681 on i. 202.

¹²² παρὰ ποταμὸν τόνδε Χοάσπην κείμενά ἐστι τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα. RENNELL (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 203) says: “The Choaspes is the only river of Susiana spoken of by our author, and this being a *country of rivers*, in effect, the drain of Media, Elymais, Cossæa, &c., and formed chiefly from alluvions, it may be collected from his silence that the Greeks knew little concerning it.” The truer hypothesis perhaps is that the author derives his information from persons who gathered theirs only from travellers or from road-books. For the site of Susa see note 234 on iv. 83.

¹²³ ἀναβάλλεσθαι. The main difficulty in this passage is the use of the middle voice instead of the active ἀναβάλλειν. But this is certainly not sufficient to justify an arbitrary change of the reading of

καὶ Ἀρκάδας τε καὶ Ἀργείους· τοῖσι οὔτε χρυσοῦ ἐχόμενόν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀργύρου, τῶν πέρι καὶ τινα ἐνάγει προθυμὴ μαχόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν· παρέχον δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης πάσης ἄρχειν εὐπετέως, ἄλλο τι αἰρήσεσθε ;” Ἀρισταγόρης μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀναβάλλομαί τοι ἐς τρίτην ἡμέρην ἀποκρινέεσθαι.” Τότε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤλασαν. ἐπεὶ τε

Cleomenes
defers giving him an answer till the third day afterwards, when on learning the distance of Susa from the coast, he orders Aristagoras to quit Sparta before sunset.

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δὲ ἡ κυρὴ ἡμέρῃ ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀποκρίσιος καὶ ἦλθον ἐς τὸ συγκεείμενον, εἶρετο ὁ Κλεομένης τὸν Ἀρισταγόρην ὁκοσέων ἡμερέων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἰώνων ὁδὸς εἴη παρὰ βασιλέα ; ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης, τᾶλλα ἐὼν σοφὸς καὶ διαβάλλων ἐκείνουν εὖ¹²⁴, ἐν τούτῳ ἐσφάλῃ· χρεὸν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐὼν βουλόμενόν γε Σπαρτιτύτας ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λέγει δ' ὦν τριῶν μηνῶν φᾶς εἶναι τὴν ἄνοδον· ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον τὸν ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ὥρμητο λέγειν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἶπε· “ὦ ξεῖνε Μιλήσιε, ἀπαλλάσσεο ἐκ Σπάρτης πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον εὐπεῖα¹²⁵ λέγεις Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐθέλων σφέας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης

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τριῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν ἀγαγεῖν.” Ὁ μὲν δὲ Κλεομένης ταῦτα εἶπας, ἦϊε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ὁ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης λαβὼν ἱκετηρίην ἦϊε ἐς τοῦ Κλεομένεος, ἐσελθὼν δὲ εἶσω ἅτε ἱκετεύων, ἐπακοῦσαι ἐκέλευε τὸν Κλεομένεα ἀποπέμψαντα τὸ παιδίον· προσεστήκεε γὰρ δὴ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Γοργώ· τοῦτο δέ οἱ καὶ μῦνον

Aristagoras
attempts to
bribe him.

Anecdote of

all the MSS. ἀναβάλλειν μάχας would be equivalent to κίνδυνον ἀναβάλλειν μαχομένους,—an expression which would be appropriate to the combatants who take part in the actual fray. But the nation which adopts a policy of this description and employs its soldiers in perpetual battles, would more properly be said ἀναβάλλεσθαι, just as a parent would be said διδάσκεισθαι, not διδάσκειν, if he employed a third person to instruct his son. The expression ἀναβάλλειν κίνδυνον is used by ÆSCHYLUS (*Theb.* 1030) ; and the phrase ἀναρρίπτειν κίνδυνον is well known.

¹²⁴ διαβάλλων ἐκείνουν εὖ, “mystifying him successfully.” See below, § 97, πολλοὺς γὰρ οἴκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἕνα, an expression however which may perhaps be taken from this one, and be by a later hand. (See the note on it.) In § 107, Ἰστιαῖος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε, “Histiaeus now in saying these things was mystifying him.”

The fundamental idea seems to be the distraction of a person from the contemplation of the real merits of a case by directing his attention to something beside the matter. Thus Aristagoras, in this case, put Cleomenes on a wrong scent by assuming that the real obstacle to success in an expedition to Asia would be the resistance of the enemy, not the enormous distance to which he would have to be followed. Similarly Histiaeus persuaded Darius that the revolt in Ionia arose from his own absence.

¹²⁵ λόγον εὐπεῖα. It has been proposed to change the word εὐπεῖα into εὐπέτεα, But λόγος εὐεπῆς is a proposal which carries a good omen in the language in which it is couched,—and consequently “an advantageous proposal.” The habit which was universal among the ancients of looking in every thing for an augury easily explains the transition from one sense to the other.

τέκνον ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν ἐτέων ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα ἡλικίην· Κλεομένης δὲ ^{his daughter} λέγειν μιν ἐκέλευε τὰ βούλεται, μηδὲ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ παιδίου εἵνεκα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἄρχετο ἐκ δέκα ταλάντων ὑπισχνέμενος, ἣν οἱ ἐπιτελέσῃ τῶν ἐδέετο· ἀνανεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεομένεος, προέβαινε τοῖσι χρήμασι ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς οὐ πεντήκοντά τε τάλαντα ὑποδέδεκτο, καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἠνδάξατο· “πάτερ, διαφθερέει σε ὁ ξεῖνος, ἦν μὴ ἀποστὰς ἦς.” ὃ τε δὴ Κλεομένης, ἡσθεὶς τοῦ παιδίου τῇ παραινέσει ἥτε ἐς ἕτερον οἴκημα¹²⁶, καὶ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἀπαλλάσσετο τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης· οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο ἐπιπλέον ἔτι σημῆναι περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα.

Ἐχει γὰρ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ὧδε· σταθμοὶ τε πανταχῇ εἰσι 52
 βασιλῆϊοι, καὶ καταλύσιες κάλλισται¹²⁷, διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ἡ ὁδὸς ^{Itinerary of}
 ἅπανα καὶ ἀσφαλῆος. διὰ μὲν γε Λυδίας καὶ Φρυγίας σταθμοὶ ^{the road be-}
 τείνοντες¹²⁸ εἰκοσὶ εἰσι, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ ἐννεμήκοντα ^{tween Sar-}
 καὶ ἥμισυ. ἐκδέκεται δ' ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός¹²⁹. ἐπ' ᾧ ^{dis and}
 πύλαι τε ἔπεισι, τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη¹³⁰ καὶ οὕτω διεκπερᾶν ^{Susa.}
 τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ φυλακτήριον μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ. διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν
 Καππαδοκίην καὶ ταύτῃ πορευομένῳ μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Κιλικίων,
 σταθμοὶ δυνῶν δέοντές εἰσι τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ τέσσερες καὶ
 ἑκατόν¹³¹. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι τούτων οὖροισι διξιάς τε πύλας διεξελάς,

¹²⁶ ἥτε ἐς ἕτερον οἴκημα. The superiority of Cleomenes to bribery is shown not merely by this anecdote, but by some others. See iii. 148.

¹²⁷ καταλύσιες κάλλισται. “Excellent caravanserais.” The varying distances between the several stations might arise from the different facilities of obtaining water, or other similar causes. It will be observed that the average distance between the stations in Lydia and Phrygia is considerably greater than the average in the whole journey. Here perhaps the roads were particularly good, and travellers could push on rapidly.

¹²⁸ σταθμοὶ τείνοντες. “A series of stations.” Perhaps there was greater regularity in their distances in this part of the route than elsewhere.

¹²⁹ ἐκδέκεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός. That the river spoken of here is not the Halys which flows into the Black Sea seems to me quite certain. See, for an attempt to explain Herodotus's statements

concerning the Halys, note 243 on i. 72.

¹³⁰ τὰς διεξελάσαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη. This was the boundary of the Lydian empire, to the passage of which the oracle given to Croesus referred. It will be observed that a barrier appears to have been erected on the Lydian side, and a *fort* upon the Cappadocian. The former, a Lydian work, probably was intended for the collection of transit tolls; the latter doubtless had a military purpose, and was probably Persian. On the Cappadocian side was *Critalla*, the frontier town at which the army of Xerxes was concentrated when he commenced his expedition against Athens (vii. 26). Possibly the name *Critalla* (as well as *Archalla*, of which LEAKE supposes *Erelè* to be a corruption) is significant; *crit* containing the root of *certa* (castra) and *alla* that of *Halys*. See note 243 on i. 72.

¹³¹ διαβάντι δὲ ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίην . . . τέσσερες καὶ ἑκατόν. I am altogether unable to reconcile this distance with

καὶ διὰ φυλακτῆρια παραμείψαι. ταῦτα δὲ διεξέλασαντι καὶ διὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ¹³² τρεῖς εἰσι σταθμοὶ, παρασάγγαι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἥμισυ. οὗρος δὲ Κιλικίης καὶ τῆς

any probable route through Cappadocia. STRABO, describing the course which in his time appears to have been universally taken from Ephesus towards the interior of Asia, gives the following distances from *Carura*, which he places on the frontier between Phrygia and Caria:—

	STADES
To <i>Holmi</i> , which was regarded as the beginning of Phrygia Paroreus (through Laodicea on the Lycus, Apamea, and Metropolis)	920
Thence to <i>Tyriæum</i> , the frontier of Lycaonia	500
Thence to <i>Coropassus</i> (which is still in Lycaonia)	840
Thence to <i>Garsaūra</i> (a village of Cappadocia)	120
Thence to <i>Mazaca</i>	680
Thence to <i>Tomisum</i> (considered as the frontier of Cappadocia) . .	1440
From <i>Tomisum</i> to <i>Samosata</i> , which was in the immediate neighbourhood of the bridge or ferry over the Euphrates (Ζεῦγμα) . . .	450

The first part of this route is the same with that taken by Xerxes in his expedition, and the presumption would be that the latter part also was. But Herodotus is clear in making the Halys the boundary of Cappadocia (both here and in vii. 26), and in calling the frontier town of Cappadocia *Critalla*, and not *Garsaūra*. It seems therefore certain that there must have been a divergence some where near *Holmi*. But if so, this could not (I conceive) have been to the north, but must have been to the south of the route laid down by Strabo above. That there was such a road running through the central plains of Lycaonia and Tyanitis is quite certain. It was by it that the younger Cyrus invaded Asia (XENOPHON, *Anab.* i. 2, seqq.). See also note 243 on i. 73. But if this road be the one intended in the text, it would not have conducted to the banks of the Halys, but by way of Dana (Tyana) to the Cilician Gates. Neither would it have conducted through Cilicia to Armenia, or any where near it.

In such a state of confusion it is rash to offer any conjectural explanation as more than a mere temporary stop-gap. It is quite plain that the views of the author

are altogether indistinct; and probably the numbers he sets down are taken from some current itinerary. If however we suppose that in such a one *all* the main routes lying within Cappadocia were set down, the one described by Strabo,—the one from *Critalla* (of which see note 243 on i. 72) to the Cilician Gates,—and also a third by which *Tyana* was certainly in later times united to *Mazaca*, the aggregate length of these will not be very far off the numbers given in the text. We shall have

	STADES
From Garsaūra to Mazaca . . .	680
From Mazaca to Tomisum . . .	1440
From Mazaca to Critalla, and from thence to the Cilician Gates (say six days)	1050
	<hr/> 3170

Strabo elsewhere (xii. c. 2, p. 11) gives the distance from Mazaca to the Cilician Gates through Tyana as six days' journey; and as *Critalla*, if near *Ercle* (see the last note), must have been in the immediate neighbourhood of Tyana, the route will have been nearly the same. The southernmost half being very steep, it seems reasonable to take for the whole distance from Mazaca 175 stades (the mean between 150 and 200) as the day's journey.

The sum of 104 parasangs converted into stades, at the rate of 30 to the parasang, will come so near to 3170,—being in fact 3120,—as to be in substantial agreement with it. The statement in the text will, on this hypothesis, have arisen from the aggregate of the branch roads contained in a given district being mistaken for the direct road through it,—an analogous error to that which seems to have been committed in the pedigree of Xerxes. See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 427, 428.

¹³² διὰ τῆς Κιλικίης ὁδὸν ποιευμένῳ. The Cilicia here spoken of cannot be the maritime province, but is probably the portion of Mount Taurus over which, from Tomisum to Samosata, was a distance of 450 stades. (STRABO, xiv. c. 2, p. 212.)

Ἀρμενίης ἐστὶ ποταμὸς νηυσιπέρητος, τῷ οὐνομα Εὐφρήτης· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίῃ σταθμοὶ μὲν εἰσι καταγωγέων πεντεκαίδεκα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἕξ καὶ πενήκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ· καὶ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι¹³³. ποταμοὶ δὲ νηυσιπέρητοι τέσσερες διὰ ταύτης ῥέουσι, τοὺς πᾶσα ἀνάγκη διαπορθμεῦσαι ἐστὶ· πρῶτος μὲν Τίγρις· μετὰ δὲ, δευτέρως τε καὶ τρίτος ὡτὸς οὐνομαζόμενος, οὐκ ὡτὸς¹³⁴ ἔων ποταμὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ῥέων (ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρότερος αὐτῶν καταλεχθεὶς ἕξ Ἀρμενίων ῥέει, ὁ δ' ὕστερον, ἐκ Ματινηῶν) ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τῶν ποταμῶν οὐνομα ἔχει Γύνδης¹³⁵, τὸν Κῦρος διέλαβέ· κοτε ἐς διώρυχας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς Ἀρμενίης ἐσβάλλονται ἐς τὴν Ματινηνὴν γῆν, σταθμοὶ εἰσι τέσσερες¹³⁶. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς τὴν Κισσίην χώραν μεταβαίνουντι, ἔνδεκα σταθμοί, παρασάγγαι δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἥμισυ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Χοάσπην, ἔοντα καὶ τοῦτον νηυσιπέρητον· ἐπ' ᾧ Σοῦσα πόλις πεπόλισται. οὗτοι οἱ πάντες σταθμοὶ εἰσι ἔνδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν¹³⁷. καταγωγαὶ μὲν νυν σταθμῶν τοσαῦταί εἰσι ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σοῦσα ἀναβαίνουντι. Εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς μεμέτρηται ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ βασιλῆῃ τοῖσι⁵³ παρασάγγῃσι, καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια¹³⁸, ὥσπερ οὗτός γε δύναται ταῦτα, ἐκ Σαρδίων στάδιᾱ ἐστὶ ἐς τὰ βασιλῆῃα τὰ Μεμνόνια καλεόμενα πεντακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια καὶ μύρια, παρασαγγέων ἔοντων πενήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίῳ¹³⁹. πεν-

¹³³ φυλακτήριον ἐν αὐτοῖσι. This can hardly mean a single fort some where or other in the course of the fifteen days' journey. I should rather take it as a small military post at each station,—perhaps a necessary precaution to secure the safety of travellers from the predatory tribes inhabiting the neighbourhood. For the sense of *νηυσιπέρητος* see note 639 on i. 189.

¹³⁴ ὡτὸς οὐνομαζόμενος οὐκ ὡτὸς ἔων. So Gaisford prints without any notice of MS variation. But in ii. 79 there is an equal unanimity for ὡτὸς, without the aspirate.

¹³⁵ Γύνδης. This river is, according to RENNELL, to be looked for in the *Diyeleh*, which falls into the Tigris between Baghdad and Modain (the ancient Ctesiphon). See note 636 on i. 189.

¹³⁶ τέσσερες. Bekker supposes a lacuna here, which, if supplied, might bring the text of the Itinerary into conformity with the calculation in § 53. And DE LA

BARRE, in a paper in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. viii., does not hesitate to supply the words *καὶ τριήκοντα, παρασάγγαι δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν*, purely from conjecture for this purpose. He also considers that the name *Matiene* is significant, and was applied by the Persians to any large tract of country bounded on the one side by a river and the other by mountains. But there seems no ground for this bold conjecture, except the use he makes of it in reconciling with one another the various passages in which *Matiene* is mentioned, and avoiding the alternative of setting down the geographical views of the author as obscure and incorrect.

¹³⁷ ἔνδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν. The number of stations which are given in the MSS as they exist amounts only to eighty-one. See the last note.

¹³⁸ καὶ ὁ παρασάγγης δύναται τριήκοντα στάδια. See note on vi. 42.

¹³⁹ παρασαγγέων ἔοντων πενήκοντα

54 τήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη διεξιούσι¹⁴⁰, ἀναισιμούνται ἡμέραι ἀπαρτὶ ἐννεήκοντα. Οὕτω τῷ Μιλησίῳ Ἀρισταγόρῃ, εἶπαντι πρὸς Κλεομένηα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον εἶναι τριῶν μηνῶν τὴν ἀνοδὸν τὴν παρὰ βασιλέα, ὀρθῶς εἶρητο. εἰ δέ τις τὸ ἀτρεκέστερον τούτων ἔτι δίζηται, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω· τὴν γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις ὁδὸν δεῖ προσλογίσασθαι ταύτην καὶ δὴ λέγω σταδίους εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μέχρι Σούσων, (τοῦτο γὰρ Μεμνόνιον ἄστρῳ καλέεται,) τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τετρακισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους· οἱ γὰρ ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐς Σάρδεις εἰσὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι στάδιοι· καὶ οὕτω τρισὶ ἡμέρησι μῆκύνεται ἡ τρίμηνος ὁδός.

55 Ἀπελαννόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἥϊε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας¹⁴¹ γενομένης τυράννων ὧδε ἐλευθέρας· ἐπεὶ Ἴππαρχον τὸν Πεισιστράτου, Ἴππλέω δὲ τοῦ τυράννου ἀδελφεὸν, ἰδόντα ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τῷ ἑωυτοῦ πάθει ἐναργεστάτην, κτείνουσι Ἀριστογείτων καὶ Ἀρμόδιος, γένος ἔοντες τὰ ἀνέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι¹⁴², μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτυραννεύοντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπ' ἔτεα τέσσερα οὐδὲν ἥσσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ 56 μᾶλλον¹⁴³, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ. Ἡ μὲν νυν ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου ἦν ἡδε· ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππαρχος ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν καὶ εὐειδέα αἰνίσσεσθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα·

καὶ τετρακοσίω. The number of parasangs given by the text is only 313; but for the route which passes through Matiene it is to be observed, that although the author gives the number of stations, he does not give the measured distance corresponding. See note 136.

¹⁴⁰ πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη διεξιούσι. Herodotus elsewhere reckons 200 stadia as a day's journey (iv. 101). It seems not impossible that in this passage he proceeds on the supposition of a large body—such as an army—being moved; and in the other on that of a small company. And it ought not to be forgotten that the variation of climate and ground in the two regions of which he is speaking would cause considerable difference in the space travelled over between sunrise and sunset. A caravan would doubtless travel slower even than an army, passing only from station to station. The average length of the interval between these for the whole journey will be 4·15 parasangs, nearly.

¹⁴¹ ἥϊε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. The account of Aristagoras's proceedings is resumed c. 97, below.

¹⁴² Γεφυραῖοι. The deme *Gephyra* is placed by LEAKE at the crossing of the river *Cephisus*, by the road which led to Eleusis. (*Demi of Attica*, ii. p. 142.)

¹⁴³ οὐδὲν ἥσσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον. THUCYDIDES (vi. 55) describes the extremely temperate proceedings of the Pisistratids before the assassination of Hipparchus; but says that afterwards Hippias διὰ φόβου ἤδη μᾶλλον ὢν τῶν τε πολιτῶν πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἅμα διεσκοπεῖτο (§ 59). And the author of the Platonic dialogue *Hipparchus* goes even farther in praising the early days of the dynasty: οὐ (sc. Ἰππάρχου) ἀποθανόντος τρία ἔτη ἐτυραννεύθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰππίου· καὶ πάντων ἂν τῶν παλαιῶν ἤκουσας ὅτι ταῦτα μόνον τὰ ἔτη τυραννὶς ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀθήναις, τὸν δ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἐγγύς τι ἔξων Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βασιλευντος (§ 4).

Τλῆθι λέων ἄτλητα παθὼν τετληότι θυμῷ·
οὐδείς ἀνθρώπων ἀδικῶν τίσιν οὐκ ἀποτίσει.

ταῦτα δὲ, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, φανερός ἦν ὑπερτιθέμενος
ὄνειροπόλοισιν μετὰ δὲ, ὑπειπάμενος τὴν ὄψιν, ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπὴν
ἐν τῇ δὴ τελευτᾷ.

Οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ φονέες οἱ Ἰππάρχου, ὡς μὲν 57
αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐγεγόνεσαν ἐξ Ἑρετρίας τὴν ἀρχήν· ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ The *Gephyraeans* were
ἀναπνυθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, ἦσαν Φοίνικες τῶν σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικο- of Phœni-
μένων Φοινίκων ἐς γῆν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτὴν καλεομένην· οἴκεον δὲ τῆς cian origin,
χώρης ταύτης ἀπολαχόντες τὴν Ταναγρικὴν μοῖραν· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ settled in the neigh-
Καδμείων πρότερον ἐξαναστάντων ὑπ' Ἀργείων, οἱ Γεφυραῖοι bourhood of
οὔτοι δεύτερα ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες ¹⁴⁴ ἐτράποντο ἐπ' Tanagra.
Ἀθηνέων· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφεας ἐπὶ ῥητοῖσι ἐδέξαντο σφέων αὐτῶν
εἶναι πολίτας, πολλῶν τέων καὶ οὐκ ἀξιαπηγῆτων ἐπιτάξαντες
ἔργεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὔτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν 58
ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἰκίσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν The Phœni-
ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, cians who
οὐκ εἶοντα πρὶν Ἕλλησι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν· πρῶτα μὲν, τοῖσι καὶ introduced
ἅπαντες χρέωνται Φοίνικες· μετὰ δὲ, χρόνου προβαίνοντος, ἅμα τῇ the use of
φωνῇ μετέβαλον, καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. περιοίκεον δὲ In their set-
σφεας τὰ πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνες· tlements
οἱ παραλαβόντες διδαχὴν παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα ¹⁴⁵, they were
μεταρρυθμίσαντές σφεων ὀλίγα ἐχρέωντο· χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, generally
ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλ- surrounded
λάδα, Φοινικήϊα κεκλησθαι καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι with an
ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες ¹⁴⁶, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βύβλων ἐχρέωντο Ionian po-
pulation.

¹⁴⁴ ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἐξαναστάντες. See § 61, below.

¹⁴⁵ παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα. The fundamental Semitic alphabet is supposed to have consisted of only sixteen letters; and it is stated by PLINY (*N. H.* vii. 56) that the first Hellenic alphabet contained no more. DR. DONALDSON (*New Cratylus*, book i. chap. 5) gives the following scheme of what he conceives to have been the original arrangement of the two.

A, B, Γ, Δ, E (having the force possessed by εἰ in later times), F (the *digamma*, or βαῦ, a trace of which remained in the symbol ς, used to denote the numeral 6),

H (having the force of ἦ or χη), Θ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Ξ, Ο, Π, Φ (the *koppa* or primitive κ), Τ. To these severally correspond the Hebrew *Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, He, Vau, Cheth, Teth, Lamed, Mem, Nun, Samech, Ain, Pe, Koph, Tau.*

¹⁴⁶ καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες. This remark has no bearing upon the assertion that the Ionians were the people who learnt the use of letters from the Phœnicians. And moreover if any Ionians were so accustomed to writing on parchment, as to give the name *διφθερα* to all books with which they afterwards became acquainted, it would

59

Tripods in the temple of the *Isme-nian Apollo* at Thebes said to be inscribed with Phœnician characters.

διφθέρῃσι αἰγέρῃσι τε καὶ οἰέῃσι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι. Ἴδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμηΐα γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου¹⁴⁷ ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν ἐπὶ τρίποσιν τισιν¹⁴⁸ ἐγκεκολαμμένα, τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοῖα ἔοντα τοῖσι Ἴωνικοῖσιν· ὁ μὲν δὴ εἰς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει·

Ἀμφιτῦρων μ' ἀνέθηκε νέων ἀπὸ Τηλεβοῶν.

60

ταῦτα ἡλικίην εἶη ἂν κατὰ Λαΐον τὸν Λαβδάκου τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου. Ἄτερος δὲ τρίπους [ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ¹⁴⁹] λέγει·

Σκαῖος πυγμαχέων με ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.

61

Σκαῖος δ' ἂν εἶη ὁ Ἴπποκόωντος, εἰ δὴ οὗτός γ' ἐστὶ ὁ ἀναθεὶς καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τῶντ' οὖνομα ἔχων τῷ Ἴπποκόωντος, ἡλικίην κατὰ Οἰδίπουν τὸν Λαῖον. Τρίτος δὲ τρίπους λέγει, καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ¹⁵⁰.

Λαοδάμας τρίποδ' αὐτὸν ἐϋσκόπῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
μουναρχέων ἀνέθηκε τεῖν περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.

Ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Λαοδάμαντος τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέος μουναρχέοντος ἐξανιστέαται Καδμεῖοι ὑπ' Ἀργείων, καὶ τρέπονται ἐς τοὺς Ἑγχέλας· οἱ δὲ Γεφυραῖοι ὑπολειφθέντες, ὕστερον ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ἀναχωρέουσι ἐς Ἀθήνας· καὶ σφί ἱρά ἐστι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἰδρυμένα, τῶν οὐδὲν μέτα τοῖσι λοιποῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ἄλλα τε κεχωρισμένα

be the Ionians not of Europe, but of *Asia*, whose preparation of the material contributed so much in after times to the library of Attalus. The remark seems to come from a person very familiar with Egypt, and accordingly mentioning the Egyptian βύβλοι without any special necessity. See note 474 on i. 140.

¹⁴⁷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου. The connexion of Thebes with Phœnicia, or at least with merchants engaged in Phœnician trade, appears from the material of which the Apollo statue here was formed. It was made of *cedar* wood, and in that respect alone differed from the statue at Branchidæ, which was of brass. Both were said to be the work of Canachus. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 10. 2.) An oriental element in the ritual may be also gathered from the fact of Mardonius sending to consult the oracle (viii. 134) and Croesus

making offerings there (i. 52. 92).

¹⁴⁸ ἐπὶ τρίποσιν τισιν. The conjecture of Dobree, *τρίσι* for *τισιν*, is a plausible one, and is adopted by Bekker.

¹⁴⁹ [ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ]. These words appear to me to be a marginal annotation derived from i. 47, suggested by the word λέγει, but made by some reader who failed to remark that the word *τόνος* was inapplicable to written language. See note 145 on i. 47.

¹⁵⁰ καὶ οὗτος ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ. I very much question the genuineness of these words, and suspect that they crept into the text from a marginal annotation made at the same time with the one noticed in the last section. But as they do not violate the usages of language, I have not enclosed them between brackets as decidedly an interpolation.

τῶν ἄλλων ἱρῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀχαιΐης Δήμητρος ἱρόν τε καὶ ὄργια ¹⁵¹.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ ὄψις τοῦ Ἰππάρχου ἐνυπνίου, καὶ οἱ Γεφυραῖοι ὅθεν 62
ἐγεγόνεσαν, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Ἰππάρχου φονέες, ἀπήγηταί μοι δεῖ δὲ
πρὸς τούτοις ἐτι ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἥϊα λέξων λόγον, ὥς
τυράννων ἐλευθερώθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἰππίῳ τυραννέοντος καὶ
ἐμπικραινομένου ¹⁵² Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον,
Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι, γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φεύγοντες Πεισιστρα-
τίδας, ἐπεὶ τε σφι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίων φυγάσι πειρω-
μένοις κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐ προεχώρει κάτοδος, ἀλλὰ προσέπταιον
μεγάλως πειρώμενοι κατιέναι τε καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας,
Δειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης τειχίσαντες ¹⁵³. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλ-
κμαιωνίδαι πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατίδῃσι μηχανώμενοι, παρ'
Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν νηὸν μισθοῦνται τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι, τὸν νῦν
ἑόντα τότε δὲ οὐκω, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομῆσαι ¹⁵⁴. οἷα δὲ χρημάτων εἶ

The Alc-
mæonidæ
obtain influ-
ence with
the Delphic
oracle,

¹⁵¹ Ἀχαιΐης Δήμητρος ἱρόν τε καὶ ὄργια.
This surname of Demeter came to be de-
rived not from Achaia, but from ἄχος. She
was "the mourning mother," whose daugh-
ter had been carried off by Hades, and who
sorrowed in anger for her loss. PLUTARCH
speaks of a ritual to her in Boeotia, which
he compares with the Thesmophoria at
Athens, where the women sat on the
ground fasting. Ἐπαχθῇ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐκεί-
νην ὀνομάζουσι, ὥς διὰ τὴν τῆς κόρης
κάθοδον ἐν ἄχει τῆς Δήμητρος οὐσης.
The month (corresponding to the *Athyr*
of the Egyptians) in which this ceremony
was performed was called by the Boeotians
Δαμάτριος, from the goddess. (*De Iside*
et Osiride, § 69.) To this anguish of the
goddess allusion is probably made in an
obscure passage of the *Homeric Hymn*
(vv. 483—6):

—ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια καλὰ,
σεμνὰ, τὰ γ' οὐπῶς ἐστὶ παρέξμεν, οὔτε
πυθέσθαι
οὔτ' ἀχέειν μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν ἄχος
ἰσχάνει αὐδὴν.

In this relation of Demeter she had a close
affinity with *Erinyes*.

¹⁵² ἐμπικραινομένου. See note 143,
above.

¹⁵³ Δειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης τειχί-
σαντες. LEAKE places the site of the
deme Παιονίδα about three-quarters of a
mile from the modern village of Menidhi,

which name he considers a corruption of
the ancient one. There are some ancient
remains about sixty *stadæ* from the Achar-
nian gate of Athens; and about three or
four miles to the north of these stands, "at
the upper end of a long acclivity," a small
monastery of St. Nicholas, which Leake
regards as being on the site of the ancient
Lipsydrum (although there are no vestiges
of antiquity there). The object of the
Alcmæonidæ in this ἐπιτειχισμὸς was to
command the road which passed up the
plain of Athens, and by which the com-
munication with Oropus was carried on.
Declea was occupied by the Lacedæmo-
nians during the Peloponnesian war for
the same purpose, and with great effect;
and Declea is in Leake's map only about
three or four miles from Lipsydrum, yet
further northward. The walls of Declea
however remain, and DODWELL gives a
drawing of them. Perhaps the Alcmæo-
nids were baffled at the very beginning of
their building; and this seems almost
implied in the way Herodotus tells the
story.

¹⁵⁴ τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομῆσαι. The fund
for repairing this temple was mainly raised
by subscription. See what Herodotus re-
lates (ii. 180) of the munificence of Amasis
and of the Egyptian Greeks. The con-
duct of the Alcmæonids on the occasion
of rebuilding it made them, according to
PINDAR (*Pyth.* vii. 10), the theme of

63 and bribe the priestess to deceive the Spartans into expelling the Pisistratids.

The first expedition for the purpose fails.

ἤκοντες¹⁵⁵ καὶ ἔοντες ἄνδρες δόκιμοι ἀνέκαθεν¹⁵⁶ ἔτι, τὸν τε νηὸν ἐξεργάσαντο τοῦ παραδείγματος κάλλιον, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ συγκεκλιμένοι σφι πωρίνου λίθου ποιεῖν τὸν νηὸν, Παρίου τὰ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἐξεποίησαν. Ὡς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι¹⁵⁷ λέγουσι, οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν Δελφοῖσι κατήμενοι ἀνέπειθον τὴν Πυθίην χρήμασι, ὅκως ἔλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων ἄνδρες εἴτε ἰδίῳ στόλῳ εἴτε δημοσίῳ χρησόμενοι, προφέρειν σφι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὥς σφι αἰεὶ τὰντὸ πρόφαντον ἐγένετο, πέμπουσι Ἀγχιμόλιον τὸν Ἀστέρος, ἔοντα τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρα δόκιμον, σὺν στρατῷ ἐξελῶντα Πεισιστρατίδας ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, ὅμως καὶ ξεινίους σφι ἔοντας τὰ μάλιστα· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτερα ἐποιεῦντο ἢ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πέμπουσι δὲ τούτους κατὰ θάλασσαν πλοίοισι. ὁ μὲν δὴ προσχὼν ἐς Φάληρον, τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέβησε· οἱ δὲ Πεισιστρατίδαι προπυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐκ Θεσσαλῆς ἐπικουρίην¹⁵⁸. ἐπεποίητο γὰρ σφι συμμαχίη πρὸς αὐτούς· Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ σφι δεομένοισι ἀπέπεμψαν, κοινῇ γνώμῃ χρεώμενοι, χιλὴν τε ἵππον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν σφέτερον Κινέην, ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον¹⁵⁹. τοὺς ἐπεὶ τε ἔσχον συμμάχους οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι,

admiration in every Greek city. It is not wonderful if at the same time (as the *Scholiast* says) the Pisistratids were accused of having burnt it! See a parallel piece of scandal, below, vi. 115.

¹⁵⁵ χρημάτων εὐ ἤκοντες. Herodotus (vi. 125, *seqq.*) gives an account of the rapid rise of the family, first by the wealth which Alcmaeon obtained from Croesus, and secondly by the marriage of his son Megacles to Agariste, the daughter and heiress of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This Megacles was the rival of Pisistratus.

¹⁵⁶ ἀνέκαθεν, "far back." This word is used by Herodotus with reference to things separated by a long interval from the ordinary transactions of the time at which he is writing. He says of these same Alcmaeonids (vi. 125), ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνῃσι· ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ αὐτῆς Μεγακλέος ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. Of Miltiades: τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰακοῦ τε καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονῶς, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναῖος (vi. 35). Of Megistias the Aeacanian: λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος (vii. 221). Of the Pisistratids: ἔοντες ἀνέκαθεν Πύλοιοι τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι (v. 65). In all these cases the word points to the early

and mythical period of the pedigrees. There is a somewhat analogous use of the word (iv. 57) applied to the fountains of the Tanais: ὅς ῥέει τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὀρμεόμενος, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς μέζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιήτιν. See below, note on § 66, Διτ' Καρίῳ.

¹⁵⁷ Ὡς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Schweighäuser considers that Λακεδαιμόνιοι is the true reading here. But there is no reason to suppose that either here or below (§ 90) the author is following a Lacedaemonian authority. On the contrary, in the latter passage, where the same statement is made, it seems highly probable that he is adopting the account of a person attached to one of the temples on the acropolis of Athens.

¹⁵⁸ ἐκ Θεσσαλῆς ἐπικουρίην. See note on vii. 6, below.

¹⁵⁹ ἄνδρα Κονιαῖον. These words occasion some difficulty, as the only known town of the name of *Conium* is said to have been in Phrygia. Another reading, Γονναῖον (from Γόννοι, a town in the mountain pass on the northern bank of the Peneus, by which Xerxes entered Thessaly from Macedonia), has been proposed, with much plausibility.

ἐμχανέατο¹⁶⁰ τοιάδε· κείραντες τῶν Φαληρέων τὸ πεδίον, καὶ ἱππάσιμον ποιήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν χώρον, ἐπῆκαν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν ἵππον· ἐμπεσοῦσα δὲ διέφθειρε ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἀγχιμόλιον, τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς νέας κατέρξαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος στόλος ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος οὕτω ἀπήλλαξε· καὶ Ἀγχιμολίου εἰς ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλήου τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει^a. Μετὰ δὲ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέζω στόλον στείλαντες ἀπέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποδέξαντες βασιλέα Κλεομένηα τὸν Ἀναξανδρίδew, οὐκέτι κατὰ θάλασσαν στείλαντες ἀλλὰ κατ' ἡπειρον. τοῖσι δὲ ἐσβαλοῦσι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν ἢ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος πρώτη προσέμιξε, καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν ἐτράπετο· καὶ σφῶν ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ τεσσεράκοντα ἄνδρας, οἱ δὲ περιγενόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὥς εἶχον ἰθὺς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστρ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι, ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ [τείχεϊ¹⁶¹]. Καὶ οὐδέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον τοὺς Πεισι-

64

The second under Cleomenes succeeds.

65

¹⁶⁰ ἐμχανέατο. This exceedingly anomalous form has the sanction of all the MSS; but, if it be genuine, it implies a present tense *μηχανομαι*, of which there is no trace whatever. The present tense used by Herodotus is *μηχανέομαι*.

^a τοῦ ἐν Κυνοσάργει. Cynosarges was a spot very near the walls of Athens, where was a gymnasium and a temple of Heracles. Each of these was in later times itself called Cynosarges; but Herodotus (both here and in vi. 116) makes a distinction between the Heracleum and the district in which it stood. LEAKE fixes its site "at the foot of the s.e. extremity of Lycabettus, near the point where the arch of the aqueduct of Hadrian and Antoninus formerly stood." This would be nearly n.e. by e. of the Acropolis. He describes the spot as itself in the valley of the Ilissus, but close by rising ground from which a distant view of the road of Phalerum might be obtained. This rendered it an excellent position for the army after the battle of Marathon, when the Persian fleet, sailing round Sunium, menaced Athens.

It is not easy to understand the military movements as described in the text. The Lacedæmonian force, when arrived at Alopecæ, would be clear of the Phale-

rian plain, and indeed would have passed the city of Athens, from which Alopecæ was about eleven or twelve stades distant. If the defeat took place there, the Thessalian cavalry occupying the Phalerian plain would cut off the communication with their ships. The most natural course would then seem to have been to retreat upon Lipsydrum, if held by the Alcæonidæ; and the march to Alopecæ, passing Athens by, seems to indicate an original intention of forming a junction with these. But if the fortifying of Lipsydrum was frustrated at the very beginning, and the appeal to the Delphic oracle did not take place till after the failure and the subsequent rebuilding of the temple at Delphi, this motive could not exist. Perhaps the object of the Lacedæmonians was to bring the Pisistratidæ to terms by destroying the crops in the plain of Athens; but this supposition, although it explains the position of the Lacedæmonians n.e. of Athens, does not remove the difficulty of the expression: *τοὺς περιγενομένους ἐς τὰς νέας κατέρξαν*, which is applicable to the case of an army driven *back* by an opposing enemy, not to one extricating itself by breaking *through* an intercepting force.

¹⁶¹ ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ [τείχεϊ]. The

The Pisistratids retire to Sigeum.

στρατίδας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην¹⁶² ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἳ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδατο· πολιορκήσαντές τε ἂν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην· νῦν δὲ συντυχίῃ τοῖσι μὲν κακὴ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖσι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη σύμμαχος· ὑπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρας οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἠλῶσαν· τοῦτο δὲ ὥς ἐγένετο, πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πρήγματα συνετετάρακτο· παρέστησαν δὲ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖσι τέκνοισι ἐπ' οἷσι ἐβούλonto οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐν πέντε ἡμέρῃσι ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς¹⁶³. μετὰ δὲ, ἐξεχώρησαν ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ

word *τείχεϊ* has the support of all the MSS, and is given as genuine by Gaisford; but I am inclined to think it an interpolation. In the time of Herodotus and Thucydides τὸ Πελασγικὸν was used simply to denote the ancient fortification (attributed in the local traditions to the Pelasgians) which defended the acropolis of Athens at the N.W. extremity, by which alone the hill was accessible. They were related to have built a wall round the whole acropolis (vi. 137); but the steep character of the rock rendered any thing of the nature of a fortification unnecessary except at the N.W. angle. The Pelasgicum (*i.e.* the fortress) was entirely destroyed by the Persians when they obtained possession of Athens, and never rebuilt. A curse was laid upon it, and an oracle declared, τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον (THUCYD. ii. 17)—doubtless from the circumstance that it had served as a stronghold to the Pisistratids. The Propylæa built by Pericles just before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war supplied its place as a key of the approach to the acropolis; and it remained a mere ruin (inhabited during the Peloponnesian war by the poorer citizens from the country under the pressure of necessity). While it was a fortress it was, according to LEAKE'S view (*Demi of Athens*, i. p. 311, seq.), a series of enclosures with winding approaches, constructed on the principle of obliging an assailing force to expose their right or unshielded side to the defenders. He imagines the epithet ἐννεάπυλον to refer to the openings in these enclosures.

But after the battle of Eurymedon the wealth acquired by the Persian spoils enabled the Athenians to build up the south side of the acropolis with a wall (PLUTARCH, *Cimon*, § 13); and it is natural to suppose that the northern side was also repaired at the same time. Leake

says that "in fact the substruction of the northern wing of the Propylæa has some appearance of being a part of the old Pelasgic wall; for its direction being more westerly than that of the wall which stands upon it, we may infer that it belonged to a different and more ancient system of works." In after times when the different parts of the works were compared with one another, it would be natural to call the one portion τὸ Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος and the other τὸ Κιμώνιον (or τὸ νότιον) τεῖχος; but this would be in an antiquarian sense, and would not defend the use of the expression by Herodotus or Thucydides. In this manner the notices of CLITODEMUS (*Fragm.* 22), of PAUSANIAS (i. 28. 3), and of MYRSILUS (*ap. Diog. Halicarn. Antiqq.* i. 28) may be explained without the necessity of supposing with Leake that the terms τὸ Πελασγικὸν and τὸ Πελασγικὸν τεῖχος denoted two distinct buildings.

¹⁶² ἐπέδρην. See note on § 41, ἐφεδρον βασιλέα.

¹⁶³ παρέστησαν . . . ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. "They submitted, as the price of their children, on the conditions the Athenians wished; namely, within five days to evacuate Attica." The important part played by the Lacedæmonians in the expulsion of the Pisistratids was well remembered by the Athenian people. THUCYDIDES (vi. 53) mentions it as a painful subject with them at the time of the mutilation of the Hermæ: ἐπιστάμενος γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἀκοῇ τὴν Πισιστράτου καὶ τῶν παῖδων τυραννίδα χαλεπὴν τελευτῶσαν γενομένην, καὶ προσέτι οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν καὶ Ἀρμοδίου καταλυθεῖσαν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐφοβεῖτο αἶψα. Hence they were not unwilling to give ear to more flattering representations of the case. (See note on i. 63.) And undoubtedly very different traditions existed on the subject. This is expressly

Σκαμάνδρῳ ¹⁶⁴. ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἕτα εἷς τε καὶ τριήκοντα ¹⁶⁵, ἔοντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοί τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι ¹⁶⁶, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλαιθον, οἱ πρότερον ἐπὶ ἡλυδες ἔοντες, ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλῆες. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τῷ οὖνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσεν Ἱπποκράτης τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι, τὸν Πεισίστρατον, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιέμενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. οὕτω μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τυράννων ἀπαλλάχθησαν ὅσα δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἔρξαν ἢ ἔπαθον ἀξίόχρεα ἀπηγήσιος, πρὶν ἢ Ἰωνίην τε ἀποστήναι ἀπὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρισταγόρεα τὸν Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας χρήσαι σφέων βοηθείην, ταῦτα πρῶτα φράσω.

Ἀθῆναι ἐοῦσαι καὶ πρὶν μεγάλαι, τότε ἀπαλλαχθεῖσαι 66
 τυράννων ἐγίνοντο μέζονες· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι δύο ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευον, Κλεισθένης τε, ἀνὴρ Ἀλκμαιωνίδης, ὅσπερ δὴ λόγον ἔχει τὴν

Contests at Athens between Cleisthenes and Isagoras.

remarked by Thucydides (vi. 54), who relates the incident of the assassination of Hipparchus at full length, showing, as he says, οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τῶν σφετέρων τυράννων οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ γενομένου ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲν λέγοντας. See the next note but one.

¹⁶⁴ ἐς Σίγειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ. See note on v. 94.

¹⁶⁵ ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἕτα εἷς τε καὶ τριήκοντα. This is in very fair conformity with the statement of ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. 1315), that of the space of thirty-three years which intervened between Pisistratus's accession to the tyranny and his death, two exiles took up as much as sixteen years, and that after his death his sons reigned eighteen. Thus we have 18+17=35 complete years for the duration of the actual power of the dynasty. But it is singular that the *Schol.* on *Aristophanes* (*Vesp.* 502) should, while quoting this passage, give ARISTOPHANES (the Alexandrine grammarian) as an authority for the tyranny having lasted *forty-one* years. ISOCRATES, too (*De Bigis*, p. 351), makes his client represent it as continuing for *forty* years, and as terminated by the expulsion of the tyrants under the leadership of his father's two great-grandfathers Alcibiades and Cleisthenes. To bring these two notices into harmony with the chronology of Aristotle, and the statements of Herodotus and ERATOSTHENES (*ap. Schol. Aristoph.* l. c.), by supposing (as

CLINTON does) that the *second* exile of Pisistratus is left out of consideration, is a perfectly arbitrary proceeding. A better solution of the difference seems to be this. The Alcæmonids in after times appear to have thought it better to say nothing about the first period of Pisistratus's tyranny or the compact between the two families related by Herodotus (i. 60, 61), but to represent his arbitrary proceedings as the *beginning* of the feud between the two families. This is the course taken by the client of Isocrates, who says of his Alcæmonid ancestors: τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν εἶχον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς τυραννικοῖς ἐπεδείξαντο· συγγενεῖς γὰρ ὄντες Πεισιστράτου, καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήναι μάλιστ' αὐτῷ χρώμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐκ ἤξισαν μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου τυραννίδος, ἀλλ' εἴλοντο φυγεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πολλὰς ἰδεῖν δουλεύοντας. See note 213 on i. 63. If this be the correct solution of the chronological differences, it follows (1st), that the marriage of Pisistratus with the daughter of Megacles (see note 203 on i. 61) will have taken place about B.C. 550 or 551; and if Hippias was then fifteen years old, he would be seventy-five or seventy-six at the time of the battle of Marathon. 2ndly, It is *unlikely* that in his account of the Pisistratid revolution Herodotus is following a family history of the Alcæmonids.

¹⁶⁶ ἔοντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι . . . Νηλεῖδαι. See the note 204 on § 76.

Πυθίην ἀναπείσαι, καὶ Ἰσαγόρης ὁ Τισάνδρου, οἰκίης μὲν ἔων δοκίμου, ἅτῃρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενέες αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ¹⁶⁷. οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐστασίασαν περὶ δυνάμιος· ἐσσούμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης, τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται. μετὰ δὲ, τετραφύλους ἔοντας Ἀθηναίους δεκαφύλους ἐποίησε, τῶν Ἰωνος παίδων, Γελέοντος καὶ Αἰγικόρεος καὶ Ἀργάδεω καὶ Ὀπλητος, ἀπαλλάξας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ἐπιχωρίων δ' ἑτέρων ἡρώων ἐπωνυμίας ἐξευρὼν, παρέξ Αἴαντος¹⁶⁸. τοῦτον δὲ ἅτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξεῖνον ἔοντα προσέθετο.

67 Ταῦτα δὲ, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἐμιμέετο ὁ Κλεισθένης οὗτος τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα, Κλεισθένα τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον· Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας¹⁶⁹, τοῦτο μὲν ῥαφῶδους ἔπαυσε ἐν

¹⁶⁷ θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενέες αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ. Herodotus gives this fact as a kind of clue to the early pedigree of Isagoras, because the traditions relative to τὰ ἀνέκαθεν were in almost all cases connected with religious commemoration of the eponymous ancestor. See note 156, above. The Ζεὺς Κάριος here mentioned is not the deity spoken of by Herodotus (v. 119) under the name of Ζεὺς Στράτιος, but a Pelasgic divinity, whose seat was on the acropolis of Megara (anciently called Καρία. STEPH. BYZ. *sub voce*), probably nearly identical with Poseidon, and also with the Ζεὺς Κάριος near Mylasa (i. 171). Isagoras therefore is so far from being represented as of barbarian extraction, that this intimation rather describes him as of very old family; his tutelary deity being autochthonous, and his family ritual being derived from the time when the Megarid was Ionian. (See the note 203 on § 76.) That he should have been of Megarian extraction is rendered further probable by the circumstance that he kept up the feud of Cylon (below, §§ 71, 72), and Cylon had married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. (PAUSANIAS, i. 28. 1.)

¹⁶⁸ παρέξ Αἴαντος. Ajax was the tutelary hero of Salamis, and it seems not unlikely that the incorporation of many Salaminians into the body of Athenian citizens was one of the steps. He was also a hero acknowledged by the Æginetans; and the commercial activity of those islanders might very well have produced the residence of a considerable number of them at Athens, where their legal

condition would be that of Metics, or resident free aliens. Now one particular act of Clisthenes was, if the right interpretation be given to an obscure passage of ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* iii. p. 1275, b, line 36) to give the civic franchise to many resident aliens, and to free many slaves, thereby putting them in the condition of free resident aliens: πολλοὺς ἐφυλέτευσε (= ἀστοὺς ἐποίησε) ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους. Under these circumstances Ajax was an appropriate patron for a φυλὴ which was intended to comprise a commercial population, consisting (it might be expected), in a large part of Salaminians and Æginetans. See the note 176, below.

¹⁶⁹ Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. p. 1315, b, line 12) states that the dynasty of Orthagoras and his descendants at Sicyon was that of longest duration known (viz. 100 years), and gives as the reason of this: ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐχρῶντο μετρίως, καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις ἐδοῦλεον· καὶ διὰ τὸ πολεμικὸς γενέσθαι Κλεισθένης οὐκ ἦν εὐκαταφρόνητος. He then adds: καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἐδημαγῶνουν, and tells an anecdote of Clisthenes illustrative of the fact. PAUSANIAS (vi. 19) gives an account of the treasure-house of the Sicyonians at Olympia, put up by Myron, the grandfather of Clisthenes (see the pedigree in vi. 126, below), on the occasion of his winning the chariot-race in the thirty-third Olympiad. It contained two θάλαμοι of "Tartessian brass" according to the tradition of the Æleans; but what this brass exactly was, beyond a conjec-

Revolution
effected by
the former,

in which he
imitates his
maternal
grandfather

Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε Clisthenes
καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα¹⁷⁰ ὑμνέονται τοῦτο δὲ, ἡρῶν γὰρ of Sicyon,
ἦν καὶ ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγορῇ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου τοῦ who showed
Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης, ἔοντα Ἀργεῖον, ἐκβαλεῖν the greatest
ἐκ τῆς χώρας· ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Δελφούς, ἐχρηστηριάξετο εἰ ἐκβάλλῃ¹⁷¹ Argos in his
τὸν Ἀδρηστον; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ φάσα, Ἀδρηστον μὲν εἶναι religious
Σικυωνίων βασιλέα, ἐκείνον δὲ λευστήρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο preferences
γε οὐ παρεδίδου, ἀπελθὼν ὀπίσω ἐφρόντιζε μηχανὴν τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ and his
Ἀδρηστος ἀπαλλάσσεται ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐξευρήσθαι ἐδόκεε, πέμψας ἐς treatment
Θήβας τὰς Βοιωτίας ἔφη θέλειν ἐπαγαγέσθαι Μελάνιππον τὸν of the Do-
Ἀστακοῦ· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔδοσαν· ἐπαγαγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κλεισθένης rian popula-
τὸν Μελάνιππον, τέμενός οἱ ἀπέδεξε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ, καί tion of
μιν ἴδρυσε ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ· ἐπηγάγετο δὲ τὸν Μελάν- Sicyon.
ιππον ὁ Κλεισθένης, (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀπηγγέσθαι,) ὥς ἔχτιστον
ἔοντα Ἀδρήστῳ· ὃς τὸν τε ἀδελφεόν οἱ Μηκιστέα ἀπεκτόνῃ καὶ
τὸν γαμβρὸν Τυδέα· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ τὸ τέμενος ἀπέδεξε, θυσίας τε
καὶ ὀρτὰς Ἀδρήστου ἀπελόμενος ἔδωκε τῷ Μελάνιππῳ¹⁷². οἱ δὲ

ture that it came from Spain, Pausanias professes not to know. The smaller of the two chambers, however, took five hundred talents weight of metal, and this circumstance was recorded in the inscription on it, which also represented it as being set up by "Myron and the commons of the Sicyonians." One of the two chambers was, according to Pausanias, of Dorian and the other of Ionian manufacture. The smaller one contained a trophy "from the Myones," and also "the hunting-knife of Pelops, with the handle of wrought gold, and a carved ivory horn of Amalthea, the offering of Miltiades, son of Cimon, the first ruler of the Chersonese." The Sicyon in which Clisthenes reigned was the *town on the coast*, which afterwards served only as the harbour to the new one, distant from twelve to twenty stadia. (PAUSAN. ii. 8. 1; STRABO, viii. 6.) All these circumstances are favourable to the supposition that the dynasty of Orthagoras was one of a powerful house in a commercial republic; and such a supposition will explain the contempt with which Clisthenes is said to have treated the rural population of the Sicyonian territory, whose sheepskin garb (which he was reported to have obliged them to wear, and from whence they got the name of *κατανακόφοροι*) made

them ashamed to come into the city. (THEOPOMPUS, *ap. Athen.* vi. p. 265.)

¹⁷⁰ πολλὰ πάντα. This appears to be the union of two various readings, πολλὰ and πάντα. EUSTATHIUS (*ad Il.* ii. p. 238) quotes the passage thus: διότι Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμνοῦνται. A transcriber collating a MS containing the first of the two readings with another that gave the second, and recollecting τὰ πολλὰ πάντα in i. 203 and ii. 35, probably believed that the two variants were to be reconciled by uniting them, from a false understanding of the idiom in the passages in question. With regard to the "Homeric poems," see note 99 on iv. 32. The author's remark is quite inapplicable to the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

¹⁷¹ ἐκβάλλῃ. Gaisford with all the MSS has ἐκβάλλοι. But compare εἰ στρατεύεται, i. 75.

¹⁷² θυσίας τε καὶ ὀρτὰς . . . ἔδωκε τῷ Μελάνιππῳ. The substantial effect of this move would be to confiscate the property of one hierarchy and with it to endow another, the former being one connected with Argos, the other with Thebes. It must be remembered that at the time in question religious rituals were in almost all cases performed by functionaries whose

- Σικυνώνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωσθὶ κάρτα τιμᾶν τὸν "Αδρηστον· ἡ γὰρ χώρα ἦν αὕτη Πολύβου· ὁ δὲ "Αδρηστος ἦν Πολύβου θυγατριδέος· ἅπαις δὲ Πόλυβος τελευτῶν διδοί' Αδρήστῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. τά τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυνώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν "Αδρηστον, καὶ δὴ πρὸς, τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμέωντες, τὸν δὲ "Αδρηστον· Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην τῷ Μελανίππῳ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς
- 68 "Αδρηστόν οἱ πεποιήτο. Φυλὰς δὲ τὰς Δωριέων, ἵνα δὴ μὴ αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι τοῖσι Σικυνωνίοισι καὶ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι, μετέβαλε ἐς ἄλλα οὐνόματα· ἔνθα καὶ πλεῖστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικυνωνίων¹⁷³. ἐπὶ γὰρ ὅς τε καὶ ὄνου τὰς ἐπωνυμίας μετατιθεῖς, αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε¹⁷⁴, πλὴν τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φυλῆς· ταύτῃ δὲ τὸ οὖνομα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς ἔθετο. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ Ἀρχέλαοι ἐκαλέοντο· ἕτεροι δὲ, Ὑᾶται· ἄλλοι δὲ, Ὀνεᾶται· ἕτεροι δὲ Χοιρεᾶται. τούτοις τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν φυλέων ἐχρέωντο οἱ Σικυνώνιοι καὶ ἐπὶ Κλεισθέneos ἀρχοντος, καὶ ἐκείνου τεθνεῶτος ἔτι ἐπ' ἕτεα ἐξήκοντα μετέπειτα μέντοι λόγον σφίσι δόντες, μετέβαλον ἐς τοὺς Ὑλλέας καὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Δυμανάτας¹⁷⁵. τετάρτους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προσέθεντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδρήστου παιδὸς Αἰγιαλέος, τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιούμενοι κεκλησθαι Αἰγιαλέας.
- 69 Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ὁ Σικυνώνιος Κλεισθένης ἐπεποιήκει. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀθηναῖος Κλεισθένης, ἐὼν τοῦ Σικυνωνίου τούτου θυγατριδέος καὶ τὸ οὖνομα ἐπὶ τούτου ἔχων, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, καὶ οὗτος ὑπεριδὼν Ἰωνας, ἵνα μὴ σφίσι αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἰωσι, τὸν ὁμώνυ-

The Athenian Clisthenes imitates his ancestor

office was hereditary in certain families. The measure of Clisthenes therefore was part of his general policy to depress the Dorian blood, by destroying the splendour of the religious ceremonies in which that portion of the population took part, and thus weakening the bond which held them together. See the next note, and the passage from ARISTOTLE quoted in note 176, below.

¹⁷³ ἐνθα καὶ πλεῖστον κατεγέλασε τῶν Σικυνωνίων. It is difficult to imagine that the names said to be assigned by Clisthenes to the three tribes were any thing more than *soubriquets* given by a commercial aristocracy to the agricultural population. Sicyon possessed a population partly Dorian and partly Achæan; and the dynasty

of the Orthagorids under Clisthenes represents the predominance of the latter. Sixty years after Clisthenes' death it may be supposed that the balance was restored, and that the rural tribes acquired an importance which enabled them to rid themselves of their contumelious nicknames. The Hylles, Dymanes, and Pamphyli are the well-known tribes into which nearly every Dorian population was divided; and it is impossible to conceive that they did not exist in Sicyon from the time of the Heraclide invasion.

¹⁷⁴ αὐτὰ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐπέθηκε, "he subjoined the actual terminations."

¹⁷⁵ ἐς τοὺς Ὑλλέας, "the well-known names Hylles," &c. So much is indicated by the article τούς. See the note 173.

μον Κλεισθένεα ἐμιμήσατο¹⁷⁶. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον in changing the old divisions, and altering their names. πρότερον ἀπωσμένον τότε πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε καὶ ἐποίησε πλεῦνας ἐξ ἑλασσόνων· δέκα τε δὴ φυλάρχους ἀντὶ τεσσέρων ἐποίησε, δέκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δῆμους κατένεμε ἐς τὰς φυλὰς¹⁷⁹. ἦν τε, τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος, πολλῶ κατῦπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων. Ἐν τῷ μέρει δὲ 70 ἐσσώμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης, ἀντιτεχνᾷται τάδε· ἐπικαλέεται Κλεο- His rival Isagoras tries to win over the Spartans through Cleomenes. μένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον, γενόμενον ἑωυτῷ ξεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισι- στρατιδῶν πολιορκίης· τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεα εἶχε αἰτὴν φοιτᾶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναικα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεο- μένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα, ἐξέβαλλε¹⁸⁰ Κλεισθένεα, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων· ταῦτα

¹⁷⁶ τὸν δμώνυμον Κλεισθένεα ἐμιμήσατο. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* vi. p. 1319, b, line 20) instances the proceedings of Clisthenes at Athens and those of the authors of the constitution at Cyrene (see iv. 161), as well exhibiting the methods of securing the elements of democracy, and thus describes these: φυλαί τε γὰρ ἕτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους καὶ φρατρίαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπως ἂν ᾗτι μάλιστα ἀναμιχθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις, αἱ δὲ συνήθειαι διασυνχθῶσιν αἱ πρότερον. It is plain, therefore, that the formation of new religious combinations was a point in which he "imitated his grandfather;" and hence the necessity for taking in a number of the ἐπιχώριοι ἥρωες (§ 66). Under the old régime there would be two relations to which the sanctity derived from religious rites would especially attach, the one the *συγγένεια* or quasi-family tie, the other the tie of the tribesman (*φυλέτης*), strengthened by those religious rites in which the members of the same φυλή (or its subdivision, the φρατρία) joined. But besides these *family rituals*, there were very many others which may be called *local rituals*; i. e. containing the religious ceremonies (*τιμαὶ*) which were due to the tutelary deity of each particular spot, who was always regarded as, in a manner, *ascriptus glebæ*. (See note 181, below.) Judging from Aristotle's description, we may conceive that a main part of Clisthenes' scheme consisted in a judicious union of several of these *local rituals*, forming a new ceremonial for a

newly-constituted tribe. By such a step this change would be effected, that the new ritual would call up mainly local instead of family associations,—which last, being no longer refreshed by an union of families in the periodical ceremonial of the tribe, would continually become more enfeebled. On the other hand the new bond of union would every day acquire greater strength, and before long effectually take the place of that which had been destroyed.

¹⁷⁹ δέκα . . . ἐς τὰς φυλὰς. These words appear to be a marginal note, although perhaps one proceeding from the hand of the author, intended merely as a memorandum for himself of a matter to be more fully developed at leisure. This supposition will explain the looseness of the expression δέκα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δῆμους κατένεμε ἐς τὰς φυλὰς,—which seems intended to mean "he distributed the demes among the tribes *by tens*." A good deal of difficulty is occasioned by the circumstance that many more demes than one hundred are known to have existed. But it is possible that two or more of these may often have been regarded as one for Clisthenes' purpose; and Herodotus's words hardly show more than that a decimal subdivision formed the basis of the arrangement. The *φύλαρχος*, according to ARISTOTLE (*ap. Harpocration*, *sub v.*), was not the chief of the φυλή, but of its *cavalry*.

¹⁸⁰ ἐξέβαλλε, "wished to expel." For illustration of this use of the imperfect tense, see the passage of ARISTOPHANES quoted in the note 206 on § 77, below.

δὲ πέμπων ἔλεγε ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκ-
μαιωνίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιῶται αὐτῶν εἶχον αἰτίνην τοῦ φόνου τού-
του· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετείχε, οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δ' ἐναγέες¹⁸¹
Ἀθηναίων ὧδε ὠνομάσθησαν· ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ
Ὀλυμπιονίκης¹⁸². οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε· προσποιησάμενος
δὲ ἐταιρήσθαι τῶν ἡλικιωτέρων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη·
οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι, ἰκέτης ἵζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα¹⁸³.
τούτους ἀνιστέασι μὲν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῶν Ναυκράρων, οἵπερ ἔνεμον
τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου¹⁸⁴. φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς
αἰτὴν ἔχει Ἀλκμαιωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης
ἐγένετο.

72 Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς πέμπων ἐξέβαλλε¹⁸⁵ Κλεισθέnea καὶ τοὺς

¹⁸¹ οἱ ἐναγέες. The city was lustrated by Epimenides, under the auspices of Solon, in order to do away with the effects of this *ἄγος*. (PLUTARCH, *Solon*, § 12, apparently following Theopompus.) For fear of inadvertently omitting any local deity or hero whose wrath might have been excited, Epimenides turned some sheep loose, and ordered that wherever one of them lay down, it should be sacrificed τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ. (DIOGENES LAERTIUS, i. § 110). Hence there arose several nameless altars with the inscription which struck St. Paul's attention many centuries afterwards (*Acts* xvii. 23). This lustration is placed by Diogenes (who throughout seems to follow Eratosthenes and Apollodorus's chronology) in the forty-sixth or forty-seventh Olympiad.

¹⁸² ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης. The victory which he obtained was for a foot-race: *διαύλου νίκην*. (PAUSANIAS, i. 28. 1.)

¹⁸³ πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. THUCYDIDES, who tells the story of Cylon far more circumstantially (i. 126), says that Cylon and his brother escaped, but that the remainder of the conspirators *καθίσουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει*. The deity, whose image or altar was resorted to by the suppliants, was *Athene Polias*. Her temple was united with that of *Erectheus*, the Athenian Poseidon. (HESYCH. *sub v.*)

¹⁸⁴ ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου. This is a very elliptical and almost colloquial phrase. Herodotus obviously means to say that they surrendered under the condition to submit to whatever might be adjudged 'short of death.' THUCYDIDES's account of the terms is: *ἐφ' ᾧ μὴδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσι*.

PLUTARCH's (*Solon*. § 12), that the suppliants delivered themselves up for trial (*ἐπὶ δίκῃ κατήλθον*), but, probably from fear of what might happen, still saved their sanctuary by laying hold of a string which they had attached to the base of the image. These accounts may be all reconciled by the supposition of an understanding having been entered into, that in the event of condemnation the prisoners should be allowed to banish themselves from Athens. It seems not improbable that the account given by Thucydides is the one traditionally preserved in the family of Miltiades, and that this family was not unfriendly to Cylon's party. Plutarch states that the party afterwards recovered much influence, and that an hereditary animosity was kept up in it against the descendants of Megacles. Now after the Persian war the opposition to the latter was undoubtedly led by Miltiades's family. Hence perhaps Thucydides, one of that family, may have been led to use the phrase he does, which puts the breach of faith on the part of the Alcmaeonids in the strongest light. Herodotus, on the other hand, probably follows the local traditions of the acropolis, which he presently speaks of having visited (§ 77), and in which the fact of the illegal bloodshed—which constituted the *ἄγος*—would be the point most prominently put forward, the merits of the two contending factions being, in a religious view, of secondary importance. The chronology of the whole narrative is extremely loose, and such as might be expected from an oral temple tradition. See notes 191, 197, and 212, below.

¹⁸⁵ ἐξέβαλλε. Gaisford ἐξέβαλε.

ἐναγέας, Κλεισθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε¹⁸⁶. μετὰ δὲ, οὐδὲν ἦσσαν Cleomenes attempts a coup d'état at Athens, and is driven out of the city, παρὴν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρὶ, ἀπικό-
μενος δὲ ἀγῆλατ' ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια¹⁸⁷ Ἀθηναίων, τὰ οἱ ὑπέθετο
ὁ Ἰσαγόρης· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, δεύτερα τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν
ἐπειράτο, τριηκοσίοισι δὲ τοῖσι Ἰσαγόρεω στασιώτησι τὰς ἀρχὰς
ἐνεχείριζε. ἀντισταθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης
πείθεσθαι, ὃ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται
αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ,
τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ
ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι. ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένει ἡ φήμη· ὥς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχέσειν, ἥϊε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον
τῆς θεοῦ¹⁸⁸ ὥς προσερέων· ἡ δὲ ἱρήνῃ ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου
πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμείψαι, εἶπε· “ὦ ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε,
πάλιν χώρει, μὴδ' ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι
παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα” ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεὺς εἰμι
ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός¹⁸⁹.” ὁ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληδόνι οὐδὲν χρεώμενος, ἐπεχεί-
ρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· τοὺς

after a bad omen.

¹⁸⁶ ὑπεξέσχε. Herodotus uses this word in vi. 74 and viii. 132, and in all cases it seems designed to express voluntary banishment, perhaps antecedently to any formal proceeding.

¹⁸⁷ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια, “seven hundred hearth-fulls,” i. e. families. This expression is most appropriate to a religious procedure,—as the fire on the hearth of the individual citizen, lighted originally from the sacred fire in the Prytaneum, symbolized the participation of the family in the national life. To put out for ever the hearth-fire was therefore considered as equivalent to the cutting off a diseased member of the body politic. See the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, sub voce *Prytaneum*.

¹⁸⁸ ἥϊε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ. On the highest hill at Sparta stood the temple of Athene πολιισούχος (called also χαλκίοικος from the bronze walls of the fane). This temple was said to have been commenced by Tyndareus, and after his death continued by the Dioscuri, but it was not completed till long afterwards. (PAUSANIAS iii. 17. 2.) The Achæan popula-

tion, which the Dorian invaders found in Laconia (see the next note), had, like the Athenians, legends connecting Athene with Poseidon, and these were exhibited by reliefs in this very temple. In others also at Sparta there was a joint dedication to the two deities. (PAUSAN. iii. 11. 9; iii. 12. 5.) Hence, finding the same combination of religious symbols to which he had been accustomed, the Spartan king had no scruple in entering.

¹⁸⁹ οὐ Δωριεὺς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός. By these words Cleomenes indicates his descent not from the Heraclide invaders of the Peloponnese, but from the Achæan Tyndarids who retained possession of Amyclæ and Therapnæ, and for a long time successfully resisted them. (See PAUSANIAS, iii. 2. 6; iii. 12. 9.) MÜLLER (*Orchomenus*, p. 319) collects the evidence which proves the existence of Achæans (mixed with Minyæans) in this part of the Peloponnese, long after the date usually assigned to the Dorian invasion. He even conjectures that Amyclæ is the town which Homer calls Lacedæmon. See the note 221 on i. 66, and note 100, above.

δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναῖοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφόν, τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν ¹⁹⁰ τε καὶ λήματος ἔχοιμ' ἂν μέγιστα καταλέξει. οὗτοι μὲν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν ¹⁹¹

73 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Κλεισθέnea καὶ τὰ ἐπτακόσια ἐπίστια τὰ διωχθέντα ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος μεταπεμφάμενοι, πέμπουσι ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδεις συμμαχίην βουλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς Πέρσας· ἡπιστάτο γάρ σφι Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Κλεομένεα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι· ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις καὶ λεγόντων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ¹⁹², Σαρδίῳ ὑπαρχος, ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἔοντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ πῇ γῆς οἰκημένοι ¹⁹³ δεοῖατο Περσέων σύμμαχοι γενέσθαι; πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε ¹⁹⁴. εἰ μὲν διδοῦσι βασιλεῖ Δαρεῖῳ Ἀθηναῖοι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ συμμαχίην σφι συντετίθετο· εἰ δὲ μὴ διδοῦσι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι διδόναι ἔφασαν, βουλόμενοι τὴν συμμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν, αἰτίας μεγάλας εἶχον.

74 Κλεομένης δὲ ἐπιστάμενος περιϋβρίσθαι ἔπεσι καὶ ἔργοισι ¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ ἔργα χειρῶν. PAUSANIAS (vi. 8. 6) speaks of a statue of this Timesitheus at Olympia, where he won two victories as a pancratiast. He obtained the same distinction three times in the Pythian games. Pausanias says that the statue is by Agelades the Argive; and if this assertion is well founded, it probably was seen by Herodotus.

¹⁹¹ οὗτοι μὲν νυν δεδεμένοι ἐτελεύτησαν. The SCHOLIAST on Aristophanes (*Lysistr.* 273) says that after the unsuccessful occupation of Eleusis (which Herodotus relates § 74) the Athenians confiscated the property of those Athenians who had joined him in the attempt, rased their houses to the ground, and passed sentence of death against themselves, καὶ ἀναγράφαντες ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ, ἔστησαν ἐν πόλει παρὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον νεῶν. It seems not unlikely that the column in question is the basis for the assertion in the text. The parties were *in law* dead; hence the expression κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, and it was only to be expected that the occupation of the acropolis would soon, in popular tradition, be regarded as the crime for which they suffered. See the note 202 on § 76.

¹⁹² Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ὑστάσπεος. See above, v. 25. 30.

¹⁹³ ἐπειρώτα τίνες ἔοντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ πῇ γῆς οἰκημένοι. This question indicates that the power of Athens at that time must have been very small. On the other hand that of Naxos must have been considerable when Artaphernes was applied to for assistance to reduce it (above, § 31). Although able to reckon on the assistance of a part of the Naxians, he refuses to embark in an enterprise against them without the consent of the Persian court, and then determines to send double the force demanded. Such a relation between the resources of Naxos and Athens seems incompatible with the notion that Pisistratus had ever subdued the former. See note 214 on i. 64, and what Herodotus says of Athens under tyrannical government, below, § 78.

¹⁹⁴ ἀπεκορύφου σφι τάδε, "gave them this short answer."

¹⁹⁵ ἔπεσι καὶ ἔργοισι. ARISTOPHANES (*Lysistr.* 274—280) alludes to the surrender of Cleomenes, in terms which show that the miserable condition in which he was forced to evacuate the citadel remained a popular theme with the Athenian com-

ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν, οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει, τίσασθαι τε ἐθέλων τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστήσαι ¹⁹⁶, συνεξήλθε γάρ οἱ οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οἰνόην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ὑσιὰς ¹⁹⁷, δῆμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς ¹⁹⁸. Χαλκιδέες ¹⁹⁹ τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐσίνοντο ἐπιόντες [χώρους] τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, καίπερ ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐς ὕστερον ἐμελλον μνήμην ποιήσεσθαι. Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ, εὐοῦσι ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ, ἀντὶ ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα. Μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην, 75 Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφὶ αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον ²⁰⁰ ὥς οὐ ποιοῖεν

Cleomenes again invades them with a large force, while the Chalcidians and Boeotians create a diversion.

On arriving at Eleusis,

the allied force melts

monalty. The chorus of old men, upon Lysistrata's occupying the acropolis, is made to say :

ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Κλεομένης, ὃς αὐτὴν κατέσχε
πρῶτος,
ἀπῆλθεν ἀφάλακτος, ἀλλ'
ὄμως Λακωνικῶν πνέων,
ᾧχετο θῶπλα παραδοὺς ἔμοι,
σμικρὸν ἔχων πᾶν τριβάνιον,
πεινῶν, ῥυπῶν, ἀπαράτιλτος,
ἐξ ἐτῶν ἄλουντος.

¹⁹⁶ Ἰσαγόρην βουλόμενος τύραννον καταστήσαι. If Isagoras had Megarian connexions (as seems probable; see the note 167 on § 66), he would be a plausible partizan of Peloponnesian interests, and therefore one to whom the confederates would have no right to object. But if at the same time he was of the old Achæan blood, he might be favourable to the particular schemes for the elevation of that race which Cleomenes appears to have formed. See note on vi. 74, below.

¹⁹⁷ Οἰνóην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ὑσιὰς. The former of these two burghs lies on the southern and the latter on the northern side of the range of Cithæron, bearing very nearly N.W. from Athens. The emancipation of Hysiaë from the dominion of Thebes probably took place at the same time with that of Plataea. (See vi. 108.) The possession of the two burghs was extremely important, for the road from Eleusis to Thebes over Cithæron was commanded on the side of Attica by CEnoe, and on that of Boeotia by Hysiaë. The order in which the places are mentioned is worth remarking, as pointing to an

Attic authority. (See note 212 on § 79, below.) The Boeotians must have seized Hysiaë first, or they could not have advanced on CEnoe. Of the latter LEAKE says, "It stood in a narrow valley at the ascent of Cithæron, leading from the plain of Eleutheræ into the Platæis, and near where the road from Megara to Thebes joined that from Athens and Eleusis. It was therefore an essential point for securing the communication of the Athenians with Plataea, as well as to protect Eleutheræ and Eleusis. Hence it was fortified prior to the Peloponnesian war (THUCYD. ii. 18), and became one of the most important defences of the Attic frontier. It still exists in ruins under the name of Ghyftókastro, and is one of the most complete examples of a Greek fortress extant."

¹⁹⁸ δῆμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. I am inclined to think these words a marginal interpretation which has crept into the text. There is no ground for supposing that Hysiaë was ever a deme of Attica. (See the last note.) Besides which Hysiaë and CEnoe would be, in the time of Herodotus, as familiar as Eleusis to any one of his hearers.

¹⁹⁹ Χαλκιδέες. Pisistratus was assisted by the Eretrians in his exile (see i. 62), as Isagoras was by the rival state of Chalcis.

²⁰⁰ Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι σφὶ αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον. It seems not impossible that they viewed with jealousy the probable elevation of Isagoras, if he was a man of Megarian connexions. (See note 167 on § 66, above.) Megara had been at one time a dependency of Corinth, and its emancipation seems to have belonged to the same

away, and one of the Spartan kings re-treats.

τὰ δίκαια, μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο· μετὰ δὲ Δημό-
ρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐὼν καὶ οὗτος βασιλεὺς Σπαρτηγέων, καὶ
συνεξαγαγὼν τε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ οὐκ ἐὼν διά-
φορος ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ Κλεομένει· (ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς
διχοστασίης ἐτέθη νόμος ἐν Σπάρτῃ, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἔπεισθαι ἀμφοτέ-
ρους τοὺς βασιλῆας ἐξιούσης τῆς στρατιῆς· τῶς γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι
εἶποντο· παραλυομένου δὲ τούτων τοῦ ἐτέρου, καταλείπεσθαι καὶ
τῶν Τυνδαριδέων τὸν ἕτερον· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφοτέροι,
ἐπικλητοὶ σφί ἐόντες ²⁰¹, εἶποντο·) τότε δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἐλευσίνῃ ὀρέωντες
οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς τε βασιλῆας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ
ὁμολογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν, οἴχοντο καὶ
⁷⁶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι. Τέταρτον δὲ τοῦτο ²⁰² ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
ἀπικόμενοι Δωριεῖς, δις τε ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐσβαλόντες καὶ δις ἐπ’
ἀγαθῷ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Ἀθηναίων· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτε καὶ Μέγα-
ρα κατοίκισαν ²⁰³. (οὗτος ὁ στόλος, ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθη-

The fourth instance of a Doric invasion of Attica.

cycle of events which produced the overthrow of the Bacchiadæ (a Doric oligarchy) at Corinth. The revolutions took the same shape in both states,—an overthrow of a class aristocracy by the commons under the leadership of one of the oligarchs, who finally became tyrant, as Cypselus did at Corinth and Theagenes at Megara. Now as Cylon was the son-in-law of Theagenes, and Isagoras the representative of Cylon's party at Athens, his elevation to power would have been equivalent to elevating the influence of the commons at Megara,—a population (as the native traditions show; see note 203, below) into which the Doric element entered very slightly. That the Corinthian oligarchal or Doric party was strong at this time is evident from the harangue of Sosicles (§ 92, *seqq.*). But Cleomenes the Spartan king disclaimed being a Dorian (§ 72), and showed his sympathy for the ante-dorian race not only in his patronage of Isagoras, but in his subsequent attempt to organize an Arcadian confederacy against Sparta (vi. 74). Hence perhaps the decided break with Demaratus.

²⁰¹ ἐπικλητοὶ σφί ἐόντες, “being allies of theirs.” See vii. 203, ἐπικλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ πανστρατιῇ, “the Locrians came to help them in full force.” The idea of a friendly deity going forth with the host under some especial visible symbol, and taking part in their battles as an

ally, was common to almost all the nations of antiquity. Thus the Æginetæ are related by Herodotus to have sent the images of the Æacidæ, their tutelary heroes, to assist the Thebans (below, § 80); and the allied Greeks before the battle of Salamis despatched a ship expressly for the same (viii. 64). It was the same feeling which induced the elders of Israel to fetch the ark out of Shiloh, “that when it cometh among us, it may save us out of the hand of our enemies.” (1 Sam. iv. 3.) So too the chariot of Ormuzd went in the front of the Persian line of march (vii. 40). See note 111 on iii. 37.

²⁰² τέταρτον δὲ τοῦτο. By the use of this expression it would seem that the occupation of the acropolis and that of Eleusis by Cleomenes are considered as part of one expedition,—a view quite in accordance with the account given by the SCHOLIAST on Aristophanes (*Lysistr.* 273), who makes Cleomenes evacuate Athens on terms, without any exceptions, and seize Eleusis on his march homeward (ἀφεθεῖς ὑπόσπονδος, ἀπὼν οἴκαδε πάλιν Ἐλευσίνα κατέσχε). If only the Lacedæmonians were allowed to quit the acropolis, it is difficult to conceive how Isagoras, the prime mover of the intervention, should have been suffered to accompany them. See note 191, above.

²⁰³ ὅτε καὶ Μέγα-ρα κατοίκισαν. The tradition followed here is the same as that

ναίων, ὀρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο²⁰⁴.) δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον, ὅτε ἐπὶ Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἐξέλασιν ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπίκοντο· τέταρτον δὲ τότε, ὅτε ἐς Ἑλευσίνα Κλεομένης ἄγων Πελοποννησίους ἐσέβαλε. οὕτω τέταρτον τότε Δωριεὲς ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας.

Διαλυθέντος ὦν τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἀκλεῶς, ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι 77

of the authors of the *Atthides* (ap. *Strabon*. ix. p. 235), who related that the Megarid territory fell to Nisus, one of the four sons of Pandion, who built Nisæa; and that the population was Ionian and identical with that inhabiting Attica, until the invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians in the time of Codrus, when, at the urgent request of the Corinthians and Messenians, Megara was founded, and the population of the Megarid became Dorian. SOPHOCLES (as might be expected) followed the *Attic* tradition respecting the Megarid, making Ægeus say of Pandion:

Νίσῳ δὲ τὴν ἀνόμαλον ἐξαίρει χθόνα
Σκίρωνος ἀκτῆς.

The *native* legends of Megaris, however, related that the name Megara was given to the city in the reign of *Car*, the son of Phoroneus, at which time the sacred rites of Demeter were first introduced there, and that the name *μέγαρα* was given to these. Twelve generations after *Car*, *Lelex* (an Egyptian) became king, and his subjects from him acquired the name of Leleges. His grandson *Sciron* married a daughter of Pandion and disputed the sovereignty with her brother Nisus. Æacus, being appealed to, decided in favour of Nisus, with a reservation of the military command to Sciron. Finally *Megareus*, a son of Poseidon, married Iphinoë, the daughter of Nisus, and succeeded to the kingdom. The Boeotian traditions made Megareus the son of Poseidon a native of Onchestus, and an ally of Nisus in the war against Minos (a war of which the Megarian legends were entirely ignorant). (PAUSAN. i. 39.) And yet another tradition made Megareus a son of *Apollo* (STEPH. BYZANT. v. Μέγαρα), thus accounting for the Dorian character of Megara.

[²⁰⁴] οὗτος ὁ στόλος . . . ὀρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο. These words can scarcely be a part of the thread of the narrative; neither is their sense complete. Some such phrase as ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἐσβολῇ seems required to ex-

press what is meant. Possibly they are a mere memorandum by Herodotus himself, made with the intention at some future time of giving a history of this expedition, about which very different accounts existed. The story which was current at Athens, and represented Codrus as sacrificing himself to save the city from being taken by the Dorian invaders, was supported by local tradition. The place where Codrus fell was pointed out on the banks of the Ilissus (PAUSAN. i. 19. 5); and his self-devotion furnished an useful topic to the orators. (LYCURG. c. *Leocrat.* §§ 85—90.) But ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* p. 1310, line 37) cites Codrus as an instance, not of a king who sacrificed himself to preserve the independence of his country, but of a person who *became* a king by saving his country from slavery in war,—a view in harmony with what Herodotus briefly mentions of his family, above (§ 65). And PAUSANIAS, after saying that the common Athenians would not hear of there having been any king at Athens (except Pisistratus) since the time of Theseus, οἳ ἰστορίας ἀνῆλκοι ὄντες, καὶ ὅποσα ἤκουον εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἔν τε χοροῖς καὶ τραγῳδαῖς πιστὰ ἡγούμενοι, adds, that if he pleased he could give a list of the descendants of Melanthus as low as to Clidicus, the son of Æsimides, who *all* reigned at Athens (i. 3. 3). The reign of Æsimides (whether as king or archon) began in the first year of the eighth Olympiad (PAUSAN. iv. 5. 10), so that the traditions here alluded to by Pausanias would bring down the regal authority of the Neleid house quite into the historical times. It will be remembered that Pisistratus came of *this* family. (See above, § 65.) There is little or nothing in Herodotus or Thucydides to guide to a decision between the tradition followed by Lycurgus and that adopted by Aristotle; neither is the circumstance related by PHERECYDES (*fr.* 110) incompatible with the latter account, although it has generally been woven into the former.

The Athenians obtain important advantages over the Boeotians and Chalcidians,

τίνυνσθαι βουλόμενοι, πρῶτα στρατηῆν ποιεῖνται ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας· Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι βοηθέουσι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐριπὸν· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἰδοῦσι τοὺς βοηθοὺς ἔδοξε πρότερον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι ἢ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι ἐπιχειρέειν· συμβάλλουσιν τε δὴ τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πολλῶ ἐκράτησαν· κάρτα δὲ πολλοὺς φονεύσαντες, ἑπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐξώγησαν²⁰⁵. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ταύτης ἡμέρης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν, συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖσι Χαλκιδεῦσι· νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τούτους, τετρακισχιλίους κληρούχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἵπποβοτέων τῇ χώρῃ λείπουσι· οἱ δὲ ἵπποβόται²⁰⁶ ἐκαλέοντο οἱ παχέες τῶν Χαλκιδέων· ὅσους δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐξώγησαν, ἅμα τοῖσι Βοιωτῶν ἐξωγημένοισι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, ἐν πέδαις δῆσαντες· χρόνῳ δὲ ἔλυσάν σφεας διμνέως ἀποτιμησάμενοι²⁰⁷. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αἵπερ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἦσαν περιεῦσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μῆδου· ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον²⁰⁸ καὶ τῶν λύτρων τὴν

²⁰⁵ ἑπτακοσίους αὐτῶν ἐξώγησαν. It will be remarked that the number is the same as that of the families exiled by Cleomenes (§ 72).

²⁰⁶ οἱ δὲ ἵπποβόται. The presence of the article here has occasioned some difficulty. But it seems likely that although this name οἱ ἵπποβ. was given to the aristocracy collectively, each individual member of it would not be termed ἵπποβότης, and in that case the article and substantive would cohere closely together, as in the phrases οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ δώδεκα, &c. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* iv. p. 1297, line 16) remarks that the early monarchies (βασιλειαί) were in all cases succeeded by a military aristocracy of *cavalry*, adding this profound remark: τὴν γὰρ ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν ὁ πόλεμος εἶχεν· ἄνευ μὲν γὰρ συντάξεως ἄχρηστον τὸ ὀπλιτικόν, αἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐμπειρία καὶ τάξεις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οὐχ ὑπῆρχον· ὥστ' ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν εἶναι τὴν ἰσχύν. In another passage he remarks that in the ancient times wherever the force of a state consisted of cavalry, the form of government was oligarchal, and instances Chalcis, Eretria, Magnesia on the Mæander, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν (iv. p. 1289, line 40). The same thing (in spite of the unaptness of Attica for horse-breeding) was the case at

Athens, and hence ARISTOPHANES makes his homely citizen, who had married a wife of aristocratic descent, complain that she would have their son designated by a name of hippotrophic import (*Nub.* 60):

— ὕψως νῶν ἐγένεθ' υἱὸς οὐτοσί, περὶ τουνόματος δὴ ὕντεῦθεν ἐλοιδορούμεθα·
ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἵππον προσετίθει πρὸς τούνομα, Ξάνθιππον ἢ Χαίριππον ἢ Καλλιππίδην, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ πάππου τίθειμην Φειδωνίδην.

Compare οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, vi. 35. It seems not unlikely that the revolution effected by Pisistratus was coincident with the organization of an infantry force as an important arm of war. (See note 194 on i. 59.) Aristotle adds to the remark above quoted: ἀξαναομένων δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὕπλοις ἰσχυσάντων μάλλον πλείους μετείχον τῆς πολιτείας· διόπερ ἄς νῦν καλοῦμεν πολιτείας οἱ πρότερον ἐκάλουν δημοκρατίας.

²⁰⁷ διμνέως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. See vi. 79.

²⁰⁸ ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον. As Gaisford punctuates this passage the reconciliation of it with the topography of the acropolis seems impossible. The following is the way I conceive the spoils to have been disposed of. The old temple of Athene Polias which the Persians burnt down probably

δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν, ποιησάμενοι τέθριππον χάλκεον· τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτον ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, ἐπιγέγραπται δέ οἱ τάδε·

Ἐθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδῆων δαμάσαντες
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου,
δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβησαν ὕβριν·
τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλὰδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν·

Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν ἠϋξήντο. δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἐν μῦθον, ἀλλὰ 78
πανταχῇ, ἡ ἰσηγορίῃ ὡς ἔστι χρήμα σπουδαῖον· εἰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι and thrive
τυραννεύοντες μὲν οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικούντων ἦσαν τὰ wonderfully
πολέμια ἀμείνους²⁰⁹, ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῷ πρῶτοι under free
ἐγένοντο. δηλοῖ ὦν ταῦτα, ὅτι κατεχόμενοι μὲν ἐβελόκακεν, ὡς institu-
δεσπότη ἐργαζόμενοι ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἑωυτῷ tions.
προθυμέετο κατεργάζεσθαι. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρασσον.

Θηβαῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς θεὸν ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι τίσασθαι 79
Ἀθηναίους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ ἀπὸ σφέων μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔφη αὐτοῖσι The The-
εἶναι τίσιν, ἐς ΠΟΛΥΦΗΜΟΝ²¹⁰ δὲ ἐξενείκαντας ἐκέλευε²¹¹ bans, de-
ΤΩΝ ἈΓΧΙΣΤΑ ΔΕΕΣΘΑΙ. ἀπελθόντων ὦν τῶν θεοπρόπων, consult the
ἐξέφερον τὸ χρηστήριον ἰλίην ποιησάμενοι· ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Delphic
λεγόντων αὐτῶν ΤΩΝ ἈΓΧΙΣΤΑ ΔΕΕΣΘΑΙ, εἶπαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι oracle, and
ἀκούσαντες τούτων “οὐκ ὦν ἄγχιστα ἡμέων οἰκέουσι Ταναγραῖοι are puzzled
by the an-
swer.

looked east (like the subsequent one), and in this I conceive the goddess to have been associated with Erectheus, the Athenian Poseidón, a similar arrangement to that which existed elsewhere. (See the note 188 on § 72, and 223 on § 82.) Here the fetters were dedicated. But contemporaneous with this temple, and in a manner forming a part of it, was the fane of Pandrosos, which seems to be meant by “the fane turned westward.” (See PAUSANIAS, i. 27. 3.) It was in this fane that the sacred olive-tree grew which shot out after its destruction by the Persians. (viii. 55; APOLLONORUS, iii. 14. 1.) If we suppose the Pandroseum (or Cecropieum; for father and daughter seem to have been united in the religious legends of the place) to have faced the west, the site given by LEAKE for the *Quadriga* exactly corresponds with the description of Herodotus, and yet this description will not oppose his notion of the way in which the new Erectheum was laid out. (*Athens*

and the *Demi of Attica*, i. p. 340, and Appendix.) In this, which was planned by Phidias, but not completed till after the Peloponnesian war, Athene Polias alone appears to have had a temple on the site of the ancient one, but Erectheus one looking northward,—while the Pandroseum was in an angle to the south,—all three however being under one roof. Hence there is no temple whatever “turned westward” in the buildings which made up the new Erectheum.

²⁰⁹ οὐδαμῶν τῶν σφέας περιοικούντων ἦσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους. See note 193, above.

²¹⁰ ΠΟΛΥΦΗΜΟΝ. A personification of the commonalty, the “many-voiced.” Compare τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον (above, iv. 163).

²¹¹ ἐκέλευε. One MS omits this word, perhaps rightly. It might readily be supplied by inference from the former clause of the sentence. See below, § 82, ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ οὐδέτερα τούτων ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου ἡμέρης ἐλαίης [ἐκέλευε].

τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπῖες²¹², καὶ οὗτοί γε ἅμα ἡμῖν αἰεὶ
μαχόμενοι, προθύμως συνδιαφέρουσι τὸν πόλεμον; τί δεῖ τού-
80 των γε δέεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ἢ τὸ χρηστήριον.”
Τοιαῦτα δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενων, εἶπε δὴ κοτε μαθὼν τις. “ἐγὼ μοι
δοκέω συνέναι τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν ἡμῖν τὸ μαντήϊον. Ἀσωποῦ
λέγονται γενέσθαι θυγατέρες Θήβη τε καὶ Αἴγινα· τουτέων
ἀδελφεῶν ἐουσέων, δοκέω ἡμῖν Αἰγινήτεων δέεσθαι τὸν θεὸν
χρῆσαι τιμωρητῆρων γενέσθαι.” καὶ οὐ γάρ τις ταύτης
ἀμείνων γνώμη ἐδόκεε φαίνεσθαι, αὐτίκα πέμψαντες ἐδέοντο
Αἰγινήτεων, ἐπικαλούμενοι κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν σφι βοηθέειν, ὥς
81 ἔοντων ἀγχιστέων· οἱ δὲ σφι αἰτέουσι ἐπικουρίην τοὺς Αἰακίδας
συμπέμπειν²¹³ ἔφασαν. Πειρησαμένων δὲ [τῶν Θηβαίων] κατὰ
τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων²¹⁴ καὶ τρηχέως περιεφθέντων ὑπὸ

²¹² Ταναγραῖοι τε καὶ Κορωναῖοι καὶ Θεσπῖες. Why these three should have been especially named here among the Boeotian towns in alliance with Thebes is very difficult to say. Tanagra and Thespiæ have some pretensions to be immediate neighbours of Thebes, and as they lie towards the Attic frontier might readily suggest themselves as valuable allies to Thebes. But Coronea (or—as Herodotus must have called it if the reading Κορωναῖοι is genuine—Corone or Coronæ) is at a considerable distance to the N.W. of Thebes, with several towns of importance lying between. It may be thought to be mentioned from the circumstance of its being the first place occupied by the Boeotians when they issued from Thessaly and expelled the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Copaic lake, and from its being also the place where the *Pambæotia* were celebrated. (STRABO, ix. cap. 2.) But it seems more likely that Herodotus is here following an Athenian tradition, and that therefore the principle of selection is one connected with *Athenian associations*. Now at Coronea was the temple of *Itonia Athene*, and in the immediate neighbourhood formerly stood the Boeotian towns Athens and Eleusis, on the banks of the brook Triton. Close by was Alalcomenæ, where there was a temple of Athene of great antiquity and highly venerated, and of which the tradition ran that the goddess was born there (a mythical way of expressing the fact that her peculiar ritual spread from thence as a cen-

tre). Now if we suppose the informant of Herodotus to have been a person attached to the service of Athene on the acropolis of Athens, it is only natural that Coronea should occupy a prominent place in his mind, to the exclusion of other towns which would, from a Theban point of view, have been more appropriate. One may even conjecture that such a person might use the adjectival form Κορωναῖος from Κορώναι, (after the analogy of Ἀθηναῖος) instead of the usual forms, which were (according to STEPH. BYZANTINUS) Κορώνιος, Κορωνεύς, or Κορωνειεύς, where a citizen of the Boeotian town was indicated. It may be added that there was at least a mythical connexion between Athens and the other two towns (although, in the case of these, their proximity to the Attic frontier renders such a consideration unnecessary), for the Attic Gephyræi, whom Herodotus mentions above, §§ 55. 57, were, as he takes special pains to inform his hearers, originally from Boeotian Tanagra; and one of the traditions at Thespiæ made the founder to be a Thespius, son of the Athenian Erectheus. (PAUSAN. ix. 26. 6.) Indeed, after the Persian invasion this town was rebuilt under Athenian auspices (see viii. 75), so that the connexion, not of Thebes but of Athens, with all three of the towns named is clearly established. See notes 184 and 197.

²¹³ τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμπέμπειν. See above, note 201.

²¹⁴ κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίην τῶν Αἰακιδέων,

They apply
for aid to
the Ægine-
ans,

their very
prosperous

τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὶς [οἱ Θηβαῖοι²¹⁵] πέμψαντες, τοὺς μὲν kinsmen,
and ancient
enemies of
Athens, who
aid them by
ravaging
the coast of
Attica.
Αἰακίδας σφι ἀπεδίδουσαν τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐδέοντο· Αἰγινῆται δὲ,
εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλη ἐπαρθέντες, καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνη-
σθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους²¹⁶, τότε Θηβαίων δεηθέντων πόλε-
μον ἀκήρυκτον²¹⁷ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον· ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν
Βοιωτοῖσι, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατὰ
μὲν ἔσυραν Φάληρον, κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας πολλοὺς
δήμους· ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα, μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσίνοντο²¹⁸.

Ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἡ προοφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων, 82
ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιῆσδε· Ἐπιδαυρίοισι ἡ γῆ καρπὸν οὐδένα The cause
of the feud
between
Athens and
Ægina.
ἀνείδου. περὶ ταύτης ὦν τῆς συμφορῆς οἱ Ἐπιδαῦριοι ἐχρέωντο
ἐν Δελφοῖσι· ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφέας ἐκέλευε Δαμίης τε καὶ Αὐξησίης²¹⁹
ἀγάλματα ἰδρῦσασθαι, καὶ σφι ἰδρυσαμένοισι ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι
ἐπειρώτεον ὦν οἱ Ἐπιδαῦριοι κότερα χαλκοῦ ποιέονται [τὰ ἀγάλ- The Epi-
daurians ob-
tain some
sacred olive-
wood on
condition of
doing ser-
ματα²²⁰] ἢ λίθον· ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ οὐδέτερα τούτων ἔα, ἀλλὰ ξύλου
ἡμέρης ἐλαίης· ἐδέοντο ὦν οἱ Ἐπιδαῦριοι Ἀθηναίων ἐλαίην σφι
δοῦναι ταμέσθαι, ἱρωτάτας δὲ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι²²¹. λέγεται

“under the notion that they had the
Æacidae for their allies.” See below,
§ 86, κατὰ τοῦτο εἶξαν.

²¹⁵ [οἱ Θηβαῖοι]. The manuscript S
has οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, which seems to indicate
that both οἱ Θηβαῖοι and οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι are
glosses inserted to render the sense more
perspicuous. I have therefore retained
the reading of Gaisford and the majority
of MSS, but have placed it within brackets
as a probable interpolation. But if it be
one, it seems likely that τῶν Θηβαίων two
lines back is also one; for if *πειρησαμένων*
and *πέμψαντες* be referred to the same
subject, the change of construction is gra-
tuitously clumsy. I should account for
the change by referring *πειρησαμένων* to
the Thebans *with their allies*, the Bœo-
tian confederacy, but *πέμψαντες* to the
Thebans *alone* as the heads of the con-
federacy.

²¹⁶ ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους. This is the
reading of Gaisford and the majority of
MSS. But one has ἐχούσης Ἀθην., and
Aldus εὐούσης πρὸς Ἀθην. The variations
induce me to suspect that the clause is an
explanatory gloss. The case is a different
one from that in viii. 144.

²¹⁷ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον, “a piratical
warfare,” without the previous proclama-
tion by heralds.

²¹⁸ ἐσίνοντο. One manuscript (M) has
ἐσινέοντο, which Gaisford follows. But
see the note on ix. 13.

²¹⁹ Δαμίης τε καὶ Αὐξησίης. The pen-
ultimate of the former of these words is
probably long, and possibly the ortho-
graphy should be Δαμείης. The origin of
the word is undoubtedly δᾶ μαῖα (= δαμά-
τηρ), and the two deities are precisely
equivalent to the γῆ κουροτρόφος and
δημήτηρ χλόη, who were worshipped to-
gether in a temple just at the entrance to
the acropolis at Athens. (PAUSANIAS, i.
22. 3; ARISTOPHANES, *Lysistr.* 835.)
ÆSCHYLUS (*Choeph.* 45) puts the in-
vocation ἰὼ γαῖα μαῖα into the mouths of
the Argive women.

²²⁰ [τὰ ἀγάλματα]. These words are
omitted in the manuscripts S and V.
Gaisford retains them, but they appear to
me to be a gloss. For ποιέονται Gaisford
and the MSS have ποιέονται. But see
note 170 on i. 53.

²²¹ ἱρωτάτας δὲ κείνας νομίζοντες εἶναι.
These were the so-called *Moria*, sacred
trees, originally twelve in number, which
stood in the Academy. ARISTOPHANES
refers to these (*Nub.* 1005) as shading
the walk where the young Athenians, who
cultivated gymnastic exercises for the
torch-race, practised themselves in run-

vice annually at the temple of Athena and Erechtheus on the acropolis.

δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐλαῖαι ἦσαν ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, ἢ Ἀθήνησι²²². οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε δώσειν ἔφασαν, ἐπ' ᾧ ἀπάξουσιν ἔτεος ἐκάστου τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Πολιάδι ἱρὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεί²²³. κατανέσαντες δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοί, τῶν τε ἐδέοντο ἔτυχον καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐκ τῶν ἐλαιῶν τούτων ποιησάμενοι ἰδρύσαντο· καὶ

83 ἢ τε γῇ σφι ἔφερε, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπετέλεον τὰ συνέθεντο. Τοῦ-

At this time Ægina was a vassal of Epidaurus, but immediately afterwards became independent and hostile.

τον δ' ἔτι τὸν χρόνον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ²²⁴, Αἰγινῆται Ἐπιδαυρίων ἤκουον τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδauρον ἐδίδοσαν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινῆται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, νῆάς τε πηξάμενοι καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνη χρησάμενοι, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων· ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες διάφοροι, δηλέοντο αὐτοὺς ὥστε δὴ θαλασσοκράτορες ἐόντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ²²⁵ τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα τῆς τε Δαμῆς καὶ τῆς Αὐξησίης ὑπαίρουνται αὐτῶν, καὶ σφεα ἐκομίσαντο τε καὶ ἰδρύσαντο τῆς σφετέρης χώρας ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν· τῇ Οἴῃ μὲν ἐστὶ οὖνομα, στάδια δὲ μάλιστά κη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ὡς εἴκοσι ἀπέχεν· ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, θυσίῃσι τέ σφεα καὶ χοροῖσι γυναικῆοισι κερτόμοισι ἱλάσκοντο, χορηγῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων ἐκατέρῃ τῶν δαιμόνων δέκα ἀνδρῶν· κακῶς δὲ ἡγόρευον οἱ χοροὶ ἄνδρα μὲν οὐδένα, τὰς δὲ ἐπιχωρίας γυναικάς. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισι αἱ τοιαῦται ἱεροργαί· εἰσὶ δὲ σφι καὶ ἄρρητοι ἱεροργαί. Κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, οἱ Ἐπιδαυριοὶ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰ συνέθεντο οὐκ ἐπετέλεον· πέμψαντες δὲ οἱ

The Æginetans carry off the images, and set them up in their own island. The ritual of the nature of a carnival, both there and at Epidaurus.

84

ning: ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδήμειαν κατιῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς Μορίαις ἀποθρέξει. They started from an altar of Prometheus and ran to the city. In the time of PAUSANIAS one of these olives was pointed out as being the second oldest in the world, the precedence being given to the sacred plant in the Pandroseum on the acropolis (PAUSAN. i. 30. 2). The prize given to the victors in the Panathenæan games consisted in part of a vase containing some of the oil produced from these plants. (ARISTOTLE, *ap. Schol. ad Soph. Œd. Col.* 701.) PINDAR congratulates Theæus the Argive on twice obtaining some (*Nem.* x. 61, seqq.):

—ἀδείαι γε μὲν ἀμβολάδαν
ἐν τελεταῖς δις Ἀθηναίων νιν ὀμφαί
κώμασαν· γαῖα δὲ καυθεῖσα πυρὶ καρπὸς
ἐλαίας
ἔμολεν Ἥρας τὸν εὐάνορα λαὸν ἐν ἀγ-
γέων ἔρκεσιν παμποικίλοις.

²²² κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, ἢ Ἀθήνησι. This is the reading which Gaisford selects. The MSS vary between that, κατὰ χρόνον ἐκείνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήναις, κατὰ χρόνον ἐκείνον ἢ Ἀθήνησι, κατὰ χρόνον κείνον ἢ Ἀθήνησι (or ἐν Ἀθήναις), and κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήναις. These variations induce the suspicion that the words are an interpolation from a marginal commentary.

²²³ τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ . . . καὶ τῷ Ἐρεχθεί. See above, notes 183, 188, and 208. After the word Ἀθηναίῃ Gaisford prints τε. But the particle is not found in S and V. And it is not appropriate; for the deities were united in the ritual referred to.

²²⁴ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ. The MSS vary between this reading and καὶ τὸν πρὸ τούτου, a variation which seems to indicate an interpolation from a marginal note.

²²⁵ καὶ δὴ καί. See note 6 on i. 1.

Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμήνιον ²²⁶ τοῖσι Ἐπιδαυρίοισιν οἱ δὲ ἀπέφαινον λόγῳ ὥς οὐκ ἀδικοῦεν· ὅσον μὲν γὰρ χρόνον εἶχον τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐπιτελέειν τὰ συνέθεντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστερηθῆναι αὐτῶν, οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι ἀποφέρειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὰ Αἰγινήτας πρήσσεσθαι ἐκέλευον. πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Αἶγιναν πέμψαντες ἀπαίτεον τὰ ἀγάλματα ²²⁷. οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἔφασαν, σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι εἶναι οὐδὲν πρήγμα. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἀποσταλῆναι τριήρεϊ μὴ τῶν ἀστῶν, τούτους οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Αἶγιναν, τὰ ἀγάλματα ταῦτα ὥς σφετέρων ξύλων ἔοντα ἐπειρῶντο ἐκ τῶν βάθρων ἐξανασπᾶν, ἵνα σφέα ἀνακομίσωνται· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι, περιβαλόντας σχοινία ἔλκειν τὰ ἀγάλματα· καὶ σφι ἔλκουσι βροντὴν τε καὶ ἄμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ τριηρίτας τοὺς ἔλκοντας ὑπὸ τουτέων ἀλλοφρονῆσαι παθόντας δὲ τοῦτο, κτείνειν ἀλλήλους ἅτε πολεμίους ἐς ὃ ἐκ πάντων ἓνα λειφθέντα ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν ²²⁸ ἐς Φάληρον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Αἰγινῆται δὲ, οὐ μὴ νῆϊ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλεῦνας μίης, καὶ εἴ σφι μὴ ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι νέες, ἀπαμύνασθαι ἂν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπιπλέειν

An Athenian expedition for the purpose of recovering them is destroyed supernaturally,

85

only one man surviving.

86

The Æginetic account differs in the particulars from that

²²⁶ ἐμήνιον. The words *μήνις* and *μηνίειν* are more especially used of the wrath felt by a deity or hero on account of some injury. See the case of Minos, vii. 169. Here the word is perhaps applied to the Athenians considered as the representatives of Athene and Eretheus, who had been defrauded of their dues. If Herodotus's authority was (as there is some reason for conjecturing; see notes 184 and 212) a person connected with one of the temples in the acropolis, this use of the word would be very natural.

²²⁷ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . τὰ ἀγάλματα. This sentence is an instructive example of the change of construction, suitable to the varying nature of the incidents mentioned. The destruction of the Athenians who were sent to obtain the images was a fact well known and admitted; as was also the circumstance that they had attempted to remove them by force. The question was, what was the character of the emissaries, and under what circumstances did the destruction take place. Herodotus begins by giving the Athenian account of

the nature of the expedition. The messengers were taken from among the citizens (not soldiers), and went with a single galley (not in force). So much is in the indirect form; he then changes to the direct one in narrating the acknowledged facts, and returns to the indirect where the Athenian and Æginetic accounts again diverge. "The Athenians now say, that after the formal demand there were sent, in a single galley, some citizens, those who, having been publicly commissioned, and arriving at Ægina, did certainly try to lift these images, as being made of wood which was theirs, out of their stands, in order to carry them back; and that not being able to manage them in this way, they passed lines round and trailed the figures." If the whole of the circumstances had been peculiar to the Athenian story, the author would have continued the *indirect* form throughout: οὓς ἀποπεμφθέντας ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀπικόμενους, κ.τ.λ.

²²⁸ αὐτὸν, "alone."

of the
Athenians,

σφι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν· αὐτοὶ δέ σφι εἶξαι, καὶ οὐ διαναναμαχήσαι²²⁹.
(οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τοῦτο διασημῆναι ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἔσσονες συγ-
γινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ κατὰ τοῦτο²³⁰ εἶξαν, οὔτε εἰ βου-
λόμενοι ποιῆσαι οἷόν τι καὶ ἐποίησαν·) Ἀθηναίους μὲν νυν, ἐπεὶ
τέ σφι οὐδεὶς ἐς μάχην κατίστατο, ἀποβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν
τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα· οὐ δυναμένους δὲ ἀνασπάσαι ἐκ
τῶν βάθρων αὐτὰ, οὕτω δὲ περιβαλλομένους σχοινία ἔλκειν, ἐς οὗ
ἐλκόμενα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀμφοτέρα τῶντὸ ποιῆσαι· ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ
πιστὰ λέγοντες, ἄλλω δέ τε· ἐς γούνατα γάρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσέειν,
καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτου χρόνον διατελέειν οὕτω ἔχοντα. Ἀθηναίους
μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν, σφέας δὲ Αἰγινῆται λέγουσι, πυθομένους
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥς μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐτοίμους
Ἀργεῖους ποιέεσθαι· τοὺς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν
Αἰγιναίην, καὶ παρεῖναι βοηθούντάς σφι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους²³¹. καὶ
λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδάουρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ οὐ προακη-
κοῦσι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπιπεσέειν ὑποταγομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν
νεῶν ἅμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντὴν τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν σεισμόν
αὐτοῖσι. Λέγεται μὲν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε καὶ Αἰγινητέων τάδε·
ὁμολογέεται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, ἓνα μῦνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα
αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι· πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι,
αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἓνα τοῦτον
περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου, περιγενέσθαι μέντοι οὐδὲ
τοῦτον τὸν ἓνα, ἀλλ' ἀπολέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· κομισθεὶς γὰρ ἐς
τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπήγγειλε τὸ πάθος· πυθομένας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν
ἐπ' Αἴγινα στρατευσαμένων ἀνδρῶν, δεινόν τι ποιησαμένας κεῖνον
μῦνον ἐξ ἀπάντων σωθῆναι, πέριξ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον λαβούσας
καὶ κεντεύσας τῇσι περόνησι τῶν ἱματίων, εἰρωτᾶν ἐκάστην αὐτέων
ὅκη εἶη ὁ ἑωυτῆς ἀνὴρ; καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οὕτω διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀθηναί-
οισι δὲ ἔτι τοῦ πάθους δεινότερόν τι δόξαι εἶναι τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν
ἔργον· ἄλλω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν ὅτεω ζημιώσωσι τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν
δὲ ἐσθήτα μετέβαλλον²³² αὐτέων ἐς τὴν Ἰάδα· ἐφόρεον γὰρ δὴ πρὸ

87
but both
agree that
only one
man re-
turned.

²²⁹ οὐ διαναναμαχήσαι, "abstained from deciding the issue at sea." Compare viii. 63.

²³⁰ κατὰ τοῦτο. Compare § 81, above, κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν τῶν Αἰακιδέων.

²³¹ τοὺς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι

ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναίην, καὶ παρεῖναι βοηθούντάς σφι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, "exactly now as the Athenians had effected a landing on the Æginetic shore, there arrived the Argives to help them." See note 472 on iv. 181.

²³² ἄλλω μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχειν . . . τὴν δὲ

τοῦ αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκες ἐσθῆτα Δωρίδα, τῇ Κορινθίῃ παρα- Customs of Athenian women growing out of this war. 88
 πλησιωτάτην μετέβαλλον ὦν ἐς τὸν λίνεον κιθῶνα, ἵνα δὴ περόνησι μὴ χρεώνται· (ἐστὶ δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι οὐκ Ἰὰς αὕτη ἢ ἐσθῆς τὸ παλαιὸν, ἀλλὰ Κάειρα· ἐπεὶ ἡ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθῆς 88
 πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ αὕτη ἦν τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλέο- The so called Ionian garb is really Carian. Customs of Argives and Æginetans having the same origin.
 μεν) τοῖσι δὲ Ἀργείοισι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔτι τόδε ποιῆσαι²³³ νόμον εἶναι παρά σφι ἐκατέροις τὰς περόνας ἡμιολίας ποιέεσθαι τοῦ τότε κατεστεῶτος μέτρου, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἶρόν τῶν θεῶν τουτέων περόνας μάλιστα ἀνατιθέναι τὰς γυναῖκας· Ἀττικὸν δὲ μήτε τι ἄλλο προσφέρειν πρὸς τὸ ἶρόν, μήτε κέραμον, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυτρίδων ἐπιχωριέων νόμον τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτόθι εἶναι πίνειν. Ἀργείων μὲν νυν καὶ Αἰγινήτεων αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκ τε τόσου²³⁴ κατ' ἔρῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων περόνας ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐφόρεον μέζοντας ἢ πρὸ τοῦ.

Τῆς δὲ ἔχθρης τῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένης ἀρχὴ 89
 κατὰ τὰ εἴρηται ἐγένετο. τότε δὴ Θηβαίων ἐπικαλεσμένων, προ- The Pythian oracle recommends the Athenians to keep the peace towards Ægina for thirty years.
 θύμως τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα γενομένων ἀναμνησκόμενοι οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐβοήθειον τοῖσι Βοιωτοῖσι. Αἰγινῆται τε δὴ ἐδήενν τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια, καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ὀρμεωμένοισι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτας στρατεύεσθαι, ἦλθε μαντήϊον ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγινήτεων ἀδικίου²³⁵ τριήκοντα ἔτεα, τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τριη-

ἐσθῆτα μετέβαλλον. The change of construction here appears to rest on the same grounds as that remarked on in the note 227, above. It was a *fact* that there had been a change of costume in the Athenian women. The cause of this change was in Athenian traditions *said to be* the outrage just related, a view which the feud between Athens and Ægina rendered plausible; although when the matter was looked into, the reputed new dress turned out to be the ancient Carian garb, and the difference between an Ionian and a Dorian costume to be a fiction of recent times, subsequent to the feud between the Dorian and Ionian races acquiring its full development.

²³³ τόδε ποιῆσαι. These words are dependent upon the sense of Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι continued on. It was a part of the Athenian tradition that the murder was the origin of the Argive and Æginetan custom. Translate: "And for the Argives

and Æginetans [the Athenians say], that, besides, this incident further caused it to be a custom with each of them," &c. It must not be supposed that Herodotus intends to represent the Argives and Æginetans as giving the same account of the origin of their practice. All that he asserts in confirmation of the tradition is the extraordinary magnitude of the "brooches."

²³⁴ ἐκ τε τόσου. These words appear to be corrupt. The Sancroft MS has ἐκ τότε. It seems probable that the text grew out of an union of two different readings, ἐκ τότε and ἐκ τόσου. I have left it as Gaisford prints it, because it is impossible to decide between the two, each giving a good sense: ἐκ τότε, "from that time;" ἐκ τόσου, "from so far back." In the next section two MSS exhibit such an union of two readings, ἀδικίου and αἰκίου.

²³⁵ ἀδικίου. The MSS vary between

κοστῶ, Αἰακῶ τέμενος ἀποδέξαντας ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πολέμου· καὶ σφι χωρήσειν τὰ βούλονται· ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπιστρατεύωνται, πολλὰ μὲν σφεας ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ χρόνου πείσεσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ποιήσειν· τέλος μέντοι καταστρέψεσθαι. ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ μὲν Αἰακῶ τέμενος ἀπέδεξαν, τοῦτο ²³⁶ τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἱδρύται· τριήκοντα δὲ ἔτεα οὐκ ἀνέσχοντο ἀκούσαντες ὅπως χρεὼν εἴη ἐπισχεῖν, πεπονθότας πρὸς Αἰγινήτων ἀνάρσια. Ἐς τιμωρίην δὲ παρασκευαζομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων πρήγμα ἐγειρόμενον ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο. πυθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην μεμηχανημένα ²³⁷, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Πυθίης ἐπὶ σφέας τε καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο διπλὴν, ὅτι τε ἄνδρας ξείνους σφι ἔοντας ἐξελλάκεσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ποιήσασι χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἔτι τε πρὸς τούτοις ἐνὴγόν σφεας οἱ χρησμοὶ, λέγοντες πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐξ Ἀθηναίων· τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν ἄδαέες, τότε δὲ Κλεομένεος κομίσαντος ἐς Σπάρτην ἐξέμαθον. ἐκτήσατο δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλιος τοὺς χρησμούς ²³⁸, τοὺς ἐκτηντο μὲν πρότερον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι ἐξελανόμενοι δὲ ἔλιπον ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ· καταλειφθέντας δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης 91 ἀνέλαβε. Τότε δὲ ὡς ἀνέλαβον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς χρησμούς, καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἑώρεον ἀξιομένους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐτοίμους ἔοντας πείθεσθαι σφι, νόῳ λαβόντες ὡς ἐλεύθερον μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἰσόρροπον τῷ ἑωυτῶν γίνοιτο ²³⁹, κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀσθενὲς καὶ πειθαρχέσθαι ἐτοίμον· μαθόντες

90
The Spartans repent of the part they had taken in the expulsion of the Pisistratids from Athens,

this word and αἰκίον, and c, d unite both. Both are forms not found elsewhere. See notes 212 and 226, above.

²³⁶ τοῦτο. This word is quite superfluous in a written history, but would be very appropriate in a speaker, who, while telling his story, might point to the sacred precinct. It is an idiom constantly employed by Herodotus, even where there remains no trace of the original use.

²³⁷ τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων ἐς τὴν Πυθίην μεμηχανημένα. See note 154 on § 63, above.

²³⁸ τοὺς χρησμούς. See what is related below (vii. 6) of Onomacritus, who had been highly patronized by Hipparchus. ARISTOPHANES very happily ridicules the

importance popularly attached to vagrant oracular prophecies:

ΔΗΜΟΣ. ταυτὶ τί ἐστι; ΚΛΕΩΝ. λόγια.

ΔΗ. πάντ'; ΚΛ. ἐθαύμασας;

καὶ νῆ Δ' ἔτι γε μοῦστι κιβωτὸς πλέα.

ΑΛΛΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ. ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπερῶν καὶ ξυνοικία δύο.

ΔΗ. φέρ' ἴδω, τίνας γάρ εἰσιν οἱ χρησμοὶ ποτε;

ΚΛ. οὔ μοι μὲν εἰσι Βάκιδος. ΔΗ. οἱ δὲ σοὶ τίνας;

ΑΛ. Γλάνιδος, ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Βάκιδος γε-ραιτέρου.

(Knights, 998—1004.)

²³⁹ γίνοιτο. Gaisford, with the manuscripts S and V, has ἂν γίνοιτο.

δὲ²⁴⁰ τούτων ἕκαστα, μετεπέμποντο Ἰππὶν τὸν Πεισιστράτου ἀπὸ Σιγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ²⁴¹, ἐς ὃ καταφεύγουσι οἱ Πεισι-στρατίδαι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ σφί Ἰππὶς καλεόμενος ἦκε, μεταπεμφά-μενοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἀγγέλους, ἔλεγόν σφί Σπαρτιῆται τάδε· “ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιή-σασι ὀρθῶς²⁴². ἐπαρθέντες γὰρ κιβδηλοῖσι μαντηίοισι, ἄνδρας ξείνους ἔοντας ἡμῖν τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναδεκομένους ὑποχειρίας παρέξειν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τούτους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξηλάσαμεν, καὶ ἔπειτα, ποιήσαντες ταῦτα, δῆμῳ ἀχαρίστῳ παρεδώκαμεν τὴν πόλιν· ὃς ἐπεὶ τε δι’ ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθεὶς ἀνέκλυψε, ἡμέας μὲν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμέων περιῦβρίσας ἐξέβαλε, δόξαν δὲ φύσας²⁴³ αὐξάνεται· ὥστε ἐκμεμαθήκασι μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περίοικοι αὐτῶν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Χαλκιδῆες, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἀμαρ-τῶν. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐκείνα ποιήσαντες ἡμάρτομεν, νῦν πειρησόμεθ’ ὅσῃς ἅμα ὑμῖν ἀκεόμενοι τίσασθαι· αὐτοῦ γὰρ τούτου εἵνεκεν τόνδε τε τὸν Ἰππὶν μετεπεμφάμεθα, καὶ ὑμέας ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν, ἵνα κοινῶ τε λόγῳ καὶ κοινῶ στόλῳ ἐσαγαγόντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδῶμεν τὰ καὶ ἀπειλόμεθα.”

and send for delegates from their allies to meet Hip-pias.

Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον· τῶν δὲ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐνεδέκετο τοὺς λόγους. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἡσυχίην ἦγον, Κορίνθιος δὲ Σωσι-κλέης ἔλεξε τάδε.

92

Sosicles, a Corinthian, deprecates

²⁴⁰ μαθόντες δέ. The particle δὲ in this use corresponds nearly to the Latin *inquam*. It serves to recal the attention to the principal point to be impressed upon it, after a kind of digression.

²⁴¹ ἀπὸ Σιγείου τοῦ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ. See above, § 65, and below, § 94.

²⁴² συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς. Compare ix. 60, συνοῖδαμεν ὑμῖν . . . ἐοῖσι πολλὸν προθυμοτά-τοιςι.

²⁴³ δόξαν φύσας, “having gained glory.” This could hardly be said of the Athenian commonalty at the time of which Herodotus is speaking, and would scarcely have been said of them by a Spartan at any time. But it should be remembered that here it is probably an Athenian speaking under the Spartan mask; and consequently it is no more surprising that he should pay a compliment to his own countrymen in the assumed character, than that he should make the Lacedæmonians charge themselves with being deceived by

spurious oracles, with breach of faith to their own allies, with making a formal compact with tyrants, and end with prophesying evil to themselves from Athens (for it seems scarcely doubtful that they themselves are indicated by the words *τις καὶ ἄλλος*). To make such a speech as is here attributed to the Lacedæmonians would, from the Hellenic point of view, be equivalent to proclaiming themselves as the enemies of the gods, led into the path of destruction by their own tutelary deity, the Delphic Apollo. It would be applying to themselves the current sentiment which is embodied by SOPHOCLES in the well-known words (*Antig.* 620):

σοφία γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται
τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ’ ἐσλόν
τῷδ’ ἔμμεν ὅτῳ φρένας
θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἅταν
πράσσει δ’ ὀλιγιστὸν χρόνον ἐκτὸς ἅτας.

their pro-
posal, and

“²⁴⁴ Ἡ δὲ ὃ τε οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἑνέρθε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἔξουσιν καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς²⁴⁵, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἰσοκρατίας καταλύοντες τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλιν καταγείν²⁴⁶ παρασκευάζεσθε· τοῦ οὔτε ἀδικώτερον οὐδὲν ἐστὶ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους οὔτε μαιφονώτερον. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε δοκέει ὑμῖν εἶναι χρηστὸν, ὥστε τυραννέεσθαι τὰς πόλιν, αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι, οὕτω καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δίζησθε κατιστάναι· νῦν δὲ, αὐτοὶ ἄπειροι ἔοντες τυράννων, καὶ φυλάσσοντες δεινότατα τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μὴ γενέσθαι, παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους²⁴⁷. εἰ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἔμπειροι ἔατε κατάπερ ἡμεῖς, εἴχετε ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ γνώμας ἀμείνουσας συμβάλλεσθαι ἥπερ νῦν.

reminds
them of the
times of the
Cypselids at
Corinth.

Action mar-
ried *Labda*,
a lame per-
son, daugh-
ter of Am-
phion, a
Bacchiad.

KOPINΘΙΟΙΣΙ γὰρ ἦν πόλις κατάστασις τοιήδε· ἦν ὀλιγαρχία, καὶ οὗτοι^a Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν· ἐδίδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἡγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων²⁴⁸. Ἀμφίωνι δὲ, ἔοντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, γίνεται θυγάτηρ χωλή· οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα²⁴⁹. ταύτην,

²⁴⁴ ὃ τε οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἑνέρθε τῆς γῆς. This is one of the passages which show the firm conviction prevalent at the time, that the earth was fixed and the heaven a firmament above it. In the formula of a treaty between the Romans and the Latins, preserved by DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, the peace was to last μέχρις ἂν οὐρανὸς τε καὶ γῆ τὴν αὐτὴν στάσιν ἔχωσι (vi. 95). This treaty was made in the year 491 B.C. Compare the treachery described by Herodotus iv. 201. But after the times of the Ptolemies, when the real figure of the earth became known, other modes became resorted to for the purpose of illustrating the fixedness of the established order of things (see VIRGIL, *Bucol.* i. 60; OVID, *Trist.* i. 8. 5; SENECA, *Med.* 373), and this too by poets especially fond of reproducing ancient images.

²⁴⁵ ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς. THUCYDIDES (i. 18) remarks that not only the Athenian tyranny, but the same form of government in the rest of Greece, where it generally existed, was, with the exception of Sicily, in almost every case put an end to by the Lacedaemonians, who, for the space of more than four hundred years ending with the termination of the Peloponnesian

war, had been well governed and free from despotic rulers.

²⁴⁶ κατάγειν. This is the technical phrase for bringing home an exile to his country. See i. 60, where Athene is said κατάγειν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν the banished Pisistratus. The exile himself was said κατιέναι. The idiom is very distinctly shown in EURIPIDES, *Med.* 1015 :

ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΣ. θάρσει· κάτει τοι καὶ σὺ πρὸς τέκνων ἔτι.

ΜΗΔΕΙΑ. ἄλλους κατὰξω πρόσθεν ἢ τά-
λαιν' ἐγώ.

²⁴⁷ παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους, “you take the matter lightly when it touches your allies.” παραχρᾶσθαι is equivalent to ἐκ παρέργου χρῆσθαι.

^a οἱ τοι, viz. οἱ ὄλῳγοι, gathered by inference from the word ὀλιγαρχία.

²⁴⁸ This limitation of the “connubium” to members of the same body is expressed by Herodotus elsewhere by the words ἐπιγαμίας ποιεῖσθαι (ii. 147). Instead of διδόναι the more technical phrase is ἐκδιδόναι. See note 136 on ii. 47.

²⁴⁹ οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Λάβδα. If Herodotus means to represent this name as a *soubriquet*, given to Amphion's daughter from the circumstance of one leg being

Βακχιάδων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἤθελε γῆμαι, ἴσχει Ἡετίων ὁ Ἐχεκράτεος, δῆμον μὲν [ἐκ Πέτρης] ἐὼν²⁵⁰, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν²⁵¹ Λαπίθης τε καὶ Καίνειδης²⁵². ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο²⁵³. ἐστάλη ὦν ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ γόνου· ἐσιόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰθὺς ἡ Πυθίη προσαγορεύει τοισίδε τοῖσι ἔπεςιν·

Ἡετίων, οὔτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἐόντα.

Λάβδρα κύει, τέξει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον· ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται

ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαίῳσι δὲ Κόρινθον.

ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ Ἡετίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεται κως τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρότερον γενόμενον χρηστήριον ἐς Κόρινθον ἦν ἄσημον, φέρον τε ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος καὶ λέγον ὧδε·

Αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει· τέξει δὲ λέοντα

καρτερὸν, ὠμωστήν· πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει.

ταῦτά νυν εὖ φράζεσθε, Κόρινθιοι, οἱ περὶ καλὴν

Πειρήνην²⁵⁴ οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὀφρύνοντα Κόρινθον.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι πρότερον γενόμενον ἦν ἀτέκμαρ- Cypselus is the issue,

longer than the other (like the letter A), the late origin of the story appears. Much later than the time of Cypselus λ was written V in inscriptions.

²⁵⁰ δῆμον μὲν ἐὼν, "being a member of the commonalty." The words ἐκ Πέτρης appear to me an interpolation by an annotator who took δῆμον to mean a local burgh here as below. But the word ἀτὰρ indicates an opposition; and there would be none whatever if δῆμον meant a local burgh in this place.

²⁵¹ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν. See note 156 on § 62, above.

²⁵² Καίνειδης. Gaisford has Καινίδης. The MSS vary between the two forms. But the eponymous ancestor is Καίνεος, of whom Nestor speaks in the *Iliad* (i. 264) as one of the Lapithæ, whose ally, in their war against the Centaurs, he was in his youth.

²⁵³ ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο. It has been considered that this construction is a parallel to such passages as ARISTOPHANES, *Av.* 695, γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἀῆρ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν, i. e. where the negation is omitted in the beginning of the sentence and supplied by inference from the subsequent clauses. But this idiom seems appropriate only to the style of poetry. And it is unneces-

sary to suppose it here. Herodotus wishes to say that Ætion had children by this woman, but by no other, and then goes on to tell the particulars. The legend apparently made him to be a person regarded as barren; and hence the expression of the oracle: οὔτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἐόντα. Labda was bestowed upon him under the idea that he would not become a father.

²⁵⁴ Πειρήνην. This fountain is described by STRABO as being immediately under the summit on which the temple of Aphrodite stood. The spring itself did not overflow, but was always full of excellent water. LIVING, after his manner, exaggerates the features of this part, "Arx inter omnia in immanem altitudinem edita, scatens fontibus" (xlv. 28). According to Strabo it was the lower part of the mountain, not the citadel, to which this description applies. STATIUS picturesquely remarks the shadow cast by the Acrocorinthus (see the next note) in the morning on the Cirrhæan gulf, in the evening on the Ægean (*Theb.* vii. 106):—

—"Summas caput Acrocorinthus in
auras
Tollit, et alternâ geminum mare protegit
umbrâ."

τον· τότε δὲ, τὸ Ἡετίωνι γενόμενον ὡς ἐπύθοντο, αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνήκαν ἐὼν συνωδὸν τῷ Ἡετίωνος· συνέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ, ἐθέλοντες τὸν μέλλοντα Ἡετίωνι γενέσθαι γόνον διαφθεῖραι. ὥς δ' ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ τάχιστα, πέμπουσι σφέων αὐτῶν δέκα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ κατοίκητο Ἡετίων, ἀποκτενέοντας τὸ παιδίον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν Πέτρην²⁵⁵, καὶ παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ Ἡετίωνος, αἴτεον τὸ παιδίον· ἡ δὲ Λάβδα, εἰδυῖά τε οὐδὲν τῶν εἵνεκα ἐκείνοι ἀπικοίατο καὶ δοκέουσά σφεας φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἵνεκα αἰτέειν, φέρουσα ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἐνί· τοῖσι δὲ ἄρα ἐβεβούλευτο κατ' ὁδὸν, τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν λαβόντα τὸ παιδίον προσουδίσαι²⁵⁶. ἐπεὶ τε ὦν ἔδωκε φέρουσα ἡ Λάβδα, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν ἀνδρῶν θείῃ τύχῃ προσεγέλασε τὸ παιδίον· καὶ τὸν, φρασθέντα τοῦτο, οἰκτὺς τις ἴσχει ἀποκτείνειν· κατοικτείας δὲ παραδιδόι τῷ δευτέρῳ· ὁ δὲ, τῷ τρίτῳ· οὕτω δὲ διεξῆλθε διὰ πάντων τῶν δέκα παραδιδόμενον, οὐδεὶς βουλομένου διεργάσασθαι· ἀποδόντες ὦν ὑπίσω τῇ τεκούσῃ τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἔξω, ἐστεῶτες ἐπὶ τῶν θυρέων ἀλλήλων ἄπτοντο καταιτιώμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πρώτου λαβόντος ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε κατὰ τὰ δεδογμένα· ἐς ὃ δὴ σφι, χρόνου ἐγγινομένου, ἔδοξε αὐτῖς παρελθόντας πάντας τοῦ φόνου μετίσχειν. ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος γόνου Κορίνθω κακὰ ἀναβλαστειν· ἡ Λάβδα γὰρ πάντα ταῦτα ἤκουε ἐστεῶσα πρὸς αὐτῇσι τῇσι θύρῃσι· δείσασα δὲ μὴ σφι μετὰδόξῃ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον λαβόντες τὸ παιδίον ἀποκτείνωσι, φέρουσα κατακρύπτει ἐς τὸ ἀφραστότατον οἱ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, ἐς κυψέλην· ἐπισταμένη ὡς εἰ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς ζήτησιν ἀπικοίατο, πάντα ἐρευνήσῃν μέλλοιεν· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγίνετο. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ καὶ διζημένοισι αὐτοῖσι ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, ἔδόκεε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑποπέμφαντας ὡς πάντα ποιήσειαν τὰ ἐκείνοι ἐνετείλαντο.

²⁵⁵ τὴν Πέτρην. It appears from this expression that the house of Aetion was in a part of Corinth which was called ἡ πέτρα, but it does not follow that such was the name of the local deme in which he resided. And there is no trace of a Corinthian deme being so named anywhere except in the present narrative. In STRABO's time the town lay under the rock on which the citadel was built, the sharp summit of which was surmounted with a temple of Aphrodite, and had the name

Acrocorinthus appropriated to it. This last is the "beetling Corinth" of the oracle; but the term ἡ πέτρα might well have been applied to the whole mountain, which extended so far that the ascent was thirty stades (viii. p. 211).

²⁵⁶ προσουδίσαι. Compare EURIPIDES, *Med.* 1151, βρέφος τε τοῦμιν ζῶν προσούδισας πέδω. In *Psalm* cxxxvi. 9 the expression for the same act is in the Septuagint ἐδαφίζειν.

οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα Ἡετίωνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ who, when
 παῖς αὐξάνετο· καὶ οἱ διαφυγόντι τούτον τὸν κίνδυνον ἀπὸ τῆς encouraged
 κυψέλης ἐπωνυμίην Κύψελος οὖνομα ἐτέθη. ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ καὶ by an oracle
 μαντευομένῳ Κυψέλῳ ἐγένετο ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον ἐν Δελφοῖσι, from Delphi,
 τῷ πίσυνος γενόμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον²⁵⁷. ὁ δὲ self tyrant
 χρησμός ὃδε ἦν of Corinth.

Ὀλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει²⁵⁸,
 Κύψελος Ἡετίδης²⁵⁹, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῦ Κορίνθου·
 αὐτὸς, καὶ παῖδες, παῖδων γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες.

Τὸ μὲν δὴ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἦν. τυραννεύσας δὲ ὁ Κύψελος,
 τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολ-
 λούς δὲ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε²⁶⁰, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλείστους τῆς
 ψυχῆς. ἄρξαντος δὲ τούτου ἐπὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα καὶ διαπλέξαν-
 τος²⁶¹ τὸν βίον εὖ, διάδοχός οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περίανδρος He is suc-
 γίνεται. ὁ τοίνυν Περίανδρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν ἡπιώτερος τοῦ succeeded by
 πατρός· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὠμίλησε²⁶² δι' ἀγγέλων Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ his son
 who be-

²⁵⁷ ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ ἔσχε Κόρινθον. These words seem to indicate that the tradition here followed made Cypselus effect a revolution by force. ARISTOTLE however couples him with Panætius in Leontium, Pisistratus in Athens, and Dionysius in Syracuse, as an instance of a person becoming a tyrant from a demagogue. (*Politic.* v. p. 1310, l. 29.) And in another passage (v. p. 1315, l. 22) he says of him that throughout his whole reign, which lasted thirty years, he had no body-guard (κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν διετέλεσεν ἀδορυφόρητος). The Corinthian speaker appears rather to conceive a case like that of Cylon at Athens. For other differences between his representations and other traditions, see notes 260 and 267.

²⁵⁸ ἐσκαταβαίνει. Valcknaer well remarks that this phrase is more appropriate to a person consulting the oracle of Trophonius, or some deity whose shrine was a cave, than to the case of the Delphic oracle.

²⁵⁹ Ἡετίδης. EUSEBIUS (*Præp. Evang.* v. 35), quoting this verse, has the variation Αἰακίδης. It has been ingeniously conjectured that the true reading is Αἰετίδης, a gentile name formed from αἰετός, under which term the father of Cypselus, Aetion, was symbolized in a former oracle.

²⁶⁰ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε. This, if the case at all, was apparently, according to

other accounts, by excessive taxation. See note 267, below. ARISTOTLE (*Æconom.* ii. p. 1346, l. 32) says that Cypselus had made a vow to Zeus, that if he became sovereign of Corinth, he would offer up the whole property of the country. He fulfilled this vow by taking the tenth part every year for ten years; so that, says Aristotle, he fulfilled his vow, and yet left the country as rich as before.

²⁶¹ διαπλέξαντος. Some MSS. have διαπλεύσαντος. Neither of these readings look like a corruption from the other. The former may be illustrated by iv. 205: οὐδὲ Φερετὶμῃ εὖ τὴν ζῶν κατέπλεξε, the latter by PLATO, *Phædon.* § 78: ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σχεδίας κινδυνεύοντα διαπλεύσαι τὸν βίον.

²⁶² ἐπεί τε δὲ ὠμίλησε. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* iii. p. 1284, a, l. 28) tells the same story as Herodotus, except that he makes Periander the giver and Thrasylbus the recipient of the advice. That this is not an oversight is clear from his referring to the same transaction in another passage (*Politic.* v. p. 1311, a, l. 20), as τὸ Περίανδρον πρὸς Θρασύβουλον συμβούλευμα, ἡ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων σταχίων κόλουσις. In LILY we find the story transplanted to the soil of Latium, and the *dramatis personæ* the king Tarquin and his son Sextus. See note 494 on ii. 160

comes a more cruel tyrant than himself. Anecdote of Thrasybulus of Miletus.

Μιλίτου τυράννῳ, πολλῶ ἔτι ἐγένετο Κυνήλου μαιφονώτερος. πέμψας γὰρ παρὰ Θρασύβουλον κήρυκα, ἐπυνθάνετο ὄντινα ἂν τρόπον ἰσφαλέστατον καταστησάμενος τῶν πρηγμάτων, κάλλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτροπεύοι; Θρασύβουλος δὲ τὸν ἐλθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Περιάνδρου ἐξήγε ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεος· ἐσβὰς δὲ ἐς ἄρουραν ἐσπαρμένην, ἅμα τε διεξήϊε τὸ λήϊον, ἐπειρωτῶν τε καὶ ἀναποδίζων τὸν κήρυκα²⁶³ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἄπιξιν, καὶ ἐκόλουε αἰεὶ ὅκως τινὰ ἴδοι τῶν ἀσταχύων ὑπερέχοντα· κολουῶν δὲ, ἔρριπτε· ἐς δὲ τοῦ λήϊου τὸ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ βαθύτατον διέφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· διεξελθὼν δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὑποθέμενος ἔπος οὐδὲν, ἀποπέμπει τὸν κήρυκα. νοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον, ἦν πρόθυμος πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ὑποθήκην ὃ Περιάνδρος· ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν οἱ ἔφη Θρασύβουλον ὑποθέσθαι· θωμάζειν τε αὐτοῦ, παρ' οἷόν μιν ἄνδρα ἀποπέμφει, ὡς παραπλήγιά τε καὶ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ σινάμωρον· ἀπηγεόμενος τάπερ πρὸς Θρασυβούλου ὁπώπεε. Περιάνδρος δὲ συνιὲς τὸ ποιηθὲν, καὶ νόῳ ἴσχων ὥς οἱ ὑπετίθετο Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ὑπείρόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φονεύειν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐξέφαινε ἐς τοὺς πολίτας. ὅσα γὰρ Κυνήλος ἀπέλιπε κτείνων τε καὶ διώκων, Περιάνδρός σφεα ἀπετέλεσε. μὴ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπέδυσσε πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας, διὰ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν· πέμψαντι γάρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν²⁶⁴ ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ νεκρομαντήϊον παρακαταθήκης πέρι ξεινικῆς, οὔτε σημανεῖν ἔφη ἡ Μέλισσα ἐπιφανείσα, οὔτε κατερέειν ἐν τῷ κέεται χώρῳ ἢ παρακαταθήκη· ῥίγουν τε γὰρ καὶ εἶναι γυμνή· τῶν γάρ

Anecdote of Periander and of his wife Melissa.

and 368 on iv. 144. The intimate connexion that existed between Periander and Thrasybulus appears from what Herodotus relates of the information sent by the former to Miletus (i. 20).

²⁶³ ἀναποδίζων τὸν κήρυκα, "bringing the messenger back to his story." ÆSCHINES (*Ctesiph.* § 193) enlarging on the exactness of the jurymen formerly in technical matters, says: πολλὰκις ἀνεπόδιζον τὸν γραμματέα, καὶ ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἀναγινώσκειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα.

²⁶⁴ ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμόν. In Ambracia (which was in Thesprotia) another Periander (whom some accounts made to be the sage) possessed sovereign power. He was expelled by a conspiracy got up by one of the nobles in revenge for a gross insult, the commons

siding with the conspirators. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. p. 1311, l. 40, and p. 1304, l. 32.) NEANTHES OF CYZICUM made him to be *cousin-german* of the Corinthian tyrant (*ap. Diog. Laert.* i. 98); but this does not appear on any earlier authority than his, *i. e.* about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. STRABO says that Ambracia was founded by Tolgus, the *son* of Cypselus (and therefore brother of the Corinthian Periander), and not far from the mouth of the river Acheron stood the Thesprotian *Ephyra*—the name anciently borne by Corinth (vii. c. 7, p. 120). It seems plain that Thesprotia was at this time under Cypselid influence; and also that a Periander, in some way nearly connected with the Corinthian tyrant, reigned there.

οἱ συγκατέθαψε εἰμάτων ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδὲν, οὐ κατακαυθέντων μαρτύριον δέ οἱ εἶναι ὡς ἀληθέα ταῦτα λέγει, ὅτι ἐπὶ ψυχρὸν τὸν ἵππὸν Περίανδρος τοὺς ἄρτους ἐπέβαλε. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπηγγέλθη τῷ Περιάνδρῳ, (πιστὸν γάρ οἱ ἦν τὸ συμβόλαιον, ὃς νεκρῷ εὐούσῃ Μελίσσῃ²⁶⁵ ἐμίγη,) ἰθέως δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀγγελίην κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο, ἐς τὸ Ἑραῖον²⁶⁶ ἐξιέναι πάσας τὰς Κορινθίων γυναῖκας. αἱ μὲν δὴ, ὡς ἐς ὀρτὴν, ἦϊσαν κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρεώμεναι· ὁ δ' ὑποστήσας τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἀπέδυσέ σφεας πάσας ὁμοίως τὰς τ' ἐλευθέρας καὶ τὰς ἀμφιπόλους· συμφορήσας δὲ ἐς ὄρυγμα, Μελίσσῃ ἐπευχόμενος κατέκαιε· ταῦτα δέ οἱ ποιήσαντι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον πέμφαντι ἔφρασε τὸ εἶδωλον τὸ Μελίσσης ἐς τὸν κατέθηκε χῶρον τοῦ ξείνου τὴν παρακαταθήκην. τοιοῦτο μὲν ἐστι ὑμῖν ἡ τυραννὶς²⁶⁷, ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τοιούτων

²⁶⁵ Μελίσση. This was not only a proper name, but a technical term of the female hierophants of Demeter and Persephone. (HESYCH. *sub* v. μέλισσαι, and PORPHYRY, *De Antro Nympharum*, quoted by Küster in his note on the same.) It was also a name of Selene in the character of Lucina. It seems not unlikely that the horrible story in the text grew out of a perversion of the fact that Perianther habitually consulted the oracle of the *χθονία θεᾶ*, just as Numa was represented as the husband of the nymph Egeria. See note 164 on i. 52.

²⁶⁶ ἐς τὸ Ἑραῖον. This was the temple of Here under the surname *βουνάα*, situated not *outside* the city, as might be guessed from the phrase *ἐξιέναι*, but just under the summit Acrocorinthus. PAUSANIAS describes it last of all the temples seen on the ascent to the summit, which itself was surmounted by the temple of Aphrodite (ii. 4. 7). See note 255, above. The local legends made it founded by one Bunus, son of Hermes and Alcidamea, and a curious story brought it into connexion with the magical rites ascribed to Medea. This rests on the authority of EUMELUS, a Corinthian and Bacchiad genealogical poet, whose traditions therefore represent the mythical views prevalent at Corinth in his time, which is supposed to be the eighth century before the Christian era. Helios (the sun-god) gave the region of the Asopus to Aloeus, and that of Ephrya (the ancient name of Corinth) to Æetes, the father of Medea. Æetes de-

parting for Colchis put the government in the hands of Bunus, on whose death Epopes, the son of Aloeus, succeeded to the sovereignty. Afterwards on the death of Corinthus, son of Marathon, the Corinthians sent for Medea from Iolchus, and made her queen. Through her influence Jason reigned in Corinth, and Medea had children by him. But these, as they were born, their mother *buried* in the temple of Here Bunæa, in the hope of rendering them immortal. Being detected by Jason in the act, and also deceived in her expectation, she fled and left the sovereignty to Sisyphus. The act attributed to Medea indicates that Here Bunæa was a *χθονία θεᾶ*, and the same thing would be inferred from the temples in her immediate neighbourhood,—which were, one to the *Μητὴρ θεᾶν*, and another to the *Μοῖρæ*, Demeter, and Cora. Concerning the import and origin of the word *βουνάα*, see *Excursus* on iv. 199.

²⁶⁷ τοιοῦτο μὲν ἐστι ὑμῖν ἡ τυραννὶς. The speaker takes no notice of that which, according to other accounts, seems to have been characteristic of the Cypselid dynasty, *viz.* their prodigal expenditure in votive offerings, which however was primarily designed to secure themselves in power by crippling the resources of their countrymen. THEOPHRASTUS (*ap. Photium, sub* v. *Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα*) mentions “the pyramids in Egypt and the Colossus of the Cypselidæ” as erected with this object. ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* v. p. 1313, line 22) takes the same view. EPHORUS (*ap.*

ἔργων. ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τότε αὐτίκα θῶμα μέγα εἶχε, ὅτε ἡμέας εἶδομεν μεταπεμπομένους Ἰππίνην νῦν τε δὴ καὶ μεζόνως θωμάζομεν λέγοντας ταῦτα· ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθά τε, ἐπικαλέομενοι ὑμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους, μὴ κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλιν· οὐκ ἔστιν οὐκ ἔστιν²⁶⁸ παύσεσθε ἀλλὰ πειρήσεσθε παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατὰγοντες Ἰππίνην, ὅστε ὑμῖν Κορινθίους γε οὐ συναινέοντας.”

93

Hippias replies to So-sicles predicting evil to Corinth from Athens.

Σωσικλῆς μὲν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου πρεσβεύων ἔλεξε τάδε. Ἰππίης δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμείβετο, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλέσας θεοὺς κείνῳ, ἥ μὴν²⁶⁹ Κορινθίους μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιποθήσειν Πεισιστρατίδας, ὅταν σφί ἥκωσι ἡμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶσθαι ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων. Ἰππίης μὲν τούτοις ἀμείψατο, οἷά τε τοὺς χρησμούς ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τέως μὲν εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ σφέας αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ Σωσικλῆος ἤκουσαν εἴπαντος ἐλευθέρως, ἅπας τις αὐτῶν φωνὴν ῥήξας, αἰρέετο τοῦ Κορινθίου τὴν γνώμην· Λακεδαιμονίοισι τε ἐπεμαρτυρέοντο, μὴ ποιέειν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα. οὕτω μὲν ταῦτα ἐπαύσθη.

94

Ἰππὶν δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀπελαυνομένη ἐδίδου μὲν Ἀμύντης ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀνθεμοῦντα²⁷⁰, ἐδίδουσαν δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ Ἰωλκόν. ὁ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερα αἰρέετο, ἀνεχώρει δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον²⁷¹, τὸ εἶλε

Diog. Laert. i. 96) gives a different reason from Herodotus for the stripping of the women at the Heræum. Periander had made a vow that if he won the chariot race he would erect a golden statue (the famous Colossus) at Olympia. Finding his stock of gold insufficient, and observing the quantity of that metal worn by the women at “a certain” religious festival, he took that and made the image of it. Probably the clothes were burnt to obtain the inwrought gold; as by Cræsus (i. 50).

²⁶⁸ οὐκ ἔστιν. So S, V. Gaisford οὐκ ὄν. The regimen in which this word is here used is peculiar to Herodotus. The sense is the same as if for it the words καὶ, οὐ γὰρ were substituted. See i. 11: οὐκ ἔστιν δὴ ἔπειθε ἀλλ’ ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην, . . . αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. i. 59: οὐκ ἔστιν ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλιν τὸν Ἰπποκράτεια, γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον. Another mode of taking the passage would be by placing a note of interrogation after Ἰππίνην, which would bring the construction under a well-known form. See notes 639

on i. 206 and 299 on iv. 118.

²⁶⁹ ἥ μὴν. Gaisford has, with some of the MSS, ἥ μὲν. But the form in the text, which is supported by S and V, is appropriate when the very phraseology used is intended to be given.

²⁷⁰ Ἀνθεμοῦντα. The town Anthemus lay near Thessalonica, but was further removed from the coast. An earlier connexion of Pisistratus with Macedonia appears from the circumstance of his having obtained a large revenue from the Strymon (i. 64), that is, apparently, from the neighbouring mines.

²⁷¹ ὀπίσω ἐς Σίγειον. Whither he had retreated on his expulsion from Athens by the Lacedæmonians. (See above, § 65.) The position of Sigeum was most favourable both for commerce and for plunder of commercial rivals. See the description of the headland in the note 117 on iv. 38. Under it there was an excellent port for vessels, which was supposed to be the site of the Hellenic camp during the Trojan war. The whole Troad was full of settlements of the Æolians, and Sigeum seems originally to have been fortified by them.

Πεισίστρατος αἰχμῇ παρὰ Μυτιληναίων κρατήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ, κατέστησε τύραννον εἶναι παῖδα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ νόθον Ἑγησίστρατον, γεγονότα ἐξ Ἀργείης γυναικός²⁷². ὃς οὐκ ἀμαχητὶ εἶχε τὰ περ ἔλαβε παρὰ Πεισιστράτου ἐπολέμεον γὰρ ἕκ τε Ἀχιλλεΐου πόλιος ὀρμεώμενοι²⁷³ καὶ Σιγείου ἐπὶ χρόνον συχρὸν Μυτιληναῖοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι· οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώραν· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι, ἀποδεικνύντες τε λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεὸν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρας, ἣ οὐ καὶ σφὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις²⁷⁴ ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεω²⁷⁵ τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς. Πολεμέοντων δὲ σφεων, παντοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἐγένετο ἐν 95 τῇσι μάχῃσιν ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητὴς, συμβολῆς γενομένης καὶ νικῶντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτὸς μὲν φεύγων ἐκφεύγει²⁷⁶, τὰ δὲ οἱ ὄπλα ἴσχουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σφεα ἀνεκρέμασαν πρὸς τὸ Ἀθήναιον τὸ ἐν Σιγείῳ. ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλει ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεὶ ἐς Μυτιλήνην²⁷⁷, ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ πάθος Με-

It was wrested from them by Phrynon the Athenian, and probably recovered by Pittacus of Mytilene, who slew Phrynon in single combat. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1; *Diog. Laert.* i. 74.) After this perhaps the conquest by Pisistratus may have taken place. But Strabo takes no notice of any such thing.

²⁷² ἐξ Ἀργείης γυναικός. Perhaps this Argive connexion may have formed the link between Pisistratus and the Macedonian Amyntas, who was himself a Temenid, originally from Argos. (THUCYDIDES, ii. 99.)

²⁷³ ἐξ Ἀχιλλεΐου πόλιος ὀρμεώμενοι. These contests were of the nature of those between the rival settlers on the Palatine and Aventine Hills, or that between the Athenians of the acropolis and the Amazons on the Areopagus. (See note on ix. 27.) The Ἀχιλλεΐου πόλιος was nothing more than a fortification thrown up about the barrow called the tomb of Achilles, which stood in the immediate vicinity of Sigeum. It was built as a means of annoying Sigeum (ἐπιτειχισμός), and the tradition (adopted by TIMÆUS, but rejected by DEMETRIUS OF SCEPSIS) ran that it was built from the stones of the demolished Ilium. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1.)

²⁷⁴ ἢ οὐ καὶ σφὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις. For illustration of this pleonastic use of οὐ see note 300 on iv. 118.

²⁷⁵ ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενέλεω. ÆSCHYLUS (*Eumenid.* 397) puts the mythical argument for the Athenian claim to the disputed territory by making Athene come from the region in dispute, she having gone thither to hansom it immediately after the Trojan war:—

πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα κληδόνος βοῆν,
ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου, γῆν καταφθατουμένη
ἦν δῆτ' Ἀχαιῶν ἄκτορες τε καὶ πρόμοι,
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα,
ἔνειμαν αὐτόπρεμνον εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἑμοί·
ἐξαίρετον δῶρημα Θησέως τόκοις.

²⁷⁶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητὴς . . . φεύγων ἐκφεύγει. This incident, although as related it would naturally be taken to have happened in the course of the wars springing out of the occupation of Sigeum by Pisistratus, must undoubtedly have taken place long before if at all, as Alcæus was the contemporary and enemy of Pittacus, who slew Phrynon. (See note 271, above.) Phrynon's victory at Olympia as a pancratiast is placed in B.C. 636 (see CLINTON). And Periander died in all probability about B.C. 585 (see CLINTON), twenty-five years before Pisistratus became powerful in Athens.

²⁷⁷ ἐπιτιθεὶ ἐς Μυτιλήνην. See note 125 on iii. 43.

96 λανίππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ. Μυτιληναίους δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίους κατήλλαξε Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου· τούτῳ γὰρ διαιτητῇ ἐπετράποντο. κατήλλαξε δὲ ὧδε· νέμεσθαι ἑκατέρους²⁷⁸ τὴν ἔχουσι. Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι²⁷⁹. Ἰππίης δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκετο ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, πᾶν χρῆμα ἐκίνεε, διαβίλλων τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταφέρνηα, καὶ ποιέων ἅπαντα ὅπως αἱ Ἀθῆναι γενοίαιτο ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ τε καὶ Δαρείῳ. Ἰππίης τε δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσε, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα, πέμπουσι ἐς Σάρδεις ἀγγέλους οὐκ ἑῶντες²⁸⁰ τοὺς Πέρσας πείθεσθαι Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι φυγάσιν· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφέρνης ἐκέλευέ σφεας, εἰ βουλοίαιτο σόοι εἶναι, καταδέεσθαι ὀπίσω Ἰππίην. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐνεδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους ἀποφερομένους Ἀθηναῖοι· οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δὲ σφί δέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι πολεμίους εἶναι²⁸¹. ✕

97 Νομίζουσι δὴ ταῦτα, καὶ διαβεβλημένοισι ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ καιρῷ ὁ Μιλήσιος Ἀρισταγόρης, ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἐξελασθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης, ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας²⁸². αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστα²⁸³. ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης, ταῦτά²⁸⁴ ἔλεγε τὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ὡς οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι²⁸⁵, εὐπετέες

Resumption
of the his-
tory of
Aristago-
ras's pro-
ceedings
from § 55.

²⁷⁸ ἑκατέρους. Several MSS have ἀμφοτέρους, of which perhaps the reading in the text is a refinement,—possibly an improvement from the hand of the author himself.

²⁷⁹ Σίγειον μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. The account in the text is such a one as might accord with the popular view at Athens. No mention whatever is made of the victory obtained over the Athenian general Phrynon (see note 271, above). The only circumstances alluded to are honourable to Athenian prowess, and the settlement of the question is represented as favourable to the justice of their claim. But in order to combine these advantages chronology is set at naught. See notes 213 and 214 on i. 63 and 64, also 138 on iii. 47.

²⁸⁰ οὐκ ἑῶντες, "protesting against."

²⁸¹ οὐκ ἐνδεκομένοισι δὲ σφί δέδοκτο ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι πολεμίους εἶναι, "and in refusing to receive them they had openly decided upon being at

war with the Persians." This expression seems introduced as a sort of justification for the Athenian attack on Sardis. And if the outrage on the Persian ambassadors (recorded in vii. 133) really took place, it too might probably have been excused by the Athenians on the ground that they were at the time at open war with Persia; so that the demand was a gratuitous insult. See the note 370 on iii. 134.

²⁸² ἐς τὰς Ἀθῆνας. So the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford, with several others, omits the article.

²⁸³ τῶν λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστα. This is a somewhat less flattering way of putting what he had said above, i. 56, that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were the most powerful of the Hellenes, each being the leaders of the races to which they respectively belonged.

²⁸⁴ ταῦτά. Gaisford ταῦτα.

²⁸⁵ οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι. See note 484 on i. 142.

τε χειρωθῆναι εἶσαν. ταῦτά τε δὴ ἔλεγε, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι τάδε, ὡς οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἄποικοι, καὶ οἰκὸς σφεας εἶη ῥύεσθαι δυναμένους μέγα· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ὑπίσχετο, οἷα κάρτα δέομενος· ἐς ὃ ἀνέπεισέ σφεας. πολλοὺς γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι εὐπετέστερον διαβάλλειν ἢ ἓνα²⁸⁶, εἰ Κλεομένεα μὲν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον μόνον οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο διαβάλλειν, τρεῖς δὲ μυριάδας Ἀθηναίον ἐποίησε τοῦτο. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δὴ ἀναπεισθέντες, ἐψηφίσαντο εἴκοσι νέας ἀποστεῖλαι βοηθοὺς Ἴωσι, στρατηγὸν ἀποδέξαντες αὐτῶν εἶναι Μελάνθιον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ἔοντα τὰ πάντα δόκιμον. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο²⁸⁷ Ἑλλησί τε καὶ Βαρβάροισι.

Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ προπλώσας, καὶ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, 98
ἐξευρὼν βούλευμα ἀπ' οὗ Ἴωσι μὲν οὐδεμία ἔμελλε ὠφελῆ
ἔσεσθαι,—οὐδ' ὦν οὐδὲ τούτου εἵνεκα ἐποίηε, ἀλλ' ὅκως βασιλέα
Δαρεῖον λυπήσειε,—ἔπεμψε ἐς τὴν Φρυγίην ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τοὺς
Παίονας, τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ²⁸⁸ αἰχμαλώτους γενομέ-
νους ὑπὸ Μεγαβάζου, οἰκέοντας δὲ τῆς Φρυγίης χῶρόν τε καὶ
κώμην ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ὃς ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκητο ἐς τοὺς Παίονας, ἔλεγε
τάδε· “ ἄνδρες Παῖονες, ἔπεμψέ με Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μιλήτου
τύραννος σωτηρίην ὑμῖν ὑποθησόμενον, ἥνπερ βούλησθε πείθεσθαι·
νῦν γὰρ Ἰωνίη πᾶσα ἀπέστηκε ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ὑμῖν παρέχει
σώζεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέρεην αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν θαλάσσης αὐτοῖσι

He sails to Miletus, and effects the escape of the Præonians whom Darius had removed into Phrygia.

²⁸⁶ πολλοὺς γὰρ . . . διαβάλλειν ἢ ἓνα. This sentiment is one hardly calculated to find favour at Athens, and it contrasts strikingly in spirit with the remark in v. 78. It seems not impossible that the whole sentence is a note from a somewhat later hand, at a time when the numbers of the Athenians had become as great as those mentioned in the text. In the year 444 B.C. the number of professed citizens was only 19,000, and these were, on a scrutiny, reduced to 14,240. (See CLINTON on the year.) The next year the colony to Thurii, which Herodotus joined, took place; so that these numbers, if any, could hardly fail to be impressed on his mind. But 30,000 (which really was about the number of armed citizens and metics) seems, in common belief, to have been regarded as the number of citizens about the end of the fifth century B.C. ARISTOPHANES (*Eccles.* 1132) makes a servant-girl say

to her master:—

τίς γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον ὀλβιώτερος,
ὅστις πολιτῶν πλείον ἢ τρισμυρίων
ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος οὐ δεδέπνηκας μόνος;

And Socrates (PLATO, *Sympos.* § 3) compliments Agathon, who had just been successful as a dramatic poet, on obtaining distinction before an audience of more than thirty thousand Greeks. (See CLINTON, F. H. vol. ii. *Appendix*, p. 390.)

²⁸⁷ αὐταὶ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο. This was the first open act of hostility. But from the mention of the intrigues in the Persian court some time before (see iii. 134), it would seem that the conquest of Greece was projected long before the outbreak of the war, at least according to some accounts.

²⁸⁸ τοὺς ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ. See above, §§ 15. 23.

ὑμῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἡμῖν ἤδη μελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Παῖονες, κάρτα τε ἀσπαστὸν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, ἀπεδίδρησκον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ κατέμειναν ἀρρωδήσαντες αὐτοῦ. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ Παῖονες ἀπικέατο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐς Χίον διέβησαν· ἐόντων δὲ ἤδη ἐν Χίῳ, κατὰ πόδας ἐληλύθει Περσέων ἵππος πολλή διώκουσα τοὺς Παίονας. ὥς δὲ οὐ κατέλαβον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἐς τὴν Χίου τοῖσι Παίοισι, ὅκως ἂν ὀπίσω ἀπέλθοιεν· οἱ δὲ Παῖονες τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἐνεδέκοντο· ἀλλ' ἐκ Χίου μὲν Χιοὶ σφεας ἐς Λέσβον ἤγαγον, Λέσβιοι δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον²⁸⁹ ἐκόμισαν· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πεζῇ κομιζόμενοι ἀπικέατο ἐς Παιονίην.

99

Remaining in Miletus he sends an Athenian and Ionian force against Sardis,

Ἄρισταγόρης δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπικέατο εἴκοσι νηυσὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενοι Ἑρετριέων πέντε τριήρεας, οἱ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν²⁹⁰ ἐστρατεύοντο, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν Μιλησίων, ὀφειλόμενά σφι ἀποδιδόντες· (οἱ γὰρ δὴ Μιλήσιοι πρότερον τοῖσι Ἑρετριεῦσι τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον²⁹¹ συνδιήνεικαν, ὅτε περ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι ἀντία Ἑρετριέων καὶ Μιλησίων Σάμιοι ἐβοήθειον) οὗτοι ὦν ἐπεὶ τέ σφι ἀπικέατο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρήσαν, ἐποιέετο στρατηγὴν ὁ Ἄρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδεις. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἄλλ' ἔμενε ἐν Μιλήτῳ· στρατηγούς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε Μιλησίων εἶναι, τὸν ἐωυτοῦ τε ἀδελφεὸν Χαροπῖνον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστῶν Ἑρμόφαντον. Ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ Ἴωνες ἐς Ἐφεσον, πλοῖα μὲν κατέλιπον ἐν Κορήσσῳ²⁹² τῆς

100

which takes the city

²⁸⁹ ἐς Δορίσκον. In Doriscus there was a Persian fort and a garrison at the time of which Herodotus is speaking (see vii. 59). And the position was undoubtedly a strong one; for Doriscus was the only Persian position on the European continent which was maintained against all the efforts of the victorious Greeks after the campaigns of 480 and 479 B.C. (See below, vii. 106.) If the fugitives therefore were landed there, they must have been supported by a strong Lesbian force to protect them from the garrison.

²⁹⁰ οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν. The Eretrians were not likely to mix themselves up in a quarrel against the Pisistratids; for they strongly assisted Pisistratus at the time of his exile. (See i. 62, and also note on vi. 100.)

²⁹¹ τὸν πρὸς Χαλκιδέας πόλεμον. THUCYDIDES speaks of this war as one in

which a very considerable Hellenic confederacy was organized on each side. It seems to have been one arising out of rival commercial interests, each of the principal belligerents being the metropolis of a large number of colonies. In Thrace especially their interests may be supposed to have jarred, Chalcis having filled the region above Olynthus with her settlements, and Eretria the peninsulas of Athos and Pallene with hers. (STRABO, x. c. 1, p. 323.) It is observable that as both of the towns are represented to have been founded from Athens by two different *οἰκισταί* (Eclus and Cothus) even before the Trojan war, so in latter times they appear connected with two different powerful Athenian families, those of Pisistratus and Isagoras. See note 199, above.

²⁹² ἐν Κορήσσῳ. STEPH. BYZANT. speaks of this place as one where a legend

Ἐφεσίης, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον χειρὶ πολλῇ ποιούμενοι Ἐφεσίους and burns
 ἡγεμόνας· πορευόμενοι δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν Καῦστριον, ἐνθεύτεν it, but is
 ἐπεὶ τε ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον²⁹³ ἀπίκοντο, αἰρέουσι Σάρδεις, repulsed
 οὐδενὸς σφί ἀντιωθέντος· αἰρέουσι δὲ χωρὶς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τᾶλλα from the
 πάντα· τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν ἐρύετο· αὐτὸς Ἀρταφέρνης²⁹⁴, ἔχων citadel.
 δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην. Τὸ δὲ μὴ λεηλατήσαι ἐλόντας²⁹⁵ 101
 σφέας τὴν πόλιν, ἔσχε τόδε· ἦσαν ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν
 πλεῦνες καλάμιναι, ὅσαι δ' αὐτέων καὶ πλίνθιναι ἦσαν καλάμου
 εἶχον τὰς ὀροφάς. τουτέων δὴ μίαν τῶν τις στρατιωτέων ὡς
 ἐνέπρησε, αὐτίκα ἀπ' οἰκίης ἐς οἰκίην ἰὼν τὸ πῦρ ἐπενέμετο τὸ
 ἄστρῳ πᾶν· καιομένου δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος, οἱ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ ὅσοι Περ-
 σέων ἐνῆσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπολαμφθέντες πάντοθεν, ὥστε τὰ
 περιέσχατα νεμομένου τοῦ πυρὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐξήλυσιν ἐκ τοῦ
 ἄστεος, συνέρρεον ἐς τε τὴν ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποτα-
 μόν· ὃς σφί ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ καταφορέων ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου διὰ μέσης
 τῆς ἀγορῆς ῥέει, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν Ἑρμον ποταμὸν ἐκδιδοί, ὁ δὲ ἐς
 θάλασσαν· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Πακτωλὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀθροί-
 ζόμενοι οἱ τε Λυδοὶ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἡναγκάζοντο ἀμύνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ
 Ἴωνες, ὀρέοντες τοὺς μὲν ἀμυνομένους τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς δὲ σὺν
 πλήθει πολλῶ προσφερομένους²⁹⁶, ἐξανεχώρησαν δέισαντες πρὸς

prevailed of Leto having given birth to Artemis on a spot where an altar to her was erected. A mountain is said to have been called by the name, but this place must have been on the coast, or the bank of the Cayster, by the ships being left there.

²⁹³ ὑπερβάντες τὸν Τμῶλον. STRABO (xiii. c. 4, p. 151) mentions the Persians having built on the very summit of Tmolus a station of observation of white marble, commanding a view of the plains all around, especially the valley of the Cayster. It might almost seem that the surprise related in the text was the occasion of their doing this.

²⁹⁴ αὐτὸς Ἀρταφέρνης, "Artaphernes in person." Probably the fact of his being at Sardis casually increased the numbers of the troops there, and hence the expression ἔχων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην. See notes 333 on iii. 120 and 296, below. The viceroy and brother of the king (above, § 25) would of course not move from one place to another without a guard.

²⁹⁵ ἐλόντας. The manuscripts S and V have ἐλόντας, which is perhaps a genuine reading.

²⁹⁶ τοὺς δὲ σὺν πλήθει πολλῶ προσφερομένους. This expression no doubt refers to the main army then concentrating on Sardis (§ 102). Herodotus mentions no special quarters from whence it was moved. Magnesia on the Mæander appears (iii. 122) to have been the military headquarters of a Persian satrap; and perhaps the force there was the nearest available. This supposition would account for the Ionians having intelligence of the troops being put in motion; for the communication between Sardis and Magnesia would be through the Ephesian territory, which was friendly to them. In this view of the matter ὀρῶντες should not be interpreted too strictly, although from Tmolus (see note 293, above) one probably could actually see the Persian columns marching towards the Cayster, before they reached the bank, and consequently while there was time to retreat.

τὸ οὖρος, τὸν Τρωῶλον καλεόμενον· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα ἀπαλλ-
λάσσοντο ἐπὶ τὰς νέας.

102

The Per-
sian army
is concen-
trated, and
defeats the
Ionians at
Ephesus.

Καὶ Σάρδεις μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ ἶρὸν ἐπιχωρή-
θεοῦ Κυβήβης²⁹⁷. τὸ σκηπτόμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι, ὕστερον αὐτ-
ενεπίμπρασαν τὰ ἐν Ἑλληνσι ἱρά· τότε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ ἐντὸς
Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχοντες, προπυθνόμενοι ταῦτα²⁹⁸, συν-
ηλίζοντο καὶ ἐβοήθειον τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι. καὶ κως ἐν μὲν Σάρδισι
οὐκέτι εἶντας τοὺς Ἴωνας εὐρίσκουσιν· ἐπόμενοι δὲ κατὰ στίβον,
αἰρέουσι αὐτοὺς²⁹⁹ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ· καὶ ἀντετάχθησαν μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες,

²⁹⁷ ἐπιχωρῆς θεοῦ Κυβήβης. This pas-
sage shows that in the time of Herodotus
Κυβέλη and Κυβήβη were regarded as
two distinct deities. For at that period
the former was completely identified in
Hellenic notions with the μεγάλη μητὴρ
(see iv. 76), and if the latter had been so
likewise, she would never have been de-
scribed merely as in the text. The most
probable supposition is that Κυβήβη was
nearly identical with the Sidonian Astarte
(Ashtaroth), the Assyrian Mylitta (see i.
131. 199), the Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανία of the
Cyprians (see i. 105), the Artemis Callisto
of the Pelasgian-Arcadians, and the Venus
of Latium,—that is to say, that she was a
personification of the generative powers
of Nature,—worshipped by rituals varying
in detail, but in all cases of an impure
character. The Syrian goddess described
by LUCIAN (vol. ix. pp. 86—131, ed.
Bipont), whose temple was at Hierapolis,
near the Euphrates, may be regarded as
furnishing the most developed of all re-
corded instances of this worship; and it
appears not unlikely that from this centre
the ritual spread in very early times
throughout Asia Minor. (See note 329
on i. 93.) Lucian's description of the
divinities (*Zeus* and *Here*, as he calls
them) in the *Θάλαμος* of the temple at
Hierapolis is very instructive: ἀμφω ἔζον-
ται· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἥρην λέοντες φορέουσι·
ὁ δὲ [Ζεὺς] ταύροις ἐφέξεται· καὶ δῆτα
τὸ μὲν τοῦ Δίος ἄγαλμα ἐς Δία πάντα
ὄρη, καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ εἴματα καὶ ἔδρην
καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐθέλων ἄλλως εἰκάσει· ἡ δὲ
Ἥρην σκοπέοντί τοι πολυειδέα μορφὴν ἐκ-
φανέει. καὶ τὰ μὲν σύμπαντα ἀτρεκέει
λόγῳ Ἥρῃ ἐστί· ἔχει δέ τι καὶ Ἀθηναίης,
καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ Ξεληναίης, καὶ Πέρης,
καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ Νεμεσίου, καὶ Μαιρέων.
Χεὶρὶ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρῃ σκίπτειν ἔχει, τῇ
ἑτέρῃ δὲ ὑπράκτειν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ

ἀκτῖνας τε φορεῖ καὶ πύργον καὶ κροστῶν,
τῷ μόνῃ τὴν Οὐρανίην κοσμέουσι. (*De
Dea Syr.* § 31.) Lucian does not give
the native name of the deity,—STRABO
calls her Atargatis,—but it seems not
impossible that it was Κομβήβη or Κόμ-
βη (for Κομβάβος is the Atys of the
Syrian mythology, and stands in the same
relation to Κομβήβη that κύβηβος (=ὁ
κατεχόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, RHODIUS)
does to Κυβήβη. And if we further sup-
pose that Κυβ-έλη and Κυβ-ήβη represent
the same deity in different relations,—for
instance the former as Rhea, and the latter
as Aphrodite,—an explanation is afforded
of the two names being subsequently used
indifferently. That the first syllable con-
stitutes the root of the word seems likely
from the word κυβ-αἶζοντα, explained by
HESYCHIUS as a Laconian word for ἐν-
θουσιῶντα, and from the name Κόμβη, the
mother of the Curetes (NONNUS, xiii.
135), and a nymph, afterwards called
Chalcis, the eponymous foundress of the
Eubœan town opposite to Aulis. (HECA-
TÆUS, *Fr.* 105.) For the particular site
of the temple see note 292 on i. 84.
See the note 366 on i. 105 for another
form of the same goddess, and see also
note 121 on ii. 41.

²⁹⁸ προπυθνόμενοι ταῦτα. One manu-
script (S) has προπυθνόμενοι. But
Herodotus apparently wishes to show that
intelligence of an intended outbreak had
reached the Persian satraps, who began to
concentrate their forces, although this
operation was not completed in time to
save Sardis. See note 296, above.

²⁹⁹ αὐτοὺς. The Ionians, apparently
without the Athenians, who had retreated
to their ships on the first appearance of
a concentration of the enemy's force. The
completion of this operation by the Per-
sians ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ νομοὺς ἔχον-

συμβαλόντες δὲ πολλὸν ἐσώθησαν· καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φοινοῦσι, ἄλλους τε ὀνομαστοὺς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκίδα στρατηγέοντα Ἐρετριέων, στεφανηφόρους τε ἁγῶνας ἰναραιοῦς· κῶτα καὶ ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδει τοῦ Κηϊοῦ πολλὰ αἰνεθέντα. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέφυγον τὴν μάχην, ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις.

Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο· μετὰ δὲ, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπικαλεσμένου σφέας πολλὰ δι' ἁγγέλων Ἀρισταγόρεω, οὐκ ἔφασαν τιμωρήσιν σφίσι. Ἴωνες δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίας στερηθέντες, (οὕτω γάρ σφι ὑπῆρχε πεπονημένα ἐς Δαρεῖον,) οὐδὲν δὴ ἦσσαν τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον ἐσκευάζοντο. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, Βυζάντιόν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀπάσας³⁰⁰ τὰς ταύτη ὑπ' ἐωυτοῖσι ἐποίησαντο· ἐκπλώσαντές τε ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, Καρίης τὴν πολλὴν προσεκτίσαντο σφίσι σύμμαχον εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχεῖν, ὥς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδεις τότε σφι καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο. Κύπριοι δὲ ἐθελονταὶ σφι πάντες προσεγένοντο, πλὴν Ἀμαθουσίῳ. ἀπέστησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ὧδε ἀπὸ Μήδων· ἦν Ὀνήσιλος Γόργου μὲν τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸς νεώτερος, Χέρσιος δὲ τοῦ Σιρώμου³⁰¹ τοῦ Εὐέλθοντος παῖς· οὗτος ὠνὴρ πολλὰκίς μὲν καὶ πρότερον τὸν Γόργον παρηγορέετο ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος· τότε δ', ὥς καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπύθετο ἀπεστάναι, πᾶνχ ὑπὲρ ἐπικείμενος ἐνῆγε· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Γόργον, ἐνθαυτὰ μιν φυλάξας ἐξελθόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Σαλαμινίων ὁ Ὀνήσιλος ἅμα τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ στασιώτησι, ἀπεκλήϊσε τῶν

103

The Athenians desert the cause, but the rebellion is continued. The allies sail to the Hellespont, and gain Byzantium and the other cities, also the greater part of Caria and Cuneia.

104

All Cyprus revolts under the influence of Onesilus of Salamis, except Amathus, to which Onesilus lays siege.

tes, must have required a considerable time. Dascyleum on the Bithynian coast was another important military station (iii. 120. 126; vi. 33), besides Magnesia on the Mæander, and probably troops were moved from both positions upon Sardis. From thence the combined army may be conceived to have marched upon Ephesus, where in the mean time an Ionian force was collected, the component portions of which, after an unsuccessful battle, ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις. It is observable that a different account from that of Herodotus, so far as the reputation of the Athenians is concerned, was given by CHARON OF LAMPSACUS: Ἀθηναῖοι εἰκοσι τριήρεσι ἐπλευσαν ἐπικουρήσοντες τοῖς Ἴωσι καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύσαντο· καὶ εἶλον τὰ

περὶ Σάρδεις ἅπαντα, χωρὶς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ βασιλεῖος· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπ' ἀναχωροῦσιν εἰς Μίλητον. (ap. Plutarch. De Malign. Herod. p. 861, D.)

³⁰⁰ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀπάσας. Under these Doriscus cannot well be included. See note 289, above. But that place is rather to be considered as a stronghold, the Mantua of the Persian Lombardy, than a city.

³⁰¹ Σιρώμου. This seems to be a Phœnician name in vii. 98, where several of the MSS have the form Σειρώμου. JOSEPHUS (c. Apion. i. 18) calls Hiram Εἰρωμος, and the form in the text is perhaps a variation of the same word, as serpo of ἔρπω, sex of ἐξ, and the like. Onesilus very probably had Phœnician blood in his veins, being a Cyprian.

πυλέων. Γόργος μὲν δὴ στερηθεὶς τῆς πόλιος ἔφευγε εἰς Μήδους³⁰², Ὀνήσιλος δὲ ἦρχε Σαλαμῖνος, καὶ ἀνέπειθε πάντας Κυπρίους συναπίστασθαι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄλλους ἀνέπεισε· Ἀμαθουσίους δὲ οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πείθεσθαι³⁰³ ἐπολιόρκεε προσκατήμενος.

105

During the
siege of
Amathus,
news of
the revolt
is brought
to Darius,

Ὀνήσιλος μὲν νυν ἐπολιόρκεε Ἀμαθοῦντα. βασιλεῖ δὲ Δαρείῳ ὡς ἐξαγγέλθη Σάρδις ἰλούσας ἐμπεπρήσθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι τῆς συλλογῆς ὥστε ταῦτα συν-
υφανθῆναι τὸν Μιλήσιον Ἀρισταγόρην, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησάμενον, εὖ εἰδότα ὡς οὗτοί γε οὐ καταπροΐξονται³⁰⁴ ἀποστάντες, εἶρεσθαι οἷτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι; μετὰ δὲ, πυθόμενον, αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα οἷστον ἄνω εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπείναι, καὶ μιν εἰς τὸν ἡέρα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν “ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσα-
σθαι” εἴπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ εἰς τρεῖς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν “δέσποτα, μέμνεο
τῶν Ἀθηναίων.” Προστάξας δὲ ταῦτα, εἶπε, καλέσας εἰς ὄψιν

106

who up-
braids His-
tiaeus as the
cause of it,

Ἰστιαῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον, [τὸν ὁ Δαρείος κατεῖχε χρόνον ἤδη πολ-
λόν] “πυνθάνομαι, Ἰστιαῖε, ἐπίτροπον τὸν σὸν τῷ σὺ Μίλητον ἐπέτρεψας νεώτερα εἰς ἐμὲ πεποιηκέναι πρήγματα· ἄνδρας γάρ μοι ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρης ἡπείρου ἐπαγαγὼν, καὶ Ἴωνας σὺν αὐτοῖσι,—τοὺς δώσοντας ἐμοὶ δίκην τῶν ἐποίησαν,—τούτους ἀναγνώσας ἅμα ἐκείνοισι ἔπεσθαι, Σαρδίων με ἀπεστέρηκε· νῦν ὦν κῶς τοι φαίνεται ταῦτα ἔχειν καλῶς; κῶς δ’ ἄνευ τῶν σῶν βουλευμάτων τοιούτων τι ἐπρήχθη; ὅρα μὴ ἐξ ὑστέρης³⁰⁵ σεωυτὸν ἐν αἰτῇ
σχῆς” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἰστιαῖος. “βασιλεῦ, κοῖον ἐφθέγξαο ἔπος; ἐμὲ βουλεῦσαι πρήγμα, ἐκ τοῦ σοί τι ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν

³⁰² Γόργος . . . ἔφευγε εἰς Μήδους. He appears again holding a prominent rank in the expedition of Xerxes against Hellas (vii. 35).

³⁰³ οὐ βουλομένους οἱ πείθεσθαι. The Amathusians were probably free from commixture of the Hellenic race in a greater degree than the population of the other Cyprian towns. SCYLAX (p. 41) describes them as autochthonous. And STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*sub v.*) states that the Adonis-Osiris was worshipped there as an aboriginal deity, although really Egyptian. There was also a temple of *Aphrodites*, in which Aphrodite was represented

bearded, and with a sceptre in her hand (HESYCHIUS, *sub v.* Ζεὺς ξένιος.) Such a deity would be a θεὸς γαμήλιος, analogous to the Here of Mycenæ, a goddess of the very earliest times (see note 422 on ii. 141), and perhaps originally androgynous. (See the curious practice connected with her ritual related by PLUTARCH, quoted in the note on viii. 104.) A representation of a bearded female is given by MINUTOLI (t. xxix. 3) as that of an Egyptian priestess.

³⁰⁴ οὐ καταπροΐξονται. See note 106 on iii. 36.

³⁰⁵ ἐξ ὑστέρης. See note 382 on i. 108.

but is per-
suaded by
him of his
innocence,

ἔμελλε λυπηρὸν ἀνασχίσειν ; τί δ' ἂν ἐπιδιζήμενος ποιέοιμι ταῦτα ; τεῦ δὲ ἐνδεῆς ἑὼν, τῷ πάρα μὲν πάντα ὅσα περ σοί, πάντων δὲ πρὸς σέο βουλευμάτων ἐπακούειν ἀξιεῦμαι ; ἀλλ' εἴ περ τι τοιοῦτον οἶον σὺ εἴρηκας πρήσσει ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος, ἴσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ βαλλόμενον πεπρηχέναι. ἀρχὴν δὲ ἔγωγε οὐδὲ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, ὅκως τι Μιλήσιοι καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος νεώτερον πρήσσουσι περὶ πρήγματα τὰ σά· εἰ δ' ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο ποιεύσιν, καὶ σὺ τὸ ἐὼν ἀκήκοας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μάθε οἶον πρήγμα ἐργάσασθαι ἐμὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάσπαστον ποιήσας· Ἴωνες γὰρ οἴκασι, ἐμεῦ ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σφί γενομένου, ποιῆσαι τῶν πάλαι ἴμερον εἶχον· ἐμέο δ' ἂν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὐδεμία πόλις ὑπεκίνησε· νῦν ὦν ὡς τάχος με ἄφες πορευθῆναι ἐς Ἰωνίην, ἵνα τοι κείνά τε πάντα καταρτίσω ἐς τὸντὸ ³⁰⁶, καὶ τὸν Μιλήτιον ἐπίτροπον τοῦτον τὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον ἐγχειρίθεται παραδῶ· ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ νόον τὸν σὸν ποιήσας, θεοὺς ἐπόμνυμι τοὺς βασιλῆους, μὴ μὲν πρότερον ἐκδύσασθαι τὸν ἔχων κιθῶνα καταβήσομαι ἐς Ἰωνίην, πρὶν ἂν τοι Σαρδῶ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην ³⁰⁷ δασμοφόρον ποιήσω.” Ἰστιαῖος **107** μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα διέβαλλε ³⁰⁸. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπέθετο καὶ μιν and sends him to put down the revolt. ἀπίει, ἐντειλάμενος ἐπεὰν τὰ ὑπέσχετό οἱ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ, παραγίνεσθαι οἱ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη τε περὶ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνῆίε, **108** καὶ Δαρεῖος τὰ περὶ τὸ τόξον ποιήσας Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθε,

³⁰⁶ καταρτίσω ἐς τὸντὸ, “get them into order, as they were.” See note 72 on § 28.

³⁰⁷ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην. Sardinia probably obtained this reputation from its commercial importance,—it being for the Carthaginians what Sicily was for the Roman Republic and Egypt for the Roman Empire,—the place from which they habitually drew their supplies. They held firm possession of the plains, the aboriginal inhabitants retiring to the mountainous interior, where they bred cattle and sheep with extraordinary success. (DION. SIC. v. 15.) No doubt it was mercenaries drawn from these highlanders which constituted the Sardinian force in the army with which Hamilcar attacked Gelon (vii. 165). The knowledge which the Hellenic cities of Herodotus's time had of all the islands west of Sicily was confined to the accounts brought by traders ;

in which nothing would be more natural than that the geographical size of any place should be inferred from the magnitude of its exports, estimated in the rough manner which alone at that time was possible. And these accounts no doubt came directly or indirectly from Carthaginian sources ; as the Carthaginian policy prohibited even their allies, the Tyrrhenes and Romans, from trading with the parts in question, except either at Carthage or the factories in Sicily. (POLYBIUS, iii. 24.) ERATOSTHENES (*ap. Strabon.* xvii. c. 1, p. 440) related that the Carthaginians made it a regular practice to sink any strange sail they fell in with, bound either for *Sardinia* or the straits. It was the importance of the island to them which suggested the advice of Bias to the Ionians (i. 170).

³⁰⁸ διέβαλλε. See note 124 on § 50, above.

Events which occurred in Cyprus between the capture of Sardis and the arrival of Histiaeus on the coast.

An Ionian force arrives to co-operate with the Cyprians

109

under Onesilus against a Persian and Phœnician armada from Cilicia under Artynbius.

καὶ Ἰστιάϊδος μεμετιμένος³⁰⁹ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐκομίζετο ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐγίνετο τάδε· Ἰππολιορκέοντι τῷ Σαλαμινίῳ Ὀνησίλῳ Ἀμαθουσίους ἐξαγγέλλεται, νηυσὶ στρατιὴν πολλὴν ἄγοντα Περσικὴν Ἀρτύβιον, ἄνδρα Πέρσην³¹⁰, προσδόκιμον ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἐπικαλούμενός σφέας· Ἴωνες δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευσάμενοι ἤκου πολλῷ στόλῳ. Ἴωνές τε δὴ παρήσαν ἐς τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι νηυσὶ διαβάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης³¹¹ ἦϊσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα πεζῇ· τῇσι δὲ νηυσὶ οἱ Φοίνικες περιέπλων τὴν ἄκρην αἱ καλεῦνται Κληίδες τῆς Κύπρου. Τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου γινομένου, ἔλεξαν οἱ τύραννοι τῆς Κύπρου συγκαλέσαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς στρατηγούς· “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Κύπριοι, ὁκοτέροισι βούλεσθε προσφέρεισθαι, ἢ Πέρσησι ἢ Φοίνιξιν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ πεζῇ βούλεσθε ταχθέντες Περσέων διαπειράσθαι, ὥρῃ ἂν εἴῃ ὑμῖν ἐκβάντας ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τάσσεσθαι πεζῇ, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὰς νέας ἐμβαίνειν τὰς ὑμετέρας Φοίνιξιν ἀνταγωνιούμενους· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκων μάλλον βούλεσθε διαπειράσθαι, ποιέειν χρεόν ἐστι ὑμέας, (ὁκότερα ἂν δὴ τούτων ἔλῃσθε,) ὅπως τὸ κατ’ ὑμέας ἔσται ἢ τε Ἰωνίῃ καὶ ἢ Κύπρῳ ἐλευθέρῃ.” εἶπαν [οἱ]

³⁰⁹ μεμετιμένος. The manuscripts S and V have the form μεμετημένος (perhaps a genuine one) both here and in vi. 1. But in vii. 229 all the MSS have μεμετιμένοι. Whichever reading be adopted, the reduplication of the preposition is remarkable.

³¹⁰ Ἀρτύβιον, ἄνδρα Πέρσην. The same name was borne by a Persian, who probably was the nephew of king Darius (vii. 66), if the reading of the manuscripts S, V, and d be genuine. But the others have Ἀρτύφιος.

³¹¹ διαβάντες ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίης. The transit probably took place from *Anemurium*, a headland of Cilicia, from whence the run to *Κρομμύου ἄκρα* in Cyprus was estimated at only 350 *stadēs*, while the name of the Cilician cape (*Fair-wind*) would induce the belief that the predominant wind was favourable to persons who wished to cross. From ‘Point Onion’ to ‘the Keys’ was a run to the east of 700 *stadēs*; but in the interval the coast was favourable to such navigation as that of the ancients. In it was the Ἀχαιῶν ἄκτῃ, where the legend made Teucer, the foun-

der of Salamis, first land; and from Aphrodisium (which was a little to the west of this), the march over land to Salamis was only 70 *stadēs*. ‘The Keys’ were really two little islands among a group lying off the mountainous promontory Olympus, on which was a temple of Aphrodite, and which is visible from the coast of Syria as well as that of Cilicia. The run to them direct from the mouth of the Pyramus was estimated at 700 *stadēs*, and from them to the high promontory Πηδάλιον, also crowned with an Aphrodite-temple, at 680 more. (STRABO, xiv. c. 6, pp. 242, 3.) From their name and from the circumstance of their distances from several points being recorded, it may probably be inferred that it was the practice for the coasting merchant vessels to pass through them or by them. It is very clear that Herodotus’s informant knew the coast only as a navigator, who called the promontory and group of islets by the name which his landmark bore; just as a pilot on the south coast of England will call the point of the Isle of Wight “the Needles.”

"Ιῶνες πρὸς ταῦτα· "ἡμέας ἀπέπεμψε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων φυλάξοντας τὴν θάλασσαν³¹², ἀλλ' οὐκ ἵνα Κυπρίοισι τὰς νέας παραδόντες αὐτοὶ Πέρσησι πεζῇ προσφερώμεθα. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐπ' οὐ ἐτίχθημεν, ταύτῃ πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί· ὑμέας δὲ χρεὼν ἐστὶ ἀναμνησθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων³¹³ γίνεσθαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς." Ἰῶνες μὲν τούτοισι ἀμείψαντο· μετὰ δὲ, ἡκόντων ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Σαλαμινίων τῶν Περσέων, διέτασσον οἱ βασιλέες τῶν Κυπρίων τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Κυπρίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀντιτάσσοντες, Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων³¹⁴ ἀπολέξαντες τὸ ἄριστον ἀντέτασσον Πέρσησι. Ἀρτυβίῳ δὲ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Περσέων ἐθελουτῆς ἀντετάσσετο Ὀνήσιλος. Ἦλανε δὲ ἵππον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος δεδιδαγμένον πρὸς ὀπλίτην ἵστασθαι ὀρθόν. πυθόμενος ὦν ταῦτα ὁ Ὀνήσιλος, ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὑπασπιστῆς γένος μὲν Κάρ τὰ δὲ πολέμια κάρτα δόκιμος καὶ ἄλλως λήματος πλέος, εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτον· "πυνθάνομαι τὸν Ἀρτυβίου ἵππον ἰστάμενον ὀρθόν, καὶ ποσὶ καὶ στόματι κατεργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἂν προσενεχθῇ· σὺ ὦν βουλευσάμενος αὐτίκα εἰπὲ ὁκότερον βούλει φυλάξας πλήξαι, εἴτε τὸν ἵππον εἴτε αὐτὸν Ἀρτύβιοι." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ὀπάων αὐτοῦ· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐτοίμος μὲν ἐγὼ εἶμι ποιεῖν καὶ ἀμφότερα καὶ τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντως τὸ ἂν ἐπιτάσσης σύ· ὥς μέντοι ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι τοῖσι σοῖσι πρήγμασι προσφερέστερον, φράσω· βασιλέα μὲν καὶ στρατηγὸν χρεὼν εἶναι φημι βασιλεῖ τε καὶ στρατηγῷ προσφέρεισθαι· ἦν τε γὰρ κατέλῃς ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν, μέγα τοι γίνεται· καὶ δεύτερα, ἦν σὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸ μὴ γένοιτο, ὑπὸ ἀξιόχρεω καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμίσεα συμφορῇ· ἡμέας δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐτέροισί τε ὑπηρέτησι προσφέρεισθαι καὶ πρὸς ἵππον· τοῦ σὺ τὰς μηχανὰς μηδὲν φοβηθῆς· ἐγὼ γὰρ [δῆ] τοι ὑποδέκομαι μὴ μιν ἀνδρὸς ἔτι γε μηδενὸς στή-

110

A pitched battle is fought,

111

³¹² φυλάξοντας τὴν θάλασσαν. See note on vi. 5.

³¹³ ἀναμνησθέντας οἷα ἐπάσχετε δουλεύοντες πρὸς τῶν Μήδων. There is nothing to show the bad condition of the Cyprians under the Median rule. Cyprus was reduced (for the first time according to Herodotus) by Amasis (ii. ult.), and it would seem that the desire of throwing off the Egyptian yoke induced them voluntarily to put themselves under the empire

of Cambyses. (See note 56, a, on iii. 19.) Yet there may have been an Egyptian party in Cyprus of whom what is said in the text was true.

³¹⁴ Σαλαμινίων δὲ καὶ Σολίων. Soli was on the opposite side of the island from Salamis, but only a little to the west of 'Point Onion.' (STRABO, xiv. c. 6, p. 245.) The distance therefore between it and Salamis (see note 311, above) cannot have been great.

- 112 σεσθαι ἐναντίον." Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ μεταντίκα συνέμισγε τὰ
 in which the Phœnician fleet is beaten by the Ionian, and the Persian general slain by Onesilus;
 στρατόπεδα πεζῇ καὶ νηυσὶ³¹⁵. νηυσὶ μὲν νυν Ἴωνες, ἄκροι
 γινόμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην, ὑπερεβάλλοντο τοὺς Φοίνικας· καὶ
 τούτων Σάμιοι ἡρίστευσαν· πεζῇ δὲ, ὡς συνῆλθε τὰ στρατόπεδα,
 συμπεσόντα ἐμάχοντο. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀμφοτέρους τάδε
 ἐγένετο· ὡς προσεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Ὀνήσιλον ὁ Ἀρτύβιος ἐπὶ
 τοῦ ἵππου κατήμενος, ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο³¹⁶ τῷ
 ὑπασπιστῇ παίει προσφερόμενον αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρτύβιον· ἐπιβαλόν-
 τος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀνησίλου ἀσπίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ
 Κὰρ δρεπάνῳ πλήξας ἀπαράσσει τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς πόδας. Ἀρτύ-
 βιος μὲν δὴ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Περσέων ὁμοῦ τῷ ἵππῳ πίπτει αὐτοῦ
 ταύτῃ. Μαχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, Σητησίνωρ, τύραννος ἐὼν
 113 Κουρίου³¹⁷, προδιδοὶ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ ἐωυτὸν οὐ σμικρὴν
 but the treachery of Stesantor of Curium turns the scale, and the Persian army is vic-
 torious.
 (οἱ δὲ Κουριέες οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι Ἀργείων ἄποικοι)· προδόντων
 δὲ τῶν Κουριέων, αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ Σαλαμινίῳ πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα
 τῷ αὐτῷ τοῖσι Κουριεῦσι ἐποίεε· γινομένων δὲ τούτων, κατυπέρτεροι
 ᾔσαν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν Κυπρίων. τετραμμένον δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου,
 ἄλλοι τε ἔπεσον πολλοὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ Ὀνήσιλός τε ὁ Χέρσιος, ὅσπερ
 τὴν Κυπρίων ἀπόστασιν ἔπρηξε, καὶ ὁ Σολίων βασιλεὺς Ἀρι-
 στόκυπρος ὁ Φιλοκύπρου, (Φιλοκύπρου δὲ τούτου, τὸν Σόλων ὁ
 Ἀθηναῖος ἀπικόμενος ἐς Κύπρον ἐν ἔπεσι αἶνεσε τυράννων μά-
 114 λιστα.) Ὀνησίλου μὲν νυν Ἀμαθούσιοι³¹⁸, ὅτι σφέας ἐπολιόρκησε,

³¹⁵ πεζῇ καὶ νηυσὶ. Although the Phœnician fleet had to sail round the easternmost point of Cyprus, and then a considerable distance along the s.e. coast of the island before reaching Salamis, the engagement of the land and sea forces is described as simultaneous. But from the narrowness of the island in this part (see note 311, above), it would be very easy to gain a point from which the arrival of the fleet of Salamis could be signaled to the Persian commander at or near Aphrodisium, and he would time his movements so as to produce a combined operation. By this he doubtless expected so fully to employ the Cyprian troops as to relieve Amathus, and enable the Amathusians to come out in force and menace the rear of Onesilus.

³¹⁶ κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο. See note 211 on iv. 76.

³¹⁷ τύραννος ἐὼν Κουρίου. The terri-

tory of Curium was contemporaneous to that of Amathus. (STRABO, xiv. c. 6. 243.) From this circumstance, and those pointed out in the note 315, one may infer that the plan of Onesilus was to keep Amathus in check by means of the Curian contingent, and to stop the Phœnician fleet by means of the Ionian, while he himself fought a pitched battle with the Persian army advancing from the north of the island. This plan was defeated by the treachery of Stesantor, who, instead of fulfilling his engagement, appears to have combined his forces with those of the Amathusians (see next note), and attacked Onesilus in the rear.

³¹⁸ Ἀμαθούσιοι. The mention of Amathusians on the field of battle seems to indicate that in some way or other the siege of their town had been raised. See the last note.

ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀμαθοῦντα, καὶ μιν ἀνεκρέ- The Ama-
μασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλέων· κρεμαμένης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἤδη thusians
ἐούσης κοίλης, ἐσμός μελισσέων ἐσδύς ἐς αὐτὴν, κηρίων μιν ἐν of Onesilus,
ἐπλησε· τούτου δὲ γενομένου τοιούτου, ἐχρέωντο γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς οἱ but after-
Ἀμαθοῦσιοι, ἐμαντεύθη σφι τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν κατελόντας θάψαι, wards are
Ὀνησίλῳ δὲ θύειν ὡς ἡρωῖ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· καὶ σφι ποιεῦσι ταῦτα by an oracle
ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. Ἀμαθοῦσιοι μὲν νυν ἐποίεον ταῦτα καὶ τὸ him as a
μέχρι ἐμεῦ. Ἴωνες δὲ οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ ναυμαχῆσαντες, ἐπεὶ τε ἔμαθον hero.
τὰ πρήγματα τὰ Ὀνησίλου διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν 115
Κυπρίων πολιορκευμένας τὰς ἄλλας πλὴν Σαλαμῖνος, ταύτην δὲ The Ionians
Γόργῳ τῷ προτέρῳ βασιλεῖ τοὺς Σαλαμινίους παραδόντας, αὐτίκα return to
μαθόντες οἱ Ἴωνες ταῦτα ἀπέπλωον ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. τῶν δὲ ἐν their own
Κύπρῳ πόλιν ἀντέσχε χρόνον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πολιορκευμένη cities, and
Σόλοι· τὴν περίξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος³¹⁹ πέμπτῳ μηνὶ εἶλον the Persians
οἱ Πέρσαι. recover Cy-
prus.

Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ³²⁰, ἐνιαυτὸν ἐλεύθεροι γενόμενοι, αὐτὶς ἐκ νέης 116
κατεδεδούλωντο. Δαυρίσης δὲ ἔχων Δαρείου θυγατέρα, καὶ Ὑμέης The Per-
τε καὶ Ὀτάνης καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοὶ³²¹ ἔχοντες καὶ οὗτοι sian army
Δαρείου θυγατέρας, ἐπιδιώξαντες τοὺς ἐν Σάρδισι στρατευσαμένους in three
Ἰώνων, καὶ ἐσαράξαντες σφεας ἐς τὰς νέας τῇ μάχῃ ὡς ἐπεκράτη- divisions
σαν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθεον. Δαυρίσης μὲν attacks the
τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις, εἶλε μὲν Δάρδανον, (Greek
εἶλε δὲ Ἀβυδὸν τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Παισὸν cities.
ταύτας μὲν ἐπ' ἡμέρης ἐκάστης αἵρεε· ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντί 117
οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἦλθε ἀγγελίη, τοὺς Κᾶρας³²² τῷτ' Ἰωσι Daurises
φρονήσαντας ἀπεστάναι ἀπὸ Περσέων· ἀποστρέψας ὦν ἐκ τοῦ secures the
Ἑλλησπόντου ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίην. Καὶ κως 118 shore of the
put down a

³¹⁹ περίξ ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος. See note 512 on iv. 200.

³²⁰ Κύπριοι μὲν δὴ. The thread of the narrative is resumed from § 103.

³²¹ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι στρατηγοί. These different officers, all of them sons-in-law of Darius, must be conceived of as holding subordinate rank to his brother Artaphernes. Otanes may perhaps be the same person who is mentioned as the στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν (v. 25). As the husbands of different daughters,

they were unlikely to combine together against their father, and conjointly they perhaps operated as a check upon their uncle. (See note 65, above.) Indeed it is possible that two of them may have been husbands of daughters borne by Darius's first wife, the daughter of Gobryas. (See vii. 2.) It is very plain however (from § 123) that the three here named were superior in rank to the rest of the Persian generals.

³²² τοὺς Κᾶρας. See § 103, above.

movement
in Caria,

ταῦτα τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐξαγγέλθη πρότερον πρὶν³²³ ἢ τὸν Δαυρίσην ἀπικέσθαι· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κᾶρες, συνελέγοντο ἐπὶ Λευκάς τε Στήλας καλεομένας καὶ ποταμὸν Μαρσύην· ὃς ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰδρι-
αίδος χώρας ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδοῖ· συλλεχθέντων δὲ τῶν
Καρῶν ἐνθαῦτα, ἐγίνοντο βουλαὶ ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ ἀρίστη γε
δοκέουσα εἶναι ἐμοὶ Πιξωδάρου τοῦ Μανσώλου, ἀνδρὸς Κινδύεος^a,
ὃς τοῦ Κιλικίων βασιλέος Συεννέσιος εἶχε θυγατέρα³²⁴. τούτου τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε, διαβάντας τὸν Μαίανδρον τοὺς Κᾶρας καὶ
κατὰ νώτου ἔχοντας τὸν ποταμὸν οὕτω συμβάλλειν, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοντες
ὀπίσω φεύγειν οἱ Κᾶρες αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι γενοίαιτο
ἔτι ἀμείνονες τῆς φύσιος. αὕτη μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐνίκα ἡ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ
τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι κατὰ νώτου γίνεσθαι τὸν Μαίανδρον μᾶλλον ἢ
σφίσι· δηλαδὴ, ἣν φυγὴ τῶν Περσέων γένηται καὶ ἐσσωθέωσι τῇ
συμβολῇ, ὥς οὐκ ἀπονοστήσουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσπίπτοντες.

119 Μετὰ δὲ, παρεόντων καὶ διαβάντων τὸν Μαίανδρον τῶν Περσέων,
ἐνθαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύνῃ ποταμῷ³²⁵ συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι
οἱ Κᾶρες, καὶ μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο ἰσχυρὴν καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνον πολλόν·
τέλος δὲ ἐσώθησαν διὰ πλῆθος. Περσέων μὲν δὴ ἔπεσον ἄνδρες

The Cari-
ans are
beaten on
the bank
of the Mar-

³²³ πρότερον πρὶν. Several of the MSS omit πρὶν, which undoubtedly is not required. But in vii. 8 all without exception have οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἔλω.

^a POLYBIUS (xvi. 12) speaks of a statue of Artemis Κινδύας, (which was not far from Caryanda, according to STRABO, xiv. c. 2, p. 203), that although in the open air, never had either snow or rain fall upon it. The inhabitants of the neighbouring town *Iasus* believed exactly the same of their statue of *Hestia*. Strabo says that there once *was* a place called Κινδύη, but neither he nor Polybius speak of it as existing. Possibly the original is a mere sanctuary of the goddess whose native name was Κινδύας, an Ἐνιο, or Bellona, or Amazon. The advice of Pixodarus is quite in accordance with the worshipper of a war goddess. Κανδαῖος is a war god (see note 9 on v. 3), and Candaules a Lydian deity, identified sometimes with Heracles, sometimes with Hermes (HESYCHIUS, *sub v.*).

³²⁴ ὃς τοῦ Κιλικίων βασιλέος Συεννέσιος εἶχε θυγατέρα. It seems not improbable that the word Syennesis really denotes some title of honour assumed by the

Cilician chiefs, and (like Battus) is not strictly speaking a proper name. Herodotus here represents the son-in-law of a Syennesis as taking part with the Carians against Darius, while ÆSCHYLUS (*Persæ*, 326) mentions a Syennesis as among the distinguished warriors on the Persian side slain at Marathon. He is described as Κιλικίων ἄρχος. Another Syennesis (a Cilician), together with Labynetos the Babylonian, mediates a peace between the Lydian and Median monarchs in the year 610 B.C. (i. 74.) And a third, the son of Oromedon, commands a Cilician galley in the expedition of Xerxes (vii. 98).

³²⁵ ἐπὶ τῷ Μαρσύνῃ ποταμῷ. This river is not to be confounded with that which issued from a grotto at *Celæna*, and fell almost immediately afterwards into the upper Mæander. That one, which is called *Marsyas* by XENOPHON, Herodotus designates by the name *Cataract*. See the notes on vii. 26, below. The Marsyas of the text is one of the streams from the south of Caria which fall into the lower Mæander.

ἐς δισχιλίους, Καρῶν δὲ ἐς μυρίουσ· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ οἱ διαφυγόντες *syas, but rally in the sacred wood of Zeus Stratius.*
 αὐτῶν κατειλήθησαν ἐς Λάβρανδα ³²⁶, ἐς Διὸς Στρατίου ἱρόν ³²⁷,
 μέγα τε καὶ ἄγιον ἄλσος πλατανίστων. μῦνοι δὲ, τῶν ἡμεῖς
 ἴδμεν, Κᾶρες εἰσι οἱ Διὶ Στρατίῳ θυσίας ἀνάγουσι. κατειληθέντες
 ὦν οὔτοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ σωτηρίας, ὁκότερα, ἢ παρα-
 δόντες σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσῃσι ἢ ἐκλιπόντες τὸ παράπαν τὴν
 Ἀσίην, ἄμεινον πρήξουσι. Βουλευομένοισι δὲ σφι ταῦτα παρα- **120**
 γίνονται βοηθέοντες Μιλήσιοί τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν· *The Milesians join them, and in a second battle the Persian division gains a bloody victory,*
 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τὰ μὲν πρότερον οἱ Κᾶρες ἐβουλεύοντο μετήκαν, οἱ δὲ
 αὐτὶς πολεμεῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀρτέοντο· καὶ ἐπιούσιν τε τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι
 συμβάλλουσι, καὶ μαχεσάμενοι ἐπὶ πλεῦν ³²⁸ ἢ πρότερον ἐσσώθη-
 σαν· πεσόντων δὲ τῶν πάντων ³²⁹ πολλῶν, Μιλήσιοι μάλιστα **121**
 ἐπλήρῃσαν. Μετὰ δὲ, τοῦτο τὸ τρώμα ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ ἀνεμα-
 χέσαντο οἱ Κᾶρες· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς στρατεύεσθαι ὀρμέεται οἱ *but subsequently is cut off in an ambuscade near Pedasus.*
 Πέρσαι ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις σφέων, ἐλόχησαν τὴν ἐν Πηδάσῳ ³³⁰ ὁδόν·
 ἐς τὴν ἐμπεσόντες οἱ Πέρσαι νυκτὸς διεφθάρησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ

³²⁶ ἐς Λάβρανδα. Several MSS, including S and V, have Λάβρυνδα, and one (M) Λάβρανδα, which is the form given by the Oxford marble.

³²⁷ Διὸς Στρατίου ἱρόν. The image of Zeus here was represented holding not a sceptre, or a thunderbolt, but a double-headed axe, a symbol identical with the Amazonian hatchet, and probably also with the hammer of the Scandinavian Thor. PLUTARCH (*Quæstiones Græcæ*, § 45) gives the following legend accounting for this. When Heracles slew the Amazon Hippolyta, he took away her hatchet as a trophy and presented it to Omphale. From her time the kings of the Lydians themselves bore it until the time of Candaules. He, disdaining the ensign, committed it to a companion to carry. When Gyges revolted from him, one Arselis, a Carian from Mylasa, was his ally, and succeeded in destroying both Candaules and his friend. After this exploit he carried the axe among other spoils back to Caria, and making an image of Zeus, put the axe into its hands, and called the deity Labradeus, from the circumstance that Λάβρα was the Lydian word for an axe. This deity is an entirely different one from the Zeus Κάριος of i. 171, where see the note 577. Labranda was a village situated on the mountain

which separated Alabanda from Mylasa. A made-road ran from the latter town to the temple, which was sixty stades off, and sacred processions used to take place along it, the principal Mylasians being priests of the deity. In the town of Mylasa itself there was another temple of Zeus under the local name of *Osogos*, the worship in which was confined to the Mylasians. That of *Labrandeus* seems to have been common to the Mylasians and the rural population, while again that of *Ogos*, the Zeus Κάριος of i. 171 and PAUSANIAS (viii. 10. 4), was shared in by Lydians and Mysians as well. (STRABO, xiv. c. 2, p. 204.)

³²⁸ πλεῦν. Gaisford adopts this form on the authority of the two manuscripts S and V, but the rest have πλεόν, which is the form generally used in Herodotus.

³²⁹ τῶν πάντων, i. e. τῶν συμμάχων.

³³⁰ ἐν Πηδάσῳ. The MSS vary between ἐν Πηδάσῳ, ἐμπιδάσῳ, ἐπὶ δάσῳ, ἐπὶ δαύσῳ, and ἐπὶ λαοσίῳ (which last is the reading of S and V). Valcknaer's conjecture ἐν Πηδασεῦσι is a very plausible one; but the reading adopted by Gaisford was found by STRABO in the text. If therefore a corruption (which is not improbable), it is a very ancient one.

στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν, Δαυρίσης καὶ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης³³¹. σὺν δέ σφι ἀπέθανε καὶ Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω³³². τοῦ δὲ λόχου τούτου ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης Ἰβανώλιος, ἀνὴρ Μυλασεύς³³³. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τῶν Περσέων οὕτω διεφθάρησαν.

122

Hymeas, after taking *Cius* in Mysia, falls back upon the Hellespont, and dies in the Troad.

Ἦμέης δὲ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν τῶν ἐπιδιωξάντων τοὺς ἐς Σάρδεις στρατευσαμένους Ἰώνων, τραπόμενος ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα εἶλε Κίον τὴν Μυσίην. ταύτην δὲ ἐξελὼν, ὥς ἐπύθετο τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκλελοιπέναι Δαυρίσην καὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίης, καταλιπὼν τὴν Προποντίδα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἦγε τὸν στρατόν· καὶ εἶλε μὲν Αἰολέας πάντας ὅσοι τὴν Ἰλιάδα³³⁴ νέμονται, εἶλε δὲ Γέργιθας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν³³⁵. αὐτὸς τε Ἦμέης αἰρέων ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα νοῦσφω τελευτᾷ ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε· Ἀρταφέρνης δὲ ὁ Σαρδίῳ ὑπαρχος καὶ Ὀτάνης ὁ τρίτος στρατηγὸς³³⁶, ἐτάχθησαν³³⁷ ἐπὶ τὴν

123
Artaphernes
and *Otanes*

³³¹ Ἀμόργης καὶ Σισιμάκης. The manuscripts S and V have Ἀρμόγης καὶ Σισαμάγης.

³³² Μύρσος ὁ Γύγεω. The individual here spoken of is probably the agent of Oroetes in his treachery against Polycrates; and perhaps owes his mention in this place to the evil notoriety which he acquired by connexion with the story of that remarkable prince. See iii. 122. Some MSS have the form Μύρσης instead of Μύρσος.

³³³ Μυλασεύς. The MSS have Μυλασεύς, which Gaisford follows. But Μυλασσά is unquestionably the true form of the town, and therefore both here and above (§ 37) I have adopted the ethnic Μυλασεύς.

³³⁴ τὴν Ἰλιάδα. Valcknaer's conjecture, γῆν Ἰλιάδα, has great plausibility; for ἡ Ἰλιάς can scarcely mean any thing else than ἡ Τρωάς, which immediately follows.

³³⁵ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν ἀρχαίων Τευκρῶν. See note on vii. 20.

³³⁶ ὁ τρίτος στρατηγός, *i. e.* with two others (Hymeas and Daurises), in co-ordinate rank with himself. See note 321 on § 116.

³³⁷ ἐτάχθησαν. This word is appropriate to the case of orders received from a higher quarter. It is not impossible that Darius sent a sketch of the plan of operations which he desired to have followed out. It was quite in accordance with a system of centralization that the satrap of Sardis, even if formally the military superior of

the generals commanding the troops in Asia, should not be selected for his military talents, and therefore might prove unfit on a great emergency for directing extensive combinations; and here we see him acting under special instructions, co-ordinately with an officer who usually must have been his inferior. (See notes 79 and 321, above.) Such a state of things offers a curious parallel to the conduct of Napoleon twenty-three centuries later, directing the operations of his generals in Spain (among whom was his own brother, ἐπιτροπῇ λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν) from his own camp at Moscow. The great importance attached to the command of the Hellespont shows itself in the proceedings of the Persian generals. The towns captured so rapidly by Daurises (§ 117) all lie, one after the other, along the Asiatic shore of the strait, while Hymeas, moving apparently from Dascyleum upon Cius, no sooner finds that the division which had occupied the Hellespontine towns is withdrawn in order to crush the Carian revolt, than he at once puts himself by a retrograde movement in a position to supply their place (§ 120). It is plain that the Carian movement must have been a very dangerous one, otherwise troops would not have been marched from such a distance as the Hellespont to put it down. Another circumstance worthy of remark is, that no Persian troops seem to have been directed upon any place between *Dardanus* on the north and *Cuma* on the south, although in the interval lies *Lesbos*, which contri-

Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν προσεχέα Αἰολίδα στρατεύεσθαι. Ἰωνίης μὲν νυν ^{attack} *Ionia.*
Κλαζομενάς αἰρέουσι, Αἰολέων δὲ Κύμην.

Ἀλισκομενέων δὲ τῶν πολίων, ἣν γὰρ δὴ, ὥς διέδεξε, Ἀριστα- 124
γόρης ὁ Μιλήσιος ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, ὃς τaráξας τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ Aristagoras
ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε, ὁρέων ταῦτα loses cou-
πρὸς δέ οἱ καὶ ἀδύνατα ἐφάνη βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ὑπερβαλέσθαι rage, and
πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὦν συγκαλέσας τοὺς συστασιώτας ἐβουλεύετο, proposes to
λέγων ὥς ἁμείνων σφι εἴη κρησφύγετόν τι ὑπάρχον εἶναι, ἣν ἄρα abandon
ἐξωθέωνται ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἐς Σαρδῶ ³³⁸ ἐκ τοῦ Ionia and
τόπου τούτου ἄγοι ἐς ἀποικίην, εἴτε ἐς Μύρκινον τὴν Ἥδω- go either
νῶν τὴν Ἰστιάϊος ἐτείχεε ³³⁹ παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὴν λαβόν ³⁴⁰; to Sardinia
ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης· Ἐκαταίου ³⁴¹ μὲν νυν τοῦ Ἡγη- or Myrci-
σάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς λογοποιού, τουτέων μὲν ἐς οὐδετέρην στέλλειν nus.
ἔφερε ἡ γνώμη, ἐν Λέρῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τείχος οἰκοδομησάμενον
ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἣν ἐκπέσῃ ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ ταύτης
ὀρμεώμενον κατελεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Μίλητον. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐκα-
ταῖος συνεβούλευε. Αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἡ πλείστη γνώμη ἦν 125
ἐς τὴν Μύρκινον ἀπάγειν. τὴν μὲν δὴ Μίλητον ἐπιτρέπει Πυθα- The advice
γόρῃ, ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ ³⁴². αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πάντα of Heca-
τὸν βουλόμενον ἔπλεε ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν ἐπ' taeus, to oc-
ἣν ἐστάλη. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὀρμεώμενος ἀπόλλυται ὑπὸ Θρηίκων cupy Leros,
αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, πόλιν περικατ-
ήμενος, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν Θρηίκων ὑποσπόνδων ἐξιέναι.

buted no less than seventy galleys to the allied fleet (vi. 8). But it will be observed that the Lesbians were the first to follow the example of the treacherous Samians (vi. 14). Perhaps therefore Darius felt all along secure of the Æolian interest, even when matters looked worst. (See notes 476 and 593 on Book i.)

³³⁸ εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἐς Σαρδῶ. See note 565 on i. 170.

³³⁹ ἐτείχεε. The more common expression would be ἐτείχιζε, and S and V have the variation ἐτείχισε. But the form *τειχέοντος* appears in § 23.

³⁴⁰ τὴν Ἰστιάϊος ἐτείχεε παρὰ Δαρείου δωρεὴν λαβόν. See §§ 11. 23.

³⁴¹ Ἐκαταίου. See note 85, above. It is rather curious that having mentioned Hecataeus more than once in a way to show his notoriety, Herodotus should here describe him as he might have done had he been naming him for the first time. See the note 566 on i. 170. It is not impossible that in this brief summary of the Ionian war he has the written work of Hellanicus before him.

³⁴² ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμῳ. Nearly the same phrase is applied to Telesarchus, the individual whose violence thwarted Mæandrius in his desire to establish a more liberal government at Samos. See note 396 on iii. 143, and on vi. 5.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἙΚΤΗ.

ΕΡΑΤΩ.

- 1 ἈΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΗΣ μὲν νυν Ἴωνιν ἀποστήσας, οὕτω τελευτᾷ.
 Ἱστιάδης δὲ ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος μεμετιμένος¹ ὑπὸ Δαρείου παρῆν
 ἐς Σάρδεις. ἀπιγμένον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Σούσων εἴρετο Ἀρταφέρνης
 ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος, κατὰ κοῖον τι δοκεῖο Ἴωνας ἀπεστάναι ; ὁ δὲ
 οὔτε εἰδέναι ἔφη ἐθώμαξέ τε τὸ γεγονὸς, ὥς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόν-
 των πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταφέρνης ὀρέων αὐτὸν τεχνά-
 ζοντα, εἶπε, εἰδὼς τὴν ἀτρεκίην τῆς ἀποστάσιος· “ οὕτω τοι, Ἱστιαῖε,
 ἔχει κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ πρήγματα· τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας μὲν σὺ,
 2 ὑπέδησατο δὲ Ἀρισταγόρης². ” Ἀρταφέρνης μὲν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν
 ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντα εἶπε· Ἱστιάδης δὲ δεισας ὥς συνιέντα Ἀρτα-
 φέρνεα, ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ἐπελθοῦσαν νύκτα ἀπέδρη ἐπὶ θάλασσαν,
 βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐξηπατηκώς· ὃς Σαρδὼ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην³
 ὑποδεξάμενος κατεργάσασθαι, ὑπέδυνε τῶν Ἰάνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην
 τοῦ πρὸς Δαρεῖον πολέμου. διαβὰς δὲ ἐς Χίον ἐδέθη ὑπὸ Χίων,
 καταγνωσθεὶς πρὸς αὐτῶν νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς ἑωυτοὺς
 ἐκ Δαρείου⁴. μαθόντες μέντοι οἱ Χῖοι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὥς πολέ-

Histiaeus
arrives at
Sardis,

and finding
his plans
seen through
by Arta-
phernes,

flies to
Chios,
and is ill-
received,
but suc-
ceeds in
justifying
himself

¹ μεμετιμένος. See note 309 on v. 108.

² τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα ἔρραψας, κ.τ.λ. This saying seems very early to have passed into a proverb. It must have done so at the time ARISTOPHANES put into

the mouth of Cleon the words: οἶδ' ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦθ' ὅθεν πάλοι καττύεται (Equit. 314).

³ νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην. See note 307 on v. 106.

⁴ νεώτερα πρήσσειν πρήγματα ἐς ἑωυ-

μιος εἶη βασιλείῃ, ἔλυσαν αὐτόν. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ⁵ εἰρωτεύμενος ὑπὸ 3
 τῶν Ἰώνων ὁ Ἰστιαῖος, κατ' ὃ τι προθύμως οὕτω ἐπέστειλε τῷ both to the
 Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ κακὸν τοσοῦτον εἶη Ionians.
 Ἰωνας ἐξεργασμένος; τὴν μὲν γενομένην αὐτοῖσι αἰτίην οὐ μάλα
 ἐξέφαινε, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγέ σφι, ὡς βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐβουλεύσατο Φοίνι-
 κας μὲν ἐξαναστήσας ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ κατοικίσαι, Ἰωνας δὲ ἐν τῇ
 Φοινίκῃ καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα ἐπιστεῖλλει· οὐδὲν τι πάντως ταῦτα
 βασιλέος βουλευσαμένου. ἐδειμάτου τοὺς Ἰωνας ⁶.

Μετὰ δὲ, ὁ Ἰστιαῖος δι' ἀγγέλου ποιεύμενος Ἑρμίππου, ἀνδρὸς 4
 Ἀταρνεῖτεω, τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐούσι Περσέων ἔπεμπε βυβλία, ὡς He endeavours to get
 προλεσεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ ⁷ ἀποστάσιος πέρι. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμιππος up a con-
 πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ἀπεπέμφθη οὐ διδοῖ, φέρων δὲ ἐνεχείρισε τὰ βυβλία spiracy at
 Ἀρταφέρνη· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἅπαν τὸ γινόμενον, ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἑρμιπ- is discover-
 πον τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰστιαίου δοῦναι φέροντα τοῖσί περ ἔφερε, τὰ ed and
 δὲ ἀμοιβαῖα τὰ παρὰ τῶν Περσέων ἀντιπεμπόμενα Ἰστιαίῳ baffled.
 ἑωυτῷ δοῦναι. τούτων δὲ γενομένων φανερῶν, ἀπέκτεινε ἐνθαῦτα

τοὺς ἐκ Δαρείου. Chios was apparently, even if inferior in resources to Miletus,—which the number of ships furnished by it (§ 8) renders doubtful,—at any rate sufficiently powerful to avoid being subjected to it by an unequal alliance. The dynast of Chios, Strattis, was an immediate vassal of the Persian crown at the time of the Scythian expedition. (See the note 354 on iv. 137.) It seems far from unlikely that Histiaeus had been intriguing with Darius for the purpose of getting Chios put upon the same footing on which it would appear the majority of the Ionian cities at that time were, *i. e.* in immediate subjection to himself, he receiving the whole as a grant from the Persian king. (See the note above cited.) Histiaeus, in this case, would be able to clear himself by pleading that his proceeding was one step in the scheme by which he hoped to render the whole of Ionia independent of Persia; that his intrigue was directed not against Chios, but against Strattis, the nominee of Darius;—a proof of which would be that when the revolt broke out, in pursuance of his instructions, all the dynasts were seized and delivered up to their respective compatriots (v. 37). This would be a plau-

sible defence; but then the objection would occur, 'why so precipitately (*προθύμως οὕτω*) send orders exactly when the pecuniary resources of Miletus were exhausted?' (See v. 34. 36.) It would not do to declare the truth, that the failure of the expedition against Naxos threatened in its consequences to deprive Aristagoras of his position (see vi. 35). Accordingly Histiaeus with ready wit extemporised a project for Darius, quite in keeping with the ordinary proceedings of oriental sovereigns. (See 2 *Kings* xvii. 24; xviii. 31, 32; and the case of the Paeonians, v. 14.)

⁵ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ. These words imply that the question put by the Ionians arose out of the defence which Histiaeus made for himself to the Chians. See the last note.

⁶ ἐδειμάτου τοὺς Ἰωνας. Some of the MSS have ἐδειμάτω or ἐδείματο, and one (F) has Ἑλληνας. The clause appears to me an interpolated marginal note explaining the effects of Histiaeus's statement upon his audience.

⁷ ὡς προλεσεσχηνευμένων αὐτῷ, "as if they had in former days chatted with him." See the note 513 on i. 153, and that on ix. 71.

πολλοὺς Περσέων ὁ Ἀρταφέρνης. περὶ Σάρδεις μὲν δὴ ἐγίνετο ταραχή.

5

The Milesians refuse to receive him, and he commences a partisan warfare, capturing the Pontine trading vessels by the aid of the Mytileneans.

Ἰστιαῖον δὲ ταύτης ἀποσφαλέντα τῆς ἐλπίδος Χίοι κατήγον ἐς Μίλητον, αὐτοῦ Ἰστιαίου δεηθέντος. οἱ δὲ Μιλήσιοι ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλαχθέντες καὶ Ἀρισταγόρῳ, οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι⁸ ἐς τὴν χώραν, οἷά τε ἐλευθερίας γευσάμενοι. καὶ δὴ, νυκτὸς γὰρ εἰούσης βίῃ ἐπειράτο κατιῶν ὁ Ἰστιάιος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον, τιτρώσκειται τὸν μηρὸν ὑπὸ τευ τῶν Μιλησίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς ἀπωστὸς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γίνεται, ἀπικνέεται ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Χίον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους⁹ ὥστε ἐωυτῷ δοῦναι νέας, διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην¹⁰ καὶ ἔπεισε Λεσβίους δοῦναι οἱ νέας. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες ὀκτὼ τριήρας ἔπλεον ἅμα Ἰστιαίῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἰζόμενοι, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλωούσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον¹¹, πλὴν ἣ ὅσοι αὐτῶν Ἰστιαίῳ ἔφασαν ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι πείθεσθαι¹².

⁸ οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἄλλον τύραννον δέκεσθαι. From this expression it would appear that Pythagoras, who held the most prominent position in Miletus subsequently to the departure of Aristagoras (v. 126), was by no means a retainer of the dynasty of Histiaeus. Probably, in deference to the circumstances of the time, he was selected from the number of the commercial aristocracy, whose houses had been thrown into obscurity by the peculiar splendour of the family of Histiaeus, elevated through its connexion with Persia. See note 396 on iii. 143, and 409 on iii. 148.

⁹ οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Χίους. See note 17, below.

¹⁰ διέβη ἐς Μυτιλήνην. The feeling against Darius was probably much stronger here than in the Ionian states. Coës was the only one of the dynasts seized upon by Aristagoras, who was put to death by his emancipated subjects (v. 38). In the affair of Cyprus too, the Ionians were obviously unwilling to be brought into personal collision with the Persians, although glad of any opportunity of crippling the naval power of their commercial rivals the Phoenicians (v. 109).

¹¹ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκπλωούσας τῶν νεῶν ἐλάμβανον. This was not so petty a warfare as it appears at first sight. Byzantium entirely commanded the Pontine traffic; and therefore the trade of all the

Milesian colonies in the Euxine (see note 64 on i. 17) was at Histiaeus's mercy. He would prevent them from taking their cargoes either to Miletus or to any port on the main which was in the possession of the Persians, and thus cripple their revenue. Besides this a more direct injury would be inflicted upon the enemy's army. For the commissariat of the large bodies of troops maintained by them in Asia, doubtless the corn grown in the valley of the Borysthenes and shipped at the Milesian ports Olbia and Odessus was resorted to. The only other corn country available was Egypt, and independently of the resources of that country having been crippled by Cambyses, and required for the purpose of maintaining the standing army there, the expense of transport would be great. And it was the belief of the ancients (ARISTOTLE, *Prob.* xiv. 2, p. 909, A), that the grain grown in northern countries kept far better than any other, and consequently was best adapted for military magazines. Histiaeus might therefore expect to starve out the garrisons at Doriscus and Dascyleum, or at any rate to make supplies so difficult as to prevent any considerable army from operating together for a length of time. Besides all this a great part of Hellas was at this time mainly dependent upon the Euxine trade for supplying the bulk of the population with their only articles of food, bread and salt fish (ὄψον). (See vii. 147.)

Ἰστιαῖος μὲν νυν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐποίουν ταῦτα ἐπὶ δὲ 6
 Μίλητον αὐτὴν ναυτικὸς πολλὸς καὶ πεζὸς ἦν στρατὸς προσδόκι-
 μος. συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Περσέων, καὶ ἐν ποιή-
 σαντες στρατόπεδον, ἤλανον ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον, τὰ ἄλλα πολίσ-
 ματα περὶ ἐλάσσονος ποιησάμενοι τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Φοίνικες μὲν
 ἦσαν προθυμότατοι¹³. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι νεωστὶ
 κατεστραμμένοι, καὶ Κίλικές¹⁴ τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ 7
 τὴν Μίλητον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην ἐστράτευον¹⁵. Ἴωνες δὲ
 πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἔπεμπον προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν ἐς Πανιῶ-
 νιον¹⁶. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τούτοισι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον καὶ βου-
 λευομένοισι ἔδοξε πεζὸν μὲν στρατὸν μὴ συλλέγειν ἀντίξουν Πέρ-
 σησι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τείχεα ῥύεσθαι αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους¹⁷. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν
 πληροῦν ὑπολειπομένους μηδεμίαν τῶν νεῶν πληρώσαντες δὲ συλ-
 λέγεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Λάδην, προναυμαχίησοντας Μιλήτου. ἡ δὲ
 Λάδη ἐστὶ νῆσος σμικρὴ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλι τῇ Μιλησίῳ κειμένη. Μετὰ 8
 δὲ ταῦτα, πεπληρωμένησι τῇσι νηυσὶ παρήσαν οἱ Ἴωνες, σὺν δὲ
 σφι καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ Λέσβον νέμονται· ἐτάσσοντο δὲ ὧδε· τὸ μὲν
 πρὸς τὴν ἑω εἶχον κέρας αὐτοὶ Μιλήσιοι, νέας παρεχόμενοι ὀγδῶ-

Proceedings
 of the Ionian
 confederates
 in the mean-
 time.

Hence the possession of Byzantium was the most powerful lever Histæus could possess for furthering any diplomatic combinations he might contemplate. He would also cut off the communication with the military posts of the Persians in Thrace. See note 111 on § 44.

¹² *πεῖθεσθαι*. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, on the authority of a few, reads *πείσεσθαι*.

¹³ *ἦσαν προθυμότατοι*. See note 10, above.

¹⁴ *Κίλικες*. These Cilicians are not the mountaineers of v. 52, but the inhabitants of the southern flanks of Taurus in the immediate neighbourhood of the bay of Issus.

¹⁵ *ἐστράτευον*. See note 687 on i. 204.

¹⁶ *ἐς Πανιώνιον*. It would seem from this that whatever modifications the Persian conquest under Harpagus had introduced, the form of a congress still continued, but that a predominant influence was possessed by Miletus. Apparently Miletus, under the influence of Histæus, was made the seat of the federal government for certain purposes (probably those

connected with the employment of the military and naval contingents; see note 81 on v. 33); and hence the advice of Thales (i. 170): *ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέφ*. He would have selected Teos somewhat on the principle on which the site of Washington was selected for the capital of the United States of America. Teos could never become formidable to the independence of the members of the confederation. Thales obviously belonged to a different party in Miletus from Histæus, as appears from the circumstances brought together in the note 566 on i. 170. Now, a revolution having been effected, commissioners are sent, with a special reference to the conduct of the war, to sit in congress. See vii. 172.

¹⁷ *αὐτοὺς Μιλησίους*, "the Milesians themselves," i. e. that no confederate force should be allowed. This probably would have been under the command of a Milesian chief, under the system which had prevailed since the downfall of the Lydian monarchy. Jealousy of this Milesian influence perhaps affected the conduct of the Chians to Histæus (above, § 5).

They assemble a fleet of 353 ships against 600 of the enemy.

9 The Persian commanders have recourse to treachery,

κοντα. εἶχοντο δὲ τουτέων Πριηνέες δυνάδεκα νηυσὶ¹⁸, καὶ Μυούσιοι τρισὶ νηυσὶ¹⁹. Μυουσίων δὲ Τήϊοι²⁰ εἶχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα νηυσὶ. Τήϊων δὲ εἶχοντο Χίοι ἑκατὸν νηυσὶ· πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι Ἑρυθραῖοι τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαεῖς²¹, Ἑρυθραῖοι μὲν ὀκτὼ νέας παρεχόμενοι Φωκαεῖς δὲ τρεῖς. Φωκαέων δὲ εἶχοντο Λέσβιοι νηυσὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἔχοντες τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην κέρας, Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νηυσὶ²². πασέων δὲ τουτέων ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τρεῖς καὶ πενήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσiai τριήρεις· αὗται μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν²³. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ πλήθος τῶν νεῶν ἦσαν ἑξακόσiai. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὗται ἀπίκατο πρὸς τὴν Μιλησίην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς σφι ἅπας παρήν, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Περσέων στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τὸ πλήθος τῶν Ἰάδων νεῶν, καταρρώδησαν μὴ οὐ δυνατοὶ γένωνται ὑπερβαλέσθαι, καὶ οὕτω οὔτε τὴν Μίλητον οἰοί τε ἔωσι ἐξελεῖν μὴ οὐκ ἐόντες ναυκράτορες²⁴,

¹⁸ Πριηνέες δυνάδεκα νηυσὶ. The Prienians were sold as slaves by Mazares shortly after the fall of Croesus (i. 161). Possibly a fresh population was sent to the territory from Miletus, which had made terms with the Persian conqueror (i. 143. 169); and it may have been put on the footing of a dependency of that state after the usual Persian policy: *προβαίνειν ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον* (i. 134). If so, there is an especial reason for the Prienian galleys flanking those of Miletus. See also note 354 on iv. 138.

¹⁹ καὶ Μυούσιοι τρισὶ νηυσὶ. In the place of these words the manuscript S has the words Πριηνέων δὲ εἶχοντο Τήϊοι εἴκοσι νηυσὶ, and omits Μυουσίων δὲ Τήϊοι εἶχοντο ἑπτακαίδεκα νηυσὶ. This variation is one which cannot have arisen from any casualty. It will be observed that the ships of Myus are entirely omitted, but that the Teian contingent is proportionally increased.

²⁰ Τήϊοι. These Teians were a population imported since the time when Harpagus overran Ionia. On that occasion the whole original population deserted the city, and went as colonists to Abdera (i. 163). It is not unlikely that the gap may have been filled by Milesians; Miletus and Teos being the exact opposite among all the Ionian confederate towns in their feeling towards Persia at the time of the conquest by Cyrus.

²¹ πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι Ἑρυθραῖοι τε ἐτάσσοντο καὶ Φωκαεῖς. Erythrae and Phocæa do not appear in the list of towns given in iv. 138. From the small numbers of

the ships furnished, it seems possible that they were manned not by the towns, but by exiles who had fled at the time of the conquest by Harpagus,—at any rate those of Phocæa, the population of which must have been mainly changed (i. 165). The Erythraeans may possibly have been placed (or confirmed) in the position of dependants on the Chians at the time of Cyrus's invasion. See notes 67 on i. 19 and 354 on iv. 138. The hardihood of the Phocæan commander (§ 12) bespeaks a man seasoned by a semi-piratical life such as that of exiles would have been.

²² Σάμιοι ἐξήκοντα νηυσὶ. It is remarkable that so soon after the vicissitudes through which Samos had passed (see iii. 149), its resources should have enabled it to send a contingent so nearly equal to that of Miletus. The colonization under Otanes probably took place before Darius's campaign in Scythia (see note 38 on § 13, below); but the destruction of property under such circumstances as those described in iii. 147. 149 must have been nearly total. Possibly as the new dynasty was favourable to Persian interests, funds were advanced to the new colonists of the island from the Persian government.

²³ αὗται μὲν Ἰώνων ἦσαν, "these were the ships on the Ionian side." It will be observed that a considerable portion of the force, viz. the Lesbian, was not Ionian, but Æolian. But the whole is called *Ionian*, apparently on the same principle as in iv. 137 and viii. 90.

²⁴ ναυκράτορες. See note 86 on v. 36.

πρός τε Δαρείου κινδυνεύσωσι κακόν τι λαβεῖν. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενοι, συλλέξαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς τυράννους οἱ ὑπ' Ἀρισταγόρεω μὲν τοῦ Μιλησίου καταλυθέντες τῶν ἀρχέων ἔφευγον ἐς Μήδους—ἐτύγχανον δὲ τότε συστρατευόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν Μιλητον—τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς παρεόντας συγκαλέσαντες ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε· “ἄνδρες Ἰῶνες, νῦν τις ὑμέων εὖ ποιήσας φανήτω τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον· τοὺς γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος ὑμέων πολιήτας πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων²⁵ ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ συμμαχικοῦ. προῖσχύμενοι δὲ ἐπαγγείλασθε τάδε, ὡς πείσονται τε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, οὐδὲ σφι οὔτε τὰ ἱρά οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται²⁶, οὐδὲ βιαιότερον ἔξουσιν οὐδὲν ἢ πρότερον εἶχον· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ποιήσουσι οἱ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται²⁷, τάδε σφι λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες τάπερ σφέας κατέξει· ὡς ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἑξανδραποδιεῦνται, καὶ ὡς σφεων τοὺς παῖδας ἐκτομίας ποιήσομεν τὰς δὲ παρθένους ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα²⁸, καὶ ὡς τὴν χώραν ἄλλοισι παραδώσομεν.” Οἱ μὲν δὲ 10
ἐλεγον ταῦτα· τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων οἱ τύραννοι διέπεμπον νυκτὸς ἕκαστος ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαγγελλόμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἰῶνες ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπίκοντο

through the agency of the expelled dynasts.

²⁵ πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων, “let him make a trial in detaching.” See i. 84: ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων. The manuscripts S and V have ἀποσχίζειν.

²⁶ οὔτε τὰ ἱρά οὔτε τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται, “neither their temples nor their houses shall be fired.” The distinction is the same as that made in slightly different terms, below, § 25: οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρά ἐνεπρήσθη.

²⁷ οἱ δὲ πάντως διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται, “and if nothing will serve them but to fight it out.” So iv. 127: εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνεέσθαι.

²⁸ ἀνασπάστους ἐς Βάκτρα. It is not easy to say with confidence why this expression should be used; but possibly it is because the line of traffic along which the female slaves destined for the oriental harems were carried passed in that direction. It was probably always the practice of the Caucasian mountaineers (as it is at present), to sell their *own* children for this purpose. At any rate they would habitually kidnap those of their neighbours, and the most convenient mart for these would be *Dioscurias*, a Milesian colony in the extreme eastern recess of the Euxine. This market was frequented by no less than seventy different Caucasian and Sarmatian tribes (according to some

accounts 300), all speaking different languages and having no friendly intercourse with each other. (STRABO, xi. c. 2, p. 408.) The commodity for which they bartered their prisoners was chiefly *salt*. (STRABO, l. c., p. 421.) From Dioscurias there can be little doubt that the female slaves would be shipped to Phasis (on the river of the same name), and from thence arrive on the eastern coast of the Caspian by the route indicated in the note 363 on i. 104. There they would get into the line of caravan traffic which led to Balk (which is, with more or less exactness, the Bactra of the text), and from thence over the mountains to Caubul and the Punjaub. It is a very remarkable circumstance that Herodotus should never mention Dioscurias, nor yet the name of the *town* Phasis. Perhaps the traffic was not strictly confined to barbarian slaves, and some of the Bosphorane Greeks may have been the victims of a system which undoubtedly they at a subsequent time carried on to the prejudice of their extra-Bosphorane countrymen. Under such circumstances a Phasian or Sinopian trader would preserve a discreet silence as to the locality both of the barracons and of the port to which their inmates were consigned.

αὐται αἱ ἀγγελίαι, ἀγνωμοσύνη τε διεχρέωντο καὶ οὐ προσίεντο τὴν προδοσίην· ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἕκαστοι ἐδόκεον μούνουσι ταῦτα τοὺς Πέρσας ἐξαγγέλλεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἰθέως ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Περσέων ἐγένετο.

11
Dionysius
from Pho-
cæa endeavours to en-
force strict
discipline
in the allied
fleet,

Μετὰ δὲ, τῶν Ἰώνων συλληχθέντων ἐς τὴν Λάδην, ἐγίνοντο ἀγοραί· καὶ δὴ κου σφι καὶ ἄλλοι ἡγορόωντο, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ [ὁ] Φωκαεὺς [στρατηγὸς²⁹] Διούσιος λέγων τάδε· “ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ πρήγματα, ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἢ εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἢ δούλοισι, καὶ τούτοις ὥς δρηπέτησι· νῦν ὦν ὑμέες ἦν μὲν βούλησθε τάλαιπωρίας ἐνδέκεσθαι, τὸ παραχρῆμα μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται, οἰοί τε δὲ ἔσεσθε ὑπερβαλλόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι· εἰ δὲ μαλακίη τε καὶ ἀταξίῃ διαχρήσεσθε, οὐδεμίαν ὑμέων ἔχω ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δώσειν ὑμέας δίκην τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀποστάσιος. ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ τε πείθεσθε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑμέας αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψατε· καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, ὑποδέκομαι ἢ οὐ συμμίξειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢ συμμίσγοντας πολλὸν ἐλασσώσεσθαι.”

12
against
which the
Ionians
revolt.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἴωνες ἐπιτρέπουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ὁ δὲ, ἀνάγων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ κέρας³⁰ τὰς νέας, ὅπως τοῖσι ἐρέτησι χρήσαιτο, διέκπλοον ποιούμενος τῇσι νηυσὶ δι’ ἀλληλέων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὀπλίσειε, τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρης τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων³¹. παρεῖχέ τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι πόνον δι’ ἡμέρης. μέχρι μὲν νυν ἡμερέων ἐπτὰ ἐπείθοντό τε καὶ ἐποίουν τὸ κελεύόμενον· τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃσι, [οἱ Ἴωνες] οἷα ἀπαθές ἐόντες πόνων τοιούτων τετρυνμένοι τε τάλαιπωρήσί τε καὶ ἡελίῳ, ἔλεξαν πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς τάδε· “τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπίμπλαμεν, οἷτινες παραφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου³², ἀνδρὶ Φωκαεῖ

²⁹ ὁ Φωκαεὺς στρατηγός. The article is omitted by the manuscripts S and V, and the word στρατηγός by K, and in a citation by LONGINUS, *De Subl.* c. 22.

³⁰ ἀνάγων . . . ἐπὶ κέρας. The form used by Thucydides and Xenophon is ἐπὶ κέρας, but these phrases differ only as πρὸς νότον and πρὸς νότον, “to the south” and “southwards,”—both of which are used indifferently by Herodotus. The operation intended is ‘rowing in columns,’ which is a movement ‘wing-wards,’ as contradistinguished from a charge upon an enemy drawn up opposite.

³¹ τὰς νέας ἔχεσκε ἐπ’ ἀγκυρέων. Instead of allowing the galleys to be hauled

up high and dry, he kept them riding at anchor, head to sea, with the marines on board in complete armour ready for action all the remainder of the day. His object probably was to throw the Phœnicians off their guard. Having his ships always ready for action, while they appeared to be merely practising, he would watch his opportunity, when the crews had been brought into thorough condition, to strike the same blow which Lysander afterwards did at Ægos Potami.

³² ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου. A similar expression is used below (iii. 155): πῶς οὐκ ἐξεπλώσας τῶν φρενῶν;

ἀλαζόνι παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς ³³ ἐπιτρέψαντες ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν ; ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν ἡμέας, λυμαίνεται λύμῃσι ἀνηκέστοισι· καὶ δὴ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡμέων ἐς νούσους πεπτώκασι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίδοξοι τὸντὸ τοῦτο πείσεσθαί εἰσι· πρό τε τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν γε ³⁴ κρέσσον καὶ ὅτιῶν ἄλλο παθεῖν ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν μέλουσαν δουλήτην ὑπομεῖναι, ἥτις ἔσται, μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρούσῃ συνεχέσθαι ³⁵. φέρετε, τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ πειθώμεθα αὐτοῦ.” ταῦτα ἔλεξαν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς ἤθελε· ἀλλ’, οἷα στρατιῇ ³⁶, σκηνάς τε πηξάμενοι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐσκητροφέοντο, καὶ ἐσβαίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλεσκον ἐς τὰς νέας, οὐδ’ ἀναπειρᾶσθαι. Μαθόν-
 13
 τες δὲ ταῦτα γινόμενα ³⁷ ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ παρ’ Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσῶντος ³⁸ κείνους τοὺς πρότερον ἔπεμπε λόγους ὁ Αἰάκης, κελευόντων τῶν Περσέων, δεόμενός σφεων ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἰώνων συμμαχίην,—οἱ Σάμιοι ὦν, ὁρέωντες ἅμα μὲν εὐοῦσαν ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνεται σφί εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὖ τε ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς, εἰ καὶ τὸ παρεὼν ναυτικὸν ὑπερ-

The Samians seeing the bad prospects of the allied cause,

³³ παρεχομένῳ νέας τρεῖς. See note 354 on iv. 138; 512 on i. 152; and 542 on i. 165. The inveterate dislike of Milesians and Chians to the native of a city once a rival is in this passage combined with the commercial feeling in favour of property,—which not even their perilous situation could eradicate from the breasts of the wealthy traders. The epithet ἀλαζών is very characteristic and expressive of the disgust which a number of landmen would entertain towards a martinet commander.

³⁴ ἡμῖν γε, “for us at any rate,” as if they were in a very different position from the Phocæan contingent. (See note 21, above.) Perhaps the terms of the Persian generals’ proclamation induced them to think, in the fashion of Lucullus’s soldier, that the interests of a few exiles were not identical with their own. “Ibit, ibit eo quo vis, qui zonam perdidit.” (HORACE, *Epp.* ii. 2. 40.) The Phocæans were probably obnoxious to the sneer which Adimantus, the Corinthian, afterwards let fall against Themistocles (viii. 61).

³⁵ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ παρούσῃ συνεχέσθαι, “rather than be kept without respite in this present one.” See the note 361 on iii. 131.

³⁶ οἷα στρατιῇ, “like a land-force.” Dobree, considering that Herodotus would

have added the word πεζῇ, proposes to read οἷα ἀστρατήης, “as if on furlough,” comparing ARISTOPHANES, *Peace*, 525. But the alteration seems uncalled for. The discipline to which Dionysius kept his men was specially *naval*. (See note 31, above.) The pitching tents for shelter would be the ordinary proceeding of a land army, even on service.

³⁷ ταῦτα γινόμενα. Gaisford prints ταῦτα τὰ γινόμενα on the authority of some MSS. But S, V, P, and K omit the article, and the sense is certainly better without it.

³⁸ Αἰάκεος τοῦ Συλοσῶντος. He was tyrant of Samos at the time of the expedition of Darius to Scythia (see iv. 138); and as this would imply the possession of considerable force, it must be supposed that the fresh colonization under the auspices of Otanes (iii. 149) took place before that expedition. It is likely that the new population would be mainly, though not entirely, composed of persons favourable to the dynasty of Syloson, and consequently to the Persian alliance; and hence perhaps one cause of the success which the proposals of Æaces met with among the Samians. The remains of the old aristocracy thought very differently of the matter (below, § 22).

make separate terms for themselves,

14 and on an engagement taking place, all but eleven ships desert in a body.

βαλοίατο τὸν Δαρείον, ἄλλο σφι παρέσται πενταπλήσιον, προφάσιος ὧν ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα εἶδον τοὺς Ἴωνας ἀρνευμένους εἶναι χρηστοὺς, ἐν κέρδεϊ ἐποיעύντο περιποιήσαι τά τε ἱρὰ τὰ σφέτερα καὶ τὰ ἴδια³⁹. ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης, παρ' ὅτε τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλοσῶντος τοῦ Αἰάκεος· τύραννος δὲ ἔων Σάμου, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀρισταγόρῳ ἀπεστέρητο τὴν ἀρχὴν, κατὰπερ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι⁴⁰.

14 Τότε ὧν ἐπεὶ ἐπέπλων οἱ Φοίνικες, οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντανήγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐπὶ κέρας. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀγχοῦ ἐγίνοντο καὶ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράφαι οἷτινες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες κακοὶ ἢ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ· ἀλλήλους γὰρ καταιτιῶνται. λέγονται δὲ Σάμιοι ἐνθαῦτα, κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα πρὸς τὸν Αἰάκα, ἀειράμενοι τὰ ἰστία ἀποπλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς τάξις ἐς τὴν Σάμον, πλὴν ἑνδεκα⁴¹ νεῶν· τουτέων δὲ οἱ τριήραρχοι παρέμενον καὶ ἐναυμάχεον, ἀνηκουστήσαντες τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσιν καὶ σφι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σαμίων ἔδωκε διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρήγμα⁴² ἐν στήλῃ ἀναγραφῆναι πατρόθεν, ὥς ἀνδράσι ἀγαθοῖσι γενομένοισι· καὶ ἔστι αὕτη ἡ στήλη ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ. ἰδόμενοι δὲ καὶ Λέσβιοι τοὺς προσεχέας φεύγοντας, τῷτὸ ἐποίουν τοῖσι Σαμίοισι

³⁹ οἱ Σάμιοι ὧν, κ.τ.λ. The sentence appears rather a complicated one from the compression (after the manner of the Greeks) of two propositions into one. It would run quite smoothly in point of grammar if it had proceeded after the words τοὺς λόγους, thus: ἅμα δὲ ὄντα ἀδύνατα τὰ β. πρ. But although they had the evidence of their senses for the disorderly proceedings of the Ionians, the strength of the enemy was only a matter of opinion. Hence the second clause required the qualification ὥς κατεφάνετό σφι. But instead of this being inserted, it is implied by the change of construction, and the two propositions are condensed into the one: ἅμα δὲ κατεφάνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ β. πρ. ὑπερβαλέσθαι. But the sentence is then regularly continued as if the compression had not taken place, the whole of it being complete within the clause which had suffered the change. Translate: "The Samians, then, listened to the proposals, seeing that there was an utter want of discipline on the part of the Ionians, while the king's game appeared to them one

impossible to baffle,—moreover being quite sure that even if the fleet they had should beat Darius, another force five times as great would arrive,—laying hold then (I say) of an excuse, the instant they saw the Ionians refusing to do their duty, they snatched at the luck of saving their own temples and their property." The subject of ὑπερβαλοίατο is τὸ παρεὼν ναυτικὸν, which has a plural verb with it as a noun of multitude. The construction would unquestionably be much simplified in the latter part of the passage by reading τοῦ Δαρείου, but the MSS are unanimous in giving the accusative. If that conjecture be adopted, or if the words τὸν Δαρείον be erased, τὸ παρεὼν ναυτικὸν will be not the subject but the object of ὑπερβαλοίατο.

⁴⁰ κατὰπερ οἱ ἄλλοι τῆς Ἰωνίης τύραννοι. See v. 38.

⁴¹ ἑνδεκα. The manuscripts S and V have δέκα. PAUSANIAS (vii. 10. 1) appears to have found ἑνδεκα in the copy he used.

⁴² διὰ τοῦτο τὸ πρήγμα. S and V omit these words.

ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ πλεῦνες τῶν Ἰώνων ἐποίουν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα. Τῶν δὲ 15
 παραμεινάντων ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ περιέφθησαν τρηχύτατα Χίιοι, ὥς
 ἀποδεικνύμενοί τε ἔργα λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες. παρεί-
 χοντο μὲν γὰρ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, νέας ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐπ'
 ἑκάστης αὐτέων ἄνδρας τεσσεράκοντα τῶν ἀστῶν λογάδας ἐπι-
 βατεύοντας. ὀρέοντες δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων προδιδόν-
 τας, οὐκ ἐδικαίουν γενέσθαι τοῖσι κακοῖσι αὐτῶν ὁμοῖοι· ἀλλὰ μετ'
 ὀλίγων συμμάχων μεμουνωμένοι, διεκπλώνοντες ἐναυμάχουν, ἐς ὃ
 τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες νέας συχρὰς ἀπέβαλον τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν
 τὰς πλεῦνας. Χίιοι μὲν δὴ τῇσι λοιπῇσι τῶν νεῶν ἀποφεύγουσι
 ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. "Οσοιοι δὲ τῶν Χίων ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν αἱ νέες ὑπὸ 16
 τρωμάτων, οὗτοι δὲ, ὥς ἐδιώκοντο, καταφυγάνουσι πρὸς τὴν
 Μυκάλην. νέας μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐποκείλαντες κατέλιπον, οἱ
 δὲ πέξῃ ἐκομίζοντο διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν
 Ἐφεσίην κομιζόμενοι οἱ Χίιοι, νυκτός τε ἀπικέατο ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ
 ἐόντων τῇσι γυναιξὶ αὐτόθι θεσμοφορίων· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι,
 οὔτε προακηκοότες ὥς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων⁴³ ἰδόντες τε στρατὸν ἐς
 τὴν χώραν ἐσβεβληκότα, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξαντες εἶναι κλώπας
 καὶ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐξεβοήθεον πανδημεὶ καὶ ἔκτεινον τοὺς
 Χίλους.

Their ex-
 ample is
 followed by
 the *Lesbi-
 ans* and the
 greater part
 of the *Ioni-
 ans*.

The *Chians*
 suffer the
 most,

and many
 who escape
 fall in a
 night attack
 on them by
 the *Ephe-
 sians*, who
 take them
 for enemies.

Οὔτοι μὲν νυν τοιαύτῃσι περιέπιπτον τύχησι. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ 17
 Φωκαεὺς ἐπεὶ τε ἔμαθε τῶν Ἰώνων τὰ πρήγματα διεφθαρμένα,
 νέας ἐλὼν τρεῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέπλεε, ἐς μὲν Φώκαιαν οὐκέτι, εὖ
 εἰδὼς ὥς ἀνδραποδιεῖται σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰωνίῃ· ὁ δὲ ἰθὺς ὥς εἶχε
 ἔπλωε ἐς Φοινίκην· γαύλους⁴⁴ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας καὶ χρήματα
 λαβὼν πολλὰ, ἔπλωε ἐς Σικελίην· ὁρμεώμενος δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ληϊστής
 κατεστήκεε, Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενός, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρ-
 σηνῶν.

Dionysius
 retreats to
 Sicily, and
 turns pirate.

⁴³ οὔτε προακηκοότες ὥς εἶχε περὶ τῶν Χίων. One may suspect from this passage that the Ephesians had not taken a very active part in the Ionian alliance against Persia; and it will be observed that they do not appear in the list of the allied forces given in § 8. In this case, the pretext of mistaking the nature of the Chian inroad may have been subsequently coined, at a time when partisanship with Persia had become the most heinous crime a Greek could commit. The mistake was the more

possible, as the Chians and Ephesians spoke an entirely different language (i. 142). Still this very difference of language would go to prove that there was little intercourse between them, and afford a presumption that they belonged to rival commercial confederacies. Chios and Miletus appear from very early times to have stood quite apart from the rest of the Ionian cities in Asia (i. 18).

⁴⁴ γαύλους. See note 373 on iii. 136.

18 *Miletus is captured, and the inhabitants enslaved, in the sixth year of the war.*

- Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεὶ τε τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἴωνας⁴⁵, τὴν Μίλητον πολιορκέοντες ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, καὶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα⁴⁶ καὶ παντοίας μηχανὰς προσφέροντες, αἰρέουσι κατ' ἄκρης, ἕκτω ἔτεϊ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσιος τῆς Ἀρισταγόρεω καὶ ἠνδραποδίσαντο τὴν πόλιν ὥστε συμπεσέειν τὸ πάθος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τῷ ἐς Μίλητον γενομένῳ. Χρεωμένοισι γὰρ Ἀργείοισι ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλιος τῆς σφετέρης, ἐχρήσθη ἐπικοινωνῶν χρηστήριον· τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους φέρων, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην⁴⁷ ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους. τὸ μὲν νυν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἔχον, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τοῦτο γένωμαι τοῦ λόγου τότε μνησθήσομαι⁴⁸. τὰ δὲ τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι οὐ παρעוῦσι ἔχρησε ἔχει ὧδε·

Καὶ τότε δὴ, Μίλητε, κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων⁴⁹,
πολλοῖσι δειπνόν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα γενήσεται
σαλ δ' ἄλοχοι πολλοῖσι πόδας νύψουσι κομήταις·
νηοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου Διδύμοις ἄλλοισι μελήσει.

τότε δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Μιλησίους κατελάμβανε, ὅτε γε ἄνδρες μὲν οἱ πλεῦνες ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἐόντων κομητέων, γυναῖκες δὲ καὶ τέκνα ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο· ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι⁵⁰, ὁ νηὸς τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο. τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ χρημάτων πολλάκις μνήμην ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου⁵¹ ἐποιησάμην. Ἐνθεύτην οἱ ζωγρηθέντες τῶν Μιλησίων ἤγοντο ἐς Σοῦσα. βασιλεὺς δὲ σφεας Δαρεῖος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο

20 *The inhabitants are*

⁴⁵ τοὺς Ἴωνας. The manuscript F has τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ἴωνας, which appears to originate in a double reading. (See note 6, above.) The corrector has erased Ἑλληνας.

⁴⁶ ὑπορύσσοντες τὰ τείχεα. See note 512 on iv. 200.

⁴⁷ τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην. S has τὸ δὲ παρενθήκην, which is preferred by Dobree.

⁴⁸ τότε μνησθήσομαι. See below, § 77.

⁴⁹ κακῶν ἐπιμήχανε ἔργων. It would be interesting to discover when the oracle was delivered in which these words occur. Such an expression indicates disapprobation on the part of Apollo with the course upon which Miletus was entering, but what that course was does not appear on the face of things. I am inclined to suspect that it refers to the dissociation of themselves from the rest of the Ionians, which was manifested by the separate treaty with

Cyrus (i. 141). That treaty was to the prejudice of Croesus, who was undoubtedly a favourite at Delphi.

⁵⁰ ἱρὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι. It is singular that Herodotus, who elsewhere speaks of this temple as τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Βραγχιδῇσι (v. 36), or as αἱ Βράγχιδαι (i. 92; ii. 159), or even οἱ Βράγχιδαι (i. 157), should here use a different phrase without any explanation. It seems that the name Branchidæ came to be disused, and that of Apollo Didymæus to be the one habitually given to the oracle. (PLINY, *N. H.* v. 29.) Possibly the treacherous conduct of the Branchidæ at the time of the Persian invasion (see notes 327 and 527 on Book i.) was the cause of the change.

⁵¹ ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου. See i. 92; v. 36.

ποιήσας κατοίκισε ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ καλεομένη θαλάσσῃ, ἐν Ἀμπη πόλι ⁵², παρ' ἣν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παραρρέων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει ⁵³. τῆς δὲ Μιλησίης χώρας αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδωσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι ⁵⁴.

Παθοῦσι δὲ ταῦτα Μιλησίοισι πρὸς Περσέων οὐκ ἀπέδωσαν τὴν ὁμοίην Συβαρίται, οἱ Λάον τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον ⁵⁵ τῆς πόλιος ἀπεστερημένοι. Συβάριος γὰρ ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Κροτωνιτέων, Μιλήσιοι πάντες ἡβηδὸν ⁵⁶ ἀπεκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πένθος μέγα προεθήκαντο· πόλιες γὰρ αὐταὶ μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ⁵⁷

conveyed to Susa, and planted by Darius in the city of Ampe, on the bank of the Tigris.

21 Sorrow of the Athenians for the misfortunes of Miletus shown in their treatment of

⁵² ἐν Ἀμπη πόλι. This city is from the description to be looked for very low down on the Tigris, perhaps subsequently to the union of its waters with those other rivers which according to some writers procured for it, in its lowest part, the name of Pasitigris. (STRABO xv. c. 3, p. 319.) *Opis*, with which some have endeavoured to identify Ampe, was on the contrary very high up the stream. See note 636 on i. 189.

⁵⁵ οἱ Λάον τε καὶ Σκίδρον οἴκεον. The former of these two towns is mentioned by STRABO (vi. c. 1, p. 3) as situated on the river of the same name, 120 *stades* from Velia, and as being a colony from Sybaris. Of Scidrus nothing is known. It is strange that this notice should appear here; but perhaps the passage was written after the author's arrival at Thurii, where his auditors would be more familiar with the localities.

⁵³ ἐξίει. See note 604 on i. 180.
⁵⁴ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι. See note 590 on i. 175. It seems strange that the Pedasians, the only Carians who offered a formidable resistance to Harpagus, should have been settled by the conqueror in the *highlands* overhanging the Milesian territory. One may almost suspect that the Carians in the text were mainly a remnant of the old Lelegian population which had been kept in a dependant condition by the Milesians, and that the Persians restored them to a certain state of independence. The Pedasians who survived the taking of their own town, or perhaps a party among them favourable to Persia, may have been transported to the Milesian territory and mixed with the emancipated perœcians, who would be of the same race with themselves, and thus the whole called Pedasians. It is to be observed that FELLOWES enumerates among the "Ancient Lycian" towns, in which he observed remains, a *Pedassis*. (See note 585 on i. 173.) Herodotus seems to be quite ignorant of the existence of a town of that name in Lycia; but if there really was such a one, it is possible that the Milesian Pedasians had been transported from thence. They too would probably be of Lelegian race.

⁵⁶ ἡβηδὸν, "including all adults." The phrase is probably derived from a classification of the population for military purposes. See i. 172, where it may be rendered "in full force."

⁵⁷ μάλιστα δὴ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀλλήλοισι ἐξενώθησαν. The commercial interests of these two cities could not, from their relative situations, at all interfere with one another; and both in the one and the other the *Achaean* element was a very important one in the population. For Sybaris, see especially the passage of Aristotle quoted in the note 561 in i. 167, and see also note 108 on v. 44. As for Miletus, its coins show that the predominant religious worship was that of Apollo Didymæus, whose temple, according to the *native legends*, was far more ancient than the emigration under Neleus. (PAUSANIAS vii. 2, 4.) This deity was in fact identical with the Apollo at Thornax and at Amyclæ (see note 236 on i. 70); that is to say, the Apollo not of the Heraclide invaders of the Peloponnese, but of the Achaean population they found there. (See note 189 on v. 72.) Independently of ethnical affinity, TIMÆUS (*ap. Alhænum* xii. p. 519) says that the Milesian woollen manufactures were in great demand at Sybaris.

Phrynichus
the trage-
dian.

ἀλλήλησι ἐξεινώθησαν. οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι⁵⁸. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραρχεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἁλώσει, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἁλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι⁵⁹, ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον καὶ ἐξημίωσάν μιν, ὥς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκίῃα κακὰ, χιλήσι δραχμῇσι καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.

22

Some of the
Samians
united with
Milesians
fly to Sicily,

Μίλητος μὲν νυν Μιλησίων ἐρίμωτο. Σαμίων δὲ τοῖσί τι ἔχουσι⁶⁰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ἐκ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν σφετέρων ποιηθὲν οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκε. ἐδόκεε δὲ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην αὐτίκα βουλευόμενοισι, πρὶν ἢ σφι ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπικέσθαι τὸν τύραννον Αἰάκεια ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκπλέειν, μηδὲ μένοντας Μήδοισί τε καὶ Αἰάκει δουλεύειν. Ζαγκλαῖοι γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Σικελίης τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον πέμποντες ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀγγέλους ἐπεκαλέοντο τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐς Καλὴν Ἀκτὴν, βουλόμενοι αὐτόθι πόλιν κτίσαι Ἰώνων. ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη Ἀκτὴ καλεομένη ἔστι μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνὴν τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης⁶¹. τούτων ὦν ἐπικαλεομένων, οἱ Σάμιοι μῦνοι Ἰώνων ἐστάλησαν σὺν δέ σφι Μιλησίων

23

and seize
on Zancle.

οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες. Ἐν ᾧ τοιόνδε δὴ τι συνήνεικε γενέσθαι Σάμιοι γὰρ κομιζόμενοι ἐς Σικελίην ἐγίνοντο ἐν Λοκροῖσι τοῖσι Ἐπιζεφυρίοισι, καὶ Ζαγκλαῖοι αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκύθης^a, περιεκατέατο πόλιν τῶν Σικελῶν ἐξελεῖν βουλόμενοι

⁵⁸ οὐδὲν ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. This is a very slovenly expression to connect the following anecdote with what had preceded. It is worth remarking, that STRABO, while recounting the anecdote, gives as the authority for it, not Herodotus, but Callisthenes (xiv. c. 1, p. 167). It seems not impossible that the passage is an interpolated note of some one between the time of STRABO and that of LONGINUS, who quotes it as from Herodotus (*De Sublim.* § 24).

⁵⁹ διδάξαντι. This term is used of the production of a public performance, from the circumstance that the author himself had to superintend the instruction of the performers during their long practice in order to qualify themselves for the public display of his composition. The phrase is equally applicable to a play, a hymn, or a dance, where the parts were distributed among several persons, and each had not only to be made perfect in that which fell to him, but to be brought into combination with the rest. Thus (i. 23) Arion is

said to have been the first person διδάξει διθύραμβον.

⁶⁰ τοῖσί τι ἔχουσι. See note 396 on iii. 143, and note 8, above.

⁶¹ πρὸς Τυρσηνὴν τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης, "turned towards Tyrrhenia in its bearing from Sicily." Herodotus gives the name καλὴ ἀκτὴ to the promontory which running off from the shore and returning upon it produced that sickle-like appearance which gave the town built in the vicinity its name Ζάγκλη. Although really a portion of the island Sicily, it was, to the eye, so much cut off from it as to be susceptible of the description in the text. (See note 292 on i. 84.) The name καλὴ ἀκτὴ was not only adopted by the Romans in the word *Calacte*, but even the ethnic *Calactini* formed upon it. CICERO says, "*Calactinis* quamobrem imperasti anno tertio ut decumas agri sui, quas *Calacte* dare consueverant, Amestrati M. Caesio decumano darent?" (*Verrin.* iii. 43.)

^a τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκύθης. In order to combine what is related of this Scythians

μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλειος⁶², τότε ἔὼν διάφορος τοῖσι Ζαγκλαίοισι, συμμῖξας τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἀναπείθει ὡς χρὸν εἶη Καλὴν μὲν Ἀκτὴν ἐπ' ἣν ἔπλεον ἔαν χαίρειν, τὴν δὲ Ζάγκλην σχεῖν ἐοῦσαν ἐρήμον ἀνδρῶν· πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ σχόντων τὴν Ζάγκλην, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ζαγκλαῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο ἐχομένην τὴν πόλιν ἐωυτῶν, ἐβοήθειον αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο Ἴπποκράτεια τὸν Γέλης τύραννον· ἦν γὰρ δὴ σφι οὗτος σύμμαχος· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὁ Ἴπποκράτης σὺν τῇ στρατιῇ ἦκε βοηθεῖν, Σκύθην μὲν τὸν μούναρχον τῶν Ζαγκλαίων ἀποβαλόντα τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἴπποκράτης πεδήσας, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Πυθογένεα, ἐς Ἴνυκον πόλιν ἀπέπεμψε· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς Ζαγκλαίους, κοινολογησάμενος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ὅρκους δούς καὶ δεξάμενος, προέδωκε. μισθὸς δὲ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένος ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεια μεταλαβεῖν⁶³ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει,

with the narrative in vii. 163, 164, Perizonius has conjectured that this Scythes was the *father* of Cadmus, dynast of Cos; while Valcknaer supposes he may have been his great uncle. But there is no historical foundation for these guesses, and the necessity for them rests entirely on the assumption that the two narratives proceed from the same sources. See note on vii. 164, *ἐνθα μετὰ Σαμίων*, κ.τ.λ., and also note 86 (a) below.

⁶² ὁ Ῥηγίου τύραννος Ἀναξίλειος. He had changed the form of government from an oligarchy to a tyranny. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* vi. p. 1316.) PAUSANIAS relates that this Anaxilaus was fourth in descent from Alcidas, who led a colony of Messenians to Rhegium in Italy, after the disastrous termination of the first Messenian war by the capture of *Ithome*; and that he himself, after the termination of the second by the capture of *Ira*, in the first year of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, invited some of the survivors who had retreated to Cyllene, the port of Elis, to come over and join him in an attack on Zancle, which at that time was occupied by pirates who interrupted the navigation of the straits, under the leadership of *Cratæmenes a Samian*, and Perieres from Chalcis in Eubœa (iv. 23. 3). This appears to me to describe the *condition* of Zancle, after the compact with Hippocrates presently related, and the refusal of the Samians to kill the 300 Zancleans who were put into their power. But the

chronology is nearly 200 years too early (as BENTLEY has shown in the *Dissertation on Phalaris*, pp. 210, seqq. ed. 1836); and in fact Cratæmenes, a *Cumæan*, and Perieres of Chalcis are named by THUCYDIDES as the æcists of the early Zancle (vi. 4). Pausanias goes on to say that the Messenians in Cyllene, under the leadership of Gorgus and Manticlus, accepted Anaxilaus's invitation, and together with him captured Zancle, the Zancleans flying for refuge to the altars of the gods. Anaxilaus wished his allies to put them to death and make slaves of their wives and children; but they refused to do this, and instead of it united in one population with them and changed the name of the town to Messana. This Pausanias puts in the first year of the twenty-ninth Olympiad, consistently with what he has said before. It appears to me to be really the dislocated account of the recapture of Zancle from the Samian bucaniers slightly alluded to by THUCYDIDES (quoted in note 64, below), but not noticed at all by Herodotus.

⁶³ μεταλαβεῖν. This word is in sense to be separated into its component parts. It means *μετ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν*, "to take on division with them." See note 686 on i. 204. So Athenagoras says to his aristocratic opponents (THUCYD. vi. 40): ἀλλ' ἦτοι μαβόντες γε ἢ μεταγρόντες τὸ τῆς πόλεως ξύμψασι κοινὸν αὐξετε, ἡγησάμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἂν καὶ ἴσον καὶ πλεον οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὑμῶν ἦπερ τὸ τῆς πόλεως πλη-

24

Anecdote
of *Scythes*,
tyrant of
Zancle.

τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα Ἱπποκράτεα λαγχάνειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πλεῖνας τῶν Ζαγκλαίων αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ εἶχε δήσας, τοὺς δὲ κορυφαίους αὐτῶν τριηκοσίους ἔδωκε τοῖσι Σαμίοισι κατασφάζειν· οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σάμιοι ἐποίησαν ταῦτα. , Σκύθης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ζαγκλαίων μούναρχος ἐκ τῆς Ἰνύκου ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐς Ἱμέρην· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης παρὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην, καὶ ἀνέβη παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείον· καὶ μιν ἐνόμισε Δαρείος πάντων ἀνδρῶν δικαιοτάτον εἶναι ὅσοι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἀνέβησαν· καὶ γὰρ παραιτησάμενος βασιλέα ἐς Σικελίην ἀπίκετο, καὶ αὐτὶς ἐκ τῆς Σικελίης ὀπίσω παρὰ βασιλέα, ἐς ὃ γήραϊ μέγα ὄλβιος ἐὼν ἐτελεύτησε ἐν Πέρσῃσι. Σάμιοι δὲ ἀπαλλαχθέντες Μήδων, ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην περιεβεβλήατο⁶⁴. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίην τὴν ὑπὲρ Μιλήτου γενομένην, Φοίνικες κελευσάντων Περσέων κατήγουν ἐς Σάμον Αἰάκεια τὸν Συλοσώντος, ὥς πολλοῦ τε ἄξιον γενόμενον σφισι καὶ μεγάλην κατεργασάμενον· καὶ Σαμίοισι μούνοισι τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Δαρείου, διὰ τὴν ἔκλειψιν τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, οὔτε ἡ πόλις οὔτε τὰ ἱρά ἐνεπρήσθη. Μιλήτου δὲ ἀλούσης, αὐτίκα Καρίην ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰς μὲν ἐθελοντὴν τῶν πολίων ὑποκυψάσας, τὰς δὲ ἀνάγκῃ προσηγάγοντο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐγένετο.

25

The Per-
sians place
Aeaces in
Samos as
dynast, and
as a reward
for his ser-
vices spare
the city.

θος μετασχεῖν, where μετασχεῖν τοῦτο is equivalent to μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων σχεῖν τοῦτο, "have your share with the rest of this." So in iii. 3: ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν διαβὰς ἐς Εὐβοίαν, καὶ περὶ ἐπὶ Γεραίστῳ ἐλθὼν, ὁλκάδος ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχῶν means that the messenger, immediately upon arriving at Geræstus (ἐπὶ), found a merchant vessel getting under way (ολκάδος ἀναγομένης ἔτυχε). In SOPHOCLES (*Philoctetes*, 320):

ὥς εἶσ' ἀλθθεῖς οἶδα, συντυχῶν κακῶν
ἀνδρῶν Ἀτρεΐδων τῆς τ' Ὀδυσσεως
βίης.

Toup (against all the MSS) wished to read κακοῖν ἀνδρῶν, &c., but the Scholiast rightly explains the construction as conveying the same meaning as σὺν σοι τυγχῶν. So (*Ædipus Colon.* 1482) we have

ἐναισίου δὲ συντύχοιμι,
μηδ' ἄλαστον ἄνδρ' ἰδὼν,
ἀκερδῇ χάριν μετὰσχοιμί πως,

where the sense is σὺν ἐταίροις τύχοιμι . .

and μετ' αὐτῶν ἔχοιμι.

The rationale of such passages as these has been concealed under the general rule, that compound verbs are sometimes used in the regimen of their simple themes; but in good authors the instances are very rare in which some difference of meaning is not intended.

⁶⁴ ἀπονητὶ πόλιν καλλίστην Ζάγκλην περιεβεβλήατο. It should not be overlooked that these Samians are apparently the representatives of the same political party with the bucaniers who laid waste Siphnus and afterwards established a piratical hold at Cydonia in Crete (iii. 57—59). See notes 124 on iii. 42; 394 on iii. 143; 409 on iii. 148; and 8 on § 5, above. From THUCYDIDES (vi. 5) it appears that Anaxilaus himself soon afterwards expelled them from their ill-gotten possession, and, recolonizing the place with a mixed population, called it Messana after his own original country. Compare the distorted account of PAUSANIAS (note 62, above).

Ἰστιαίῳ δὲ τῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐόντι περὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ συλλαμ- 26
 βάνοντι τὰς Ἰώνων ὀλκάδας ἐκπλουούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ἔξαγγελ-
 λεται τὰ περὶ Μίλητον γενόμενα. τὰ μὲν δὲ περὶ Ἑλλησποντον
 ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπιτράπει Βισάλτῃ, Ἀπολλοφάνεος παιδί,
 Ἀβυδηνῶ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίους ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε, καὶ Χίων
 φρουρῇ οὐ προσιεμένη μιν συνέβαλε ἐν Κοίλοισι καλεομένοισι τῆς
 Χίης χώρας· τούτων τε δὴ ἐφόνευσε συχνοὺς, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
 Χίων οἷα δὴ κεκακωμένων ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἔχων τοὺς
 Λεσβίους ἐπεκράτησε, ἐκ Πολίχνης τῆς Χίων ὀρμεώμενος. Φιλέει 27
 δέ κως προσημαίνειν εἴτ' ἂν μέλλῃ μεγάλα κακὰ ἢ πόλι ἢ ἔθνεϊ
 ἔσσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ Χίοισι πρὸ τούτων σημήϊα μεγάλα ἐγένετο·
 τοῦτο μὲν σφι πέμψασι ἐς Δελφοὺς χορὸν νεηνίων ἑκατὸν δύο
 μοῦνοι τούτων ἀπενόστησαν· τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τε καὶ ἑνενήκοντα
 αὐτῶν λοιμὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀπήνεικε· τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλι τὸν αὐτὸν
 τοῦτον χρόνον, ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίης, παισὶ γράμματα διδα-
 σκομένοισι ἐνέπεσε ἡ στέγη, ὥστε ἀπ' ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι παίδων
 εἷς μῦνος ἀπέφυγε. ταῦτα μὲν σφι σημήϊα ὁ θεὸς προέδεξε· μετὰ
 δὲ ταῦτα, ἡ ναυμαχίη ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐς γόνυ τὴν πόλιν ἔβαλε· ἐπὶ
 δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεγένετο Ἰστιαῖος Λεσβίους ἄγων· κεκακωμένων
 δὲ τῶν Χίων, καταστροφὴν εὐπετέως αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο.

Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ Θάσον ⁶⁵, ἄγων Ἰώνων 28
 καὶ Αἰολέων συχνοὺς. περικατημένῳ δέ οἱ Θάσον ἦλθε ἀγγελίη,
 ὡς οἱ Φοίνικες ἀναπλῶουσι ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίην·
 πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα Θάσον μὲν ἀπόρθητον λείπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν
 Λέσβον ἡπείλετο ἄγων πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιήν· ἐκ Λέσβου δὲ,
 λιμαινούσης οἱ τῆς στρατιῆς, πέρην διαβαίνει ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ⁶⁶
 ὡς ἀμήσων τὸν σῖτον, τὸν τε ἐνθεῦτεν καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καΐκου πεδίου
 τὸν τῶν Μυσῶν· ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις ἐτύγχανε ἔων
 Ἄρπαγος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ⁶⁷, στρατηγὸς στρατιῆς οὐκ ὀλίγης· ὅς οἱ

Adventures
 of *Histiæus*
 after the
 capture of
 Miletus.

He occupies
Chios.

Portents
 which hap-
 pened at
 the time.

He then
 attacks
Thasus, but
 in making a
 descent soon
 afterwards
 on *Atarneus*
 is captured,

⁶⁵ ἐπὶ Θάσον. The mines in this island and in its dependencies on the main (see § 46) were doubtless a principal object of this expedition. *Histiæus* could only hope to carry on the war by the aid of mercenaries, and above all things therefore required specie. See the note 88 on v. 36.

⁶⁶ Ἀταρνέος. *Atarneus* was the place which the Chians obtained as a grant in

return for their extradition of the Persian refugee *Pactyas* (i. 160).

⁶⁷ Ἄρπαγος, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης. There is no notice in *Herodotus* of the appointment of this individual to the command he held. Perhaps he may have succeeded *Daurises* or *Hymeas*. It should not be overlooked that the *Harpagus* of *Cyrus's* time was a *Mede* (i. 162), whereas this person is expressly stated to be a *Persian*.

- ἀποβάντι συμβαλὼν αὐτόν τε Ἰστιαῖον ζωγρίῃ ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν
 29 στρατὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν πλέω διέφθειρε. Ἐζωγρήθη δὲ ὁ Ἰστιαῖος
 ὧδε· ὡς ἐμάχοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐν τῇ Μαλήνῃ τῆς
 Ἀταρνεΐτιδος χώρας, οἱ μὲν συνέστασαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἡ δὲ
 ἵππος ὕστερον ὀρμηθεῖσα ἐπιπίπτει τοῖσι Ἕλλησιν· τότε δὴ ἔργον
 τῆς ἵππου τοῦτο ἐγένετο· καὶ τετραμμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ
 Ἰστιαῖος ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀπολέεσθαι ὑπὸ βασιλέος διὰ τὴν παρ-
 εῦσαν ἀμαρτάδα, φιλοφυχίην τοιήνδε τινα ἀναιρέεται· ὡς φεύγων
 τε κατελαμβάνετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, καὶ ὡς καταιρέμενος ὑπ’
 αὐτοῦ ἐμελλε συγκεντηθῆσεσθαι, Περσίδα γλῶσσαν μετεῖς κατα-
 30 μηνύει ἐωυτὸν, ὡς εἶη Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος. Εἰ μὲν νυν ὡς
 ἐζωγρήθη ἄχθη ἀγόμενος⁶⁸ παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον, ὁ δὲ οὐτ’ ἂν
 ἔπαθε κακὸν οὐδὲν, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἀπῆκέ τ’ ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίην· νῦν
 δέ μιν αὐτῶν τε τούτων εἵνεκα, καὶ ἵνα μὴ διαφυγὰν αὐτὶς μέγας
 παρὰ βασιλεῖ γένηται⁶⁹, Ἀρταφέρνης τε ὁ Σαρδίῳ ὑπαρχος καὶ
 ὁ λαβὼν Ἀρπαγος, ὡς ἀπῆκετο ἀγόμενος ἐς Σάρδις, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ
 σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύρωσαν^α, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ταριχεύσαντες
 ἀνήνικαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐς Σοῦσα. Δαρεῖος δὲ πυθό-
 μενος ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαιτησάμενος τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας ὅτι μιν οὐ
 ζῶντα ἀνήγαγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Ἰστιαῖου
 λούσαντάς τε καὶ περιστείλαντας εὖ ἐνετείλατο θάψαι, ὡς ἀνδρὸς
 μεγάλως ἐωυτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσησι εὐεργέτεω⁷⁰. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰστι-
 αῖον οὕτω ἔσχε·.]

and being
 taken to
 Sardis is
 put to death
 by Artaphernes and
 Harpagus
 against the
 wish of
 Darius.

- 31 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Περσέων χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, τῷ
 δευτέρῳ ἔτει ὡς ἀνέπλωσε αἰρέει εὐπετέως τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ
 ἡπείρῳ κειμένας, Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον⁷¹. ὅκως δὲ λάβοι τινα

In the next
 year the
 Persians
 reduce the

⁶⁸ ἄχθη ἀγόμενος. This expression seems undoubtedly corrupt. Bekker conjectures ἀνάχθη ἀγόμενος.

⁶⁹ αὐτὶς μέγας παρὰ βασιλεῖ γένηται. The enmity of Artaphernes towards Histiaeus appears from the sarcasm addressed to him (above, § 1). Probably Darius would not have been sorry to have maintained some check upon the great Persian officers in Asia Minor by means of a Hellenic satrap of the coast and the islands. The union of Harpagus and Artaphernes in the execution of Histiaeus is to be remarked. Perhaps neither, by himself, would have had authority to order it. See note 79 on v. 31.

^α τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀνεσταύρωσαν. So Gaisford prints with the majority of MSS. One however (S) has τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσταύρωσαν.

⁷⁰ εὐεργέτεω. See note 421 on iii. 154.

⁷¹ Χίον καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Τένεδον. The weakness of Chios is remarked (§ 27). At Lesbos there was a scarcity of provisions (§ 28), so that the Persians commanding the seas with the Phoenician fleet would soon starve it into a surrender, especially after the defeat of the expedition and death of Histiaeus. Tenedos was so near the main (see note 508 on i. 151), that under the circumstances an over-

τῶν νήσων, ὥς ἐκάστην αἰρέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐσαγήνεον τοὺς ^{rest of Ionia}
 ἀνθρώπους. (σαγηνέουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον⁷². ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὸς ^{and the}
 ἀψάμενος τῆς χειρὸς, ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς βορηῆς ἐπὶ τὴν νοτὴν ^{islands,}
 διήκουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου διέρχονται ἐκθηρεύοντες
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.) αἶρεον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλιας τὰς
 Ἰάδας κατὰ τὰ αὐτά· πλὴν οὐκ ἐσαγήνεον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὐ
 γὰρ οἶά τ' ἦν. Ἐνθαῦτα Περσέων οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο **32**
 τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐπηπείλυσαν τοῖσι Ἴωσι στρατοπεδευομένοισι ^{and punish}
 ἐναντία σφίσι· ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν πολίων, παῖδάς τε ^{the rebels}
 τοὺς εὐειδεστάτους ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐξέταμνον καὶ ἐποίεν ἀντὶ εἶναι⁷³ ^{with ex-}
 ἐνόρχιας εὐνούχους, καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλλιστευούσας ἀνασπά- ^{extreme se-}
 στούς παρὰ βασιλέα· ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐποίεν καὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐνεπύμ- ^{verity.}
 πρασαν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι⁷⁴. οὕτω δὲ τὸ τρίτον Ἴωνες κατεδου-
 λώθησαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δις δὲ ἐπεξῆς τότε ὑπὸ Περ-
 σέων^α.

Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωνίης ἀπαλλασσόμενος ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰ ἐπ' **33**
 ἀριστερὰ ἐσπλέοντι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου αἶρεε πάντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ ^{The fleet}
 δεξιὰ αὐτοῖσι [τοῖσι] Πέρσησι ὑποχείρια ἦν γεγονότα κατ' ἡπείρου. ^{then sails}
 εἰς δὲ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ αἶδε τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· Χερσόννησός τε ἐν ^{to the Hel-}
 τῇ πόλις συχναὶ ἔνεισι, καὶ Πέρινθος⁷⁵, καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ ^{lespont.}
 Θρηήκης⁷⁶, καὶ Σηλυβρίη τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Βυζάντιοι μὲν νυν ^{The Byzan-}

whelming force might be landed from
 thence in a single day.

⁷² σαγηνέουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.
 See the note 411 on iii. 149.

⁷³ ἀντὶ εἶναι. See note 701 on i. 210.

⁷⁴ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι. After making

every allowance for exaggeration in these
 accounts of the destruction wrought by
 the Persians, it is still clear that enough
 must have been done to destroy almost
 every vestige of Hellenic civilisation, and
 to make a complete break in the history
 of the Asiatic Greeks. The policy of
 Artaphernes was a far sterner one than
 that of Cyrus as regards the conquered
 Hellenic race. The Phœnicians were in
 point of cruelty the Croats of antiquity;
 and to turn over the towns of commercial
 rivals to their mercies was to ensure their
 utter destruction. Besides the loss of
 property and of human life, almost all the
 old associations, kept up mainly through
 the religious rituals, would die away when
 the centre of union, the temple of the
 tutelary deity, was destroyed. All archives

would likewise perish: and when the tide
 of fortune turned nearly twenty years
 afterwards, the history of the past would
 have to be reconstructed mainly from the
 recollections of the few exiles which re-
 turned.

^α πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, δις δὲ ἐπεξῆς
 τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων. See i. 26, 27, and
 169.

⁷⁵ καὶ Πέρινθος. This town, after suf-
 fering severely from the Pæonians, was
 captured by Megabazus immediately after
 the return of Darius from Scythia (v. 1).
 It was therefore not likely to be strong
 enough to offer any resistance either to
 the Ionian fleet (v. 103) or to the Phœni-
 cian.

⁷⁶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηήκης. SCYLAX
 classes *Perinthus* and *Selymbria* among
 the Θράκια τέχη. He gives a list of them
 after going through the Chersonese: πρῶ-
 τον Λευκὴ ἄκτῃ, Τειρίστασις, Ἡράκλεια,
 Γάνος, Γανίαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Πέρινθος πόλις
 καὶ λιμὴν, Δαμινὸν τεῖχος, Σηλυμβρία πό-
 λις καὶ λιμὴν (p. 28, Hudson). Herodotus

tines and Chalcedonians fly and found Mesembria in the Euxine.

All the Greek towns except Cyzicus and Cardia are sacked.

καὶ οἱ πέρηθεν Χαλκηδόνιοι ⁷⁷ οὐδ' ὑπέμειναν ἐπιπλέοντας τοὺς Φοίνικας, ἀλλ' οἷχοντο ἀπολιπόντες τὴν σφετέρην ἔσω ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον· καὶ ἐνθαῦτα πόλιν Μεσαμβρίην οἴκησαν. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες κατακαύσαντες ταύτας τὰς χώρας τὰς καταλεχθείσας, τράπονται ἐπὶ τε Προκόννησον καὶ Ἀρτάκην πυρὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας νείμαντες ἔπλωον αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, ἐξαιρήσαντες τὰς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν πόλιν ὅσας πρότερον προσχόντες οὐ κατέσυραν. ἐπὶ δὲ Κυζικὸν οὐδὲ ἔπλωσαν ἀρχήν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ Κυζικηνοὶ ἔτι πρότερον ⁷⁸ τοῦ Φοινίκων ἔσπλου ἐγεγόνεσαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ, Οἰβάρεϊ τῷ Μεγαβάζου ⁷⁹ ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ ὑπάρχῳ. τῆς δὲ Χερσονήσου, πλὴν Καρδίας πόλις ⁸⁰, τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ἐχειρώσαντο οἱ Φοίνικες.

34

Story of the connexion of Miltiades with the Chersonese.

Ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στησαγόρεω, κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότερον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· εἶχον Δόλογοι Θρηϊκὲς τὴν Χερσόνησον ταύτην. οὗτοι ὦν οἱ Δόλογοι πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀψινθίων ⁸¹, ἐς Δελφούς ἔπεμψαν τοὺς βασιλέας περὶ τοῦ πολέμου

appears to exclude from this class such towns as had a port of their own. *Selybria* was a Thracian name, the termination *βρια* signifying *πόλις* in the local dialect. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.*, and STRABO, quoted in note on vii. 58.) Perhaps the circumstance of its having a port produced such an influx of Hellenes as to destroy its Thracian character. In vii. 108 we hear of the *Σαμοθρήκια τείχεα*, and in vii. 112 of the *τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων*,—in both of which cases inland towns seem contemplated. In THUCYDIDES (i. 59), τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης is a very wide expression, including even Potidaea.

⁷⁷ καὶ οἱ πέρηθεν Χαλκηδόνιοι. It is a proof of the efficiency of the operations of Histiaeus that the city Chalcedon should not have fallen into the hands of the Persians before this time. No doubt however first the diversion effected by the revolt of Caria (v. 117), and afterwards the death of Hymeas (v. 122), contributed something to this result.

⁷⁸ ἔτι πρότερον. Dobree conjectures *ἐτεῖ πρότερον*.

⁷⁹ Οἰβάρεϊ τῷ Μεγαβάζου. It is natural to suppose that the Megabazus here spoken of is the same as the functionary who was left in command of the troops in Thrace (iv. 143), and succeeded after a

time by Otanes (v. 26). The name *Æbaras* belongs to the groom to whose cunning Darius is said to have owed his kingdom (iii. 88). Another son of Megabazus was named *Bubaras* (v. 21). No doubt these names are significant in Persian.

⁸⁰ πλὴν Καρδίας πόλις. It need not be supposed that Cardia successfully resisted the attack upon it; for at the time of Xerxes's expedition it served as a dépôt of naval stores for the Persians (ix. 115), and therefore must have been in their hands. And there is no mention of its being taken between this time and that. It was however inhabited by an Æolian population, and from the time of the fall of the Lydian dynasty there is no trace of any attempt of the Æolian towns to recover their independence. See note 476 on i. 141, and note 354 on iv. 138. It appears to me more likely that the inhabitants of Cardia were well affected to the Persian interests, and that on this account they were exempted from the visitation of the Phœnician fleet. They had been severely handled by their neighbours the *Bisaltæ* (CHARON OF LAMPSACUS, *ap. Athen.* xii. p. 520), and were probably very glad of the aid which Persia could afford.

⁸¹ πιεσθέντες πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Ἀψινθίων. It is a curious circumstance that this story

χρησομένους· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἀνεῖλε οἰκιστὴν ἐπάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν
 χώραν τοῦτον, ὃς ἂν σφεας ἀπιόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρῶτος ἐπὶ ξείνια
 καλέσῃ· ἰόντες δὲ οἱ Δόλογοι τὴν ἱρὴν ὁδὸν διὰ Φωκῶν τε καὶ
 Βοιωτῶν ἦϊσαν· καὶ σφεας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐκάλεε, ἐκτράπονται ἐπ’
 Ἀθηνέων. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι Ἀθήνησι τηνικαῦτα εἶχε μὲν τὸ πᾶν 35
 κράτος Πεισίστρατος, ἀτὰρ ἐδυνάστευε⁸² καὶ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέ-
 λου ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ’ Αἰακοῦ⁸³ τε
 καὶ Αἰγίνης γεγονὼς τὰ δὲ νεώτερα Ἀθηναῖος, Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἴαντος
 παιδὸς γενομένου πρώτου τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης Ἀθηναίου⁸⁴. οὗτος ὁ
 Μιλτιάδης κατήμενος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι τοῖσι ἐαυτοῦ, ὁρέων τοὺς
 Δολόγους παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμᾶς,
 προσεβόαστο· καὶ σφι προσελθούσι ἐπηγγείλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ
 ξείνια. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ ξεινισθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐξέβαινον πᾶν
 οἱ τὸ μαντήϊον ἐκφήναντες δὲ ἐδέοντο αὐτοὶ⁸⁵ τῷ θεῷ μιν πείθεσθαι.
 Μιλτιάδεα δὲ ἀκούσαντα παραντίκα ἔπεισε ὁ λόγος, οἷα ἀχθόμενον
 τε τῇ Πεισιστράτου ἀρχῇ καὶ βουλόμενον ἐκ ποδῶν εἶναι· αὐτίκα
 δὲ ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον, εἰ ποιοίῃ τὰ 36
 περ αὐτοῦ οἱ Δόλογοι προσεδέοντο; Κελευούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς
 Πυθίης, οὕτω δὴ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κυψέλου, Ὀλύμπια ἀναιρηκὼς
 πρότερον τούτων τεθρίππῳ, τότε παραλαβὼν Ἀθηναίων πάντα

of the invitation to Miltiades appears elsewhere, agreeing in almost every feature with the text, except that the *Apsinthians* are represented as giving the invitation, owing to the losses they suffered from the *Dolonchi*. (*Schol. inedit. in Aristidem*, quoted by Valcknaer.) See the notes 8 and 9 on iii. 2; also 213, 214 on i. 63 and 64. The *Apsinthians* are perhaps the *perieciacs* of Ænus. See note on vii. 58.

⁸² ἐδυνάστευε. The word is used in the general sense of “influential.” But that the power of Miltiades was actually much greater than that of an ordinary citizen can hardly be doubted. The leading men of Athens at this time may be compared with the heads of the great houses in the Italian republics of the middle ages. The occupation of the Chersonese by Miltiades, of Sigeum by Pisi-stratus, and of Lipsydrum by the Alcæonids, indicate physical force which could only spring from the maintenance of a large number of retainers.

⁸³ τὰ μὲν ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ’ Αἰακοῦ. See

note 156 on v. 62.

⁸⁴ Φιλαίου τοῦ Αἴαντος . . . Ἀθηναίου. The whole pedigree, although probably confused, is preserved in a quotation from DIDYMUS, the Alexandrine grammarian, who cites as his authorities Pherecydes and Hellanicus. It runs (1) Philaias, (2) Daiclus, (3) Epidycus, (4) Acestor, (5) Agenor, (6) Olius, (7) Lyces, (8) Typhon, (9) Laius, (10) Agamestor, (11) Tisander, under whose archonship something took place, but what is concealed by a *lacuna*, (12) Miltiades, (13) Hippocleides, in whose archonship the Panathenæa were established, (14) Miltiades, the colonist of Chersonese (*ap. Marcellinum, Vit. Thucyd.*).

⁸⁵ αὐτοί. This is the reading of the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford, on the authority of the rest, prints αὐτοῦ. But there seems an especial force in αὐτοί. The personal feelings of the Thracians had become enlisted in favour of Miltiades from his treatment of them. They therefore ἐδέοντο αὐτοί, “prayed him on their own account.”

τὸν βουλόμενον μετέχειν τοῦ στόλου, ἔπλεε ἅμα τοῖσι Δολόγκοις καὶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν⁸⁶. καὶ μιν οἱ ἐπαγαγόμενοι τύραννον κατεστήσαντο^a. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπετείχισε τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος ἐς Πακτύν, ἵνα μὴ ἔχοιεν σφεας οἱ Ἀψινθιοὶ δηλέεσθαι ἐσβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι στάδιοι ἑξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τούτου ἡ Χερσονήσος εἴσω πᾶσά ἐστι σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ τετρακοσίων τὸ μῆκος. Ἀποτείχισας ὦν τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Χερσονήσου ὁ Μιλτιάδης, καὶ τοὺς Ἀψινθίους τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ὡσάμενος, τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοις ἐπολέμησε Λαμφακηνοῖσι⁸⁷. καὶ μιν οἱ Λαμφακηνοὶ λοχήσαντες αἰρέουσι ζωγρίῃ· ἦν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς⁸⁸. πυθόμενος ὦν ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα, πέμπων προ-

37
Relations
between
the elder
Miltiades
and Cræsus.

⁸⁶ ἔσχε τὴν χώραν. This, which is the reading of several MSS, is no doubt the true one. But both here and in § 47, below, the variant ἔσκε is found in others. It is now generally agreed that ἔσκε, whenever it is found in Ionic writers, has the sense of ἦν. But AULUS GELLIIUS (*N. A.* vi. 16) speaks as if in his time ἔσκον was used as an Ionic form of ἔσχον. Such would be the case if ἔσκε were allowed to stand in the text; and if this be a corruption (which seems likely) it is one which neither Gellius nor a friend of his, whom he describes as 'multi studii atque in bonarum disciplinarum opere frequens,' recognized as such.

^a τύραννον κατεστήσαντο. In the "treasury of the Sicyonians" at Elis, there was "a horn of Amalthea" of wrought ivory, on which was the inscription, "in ancient Attic letters,"

Ζηνὶ μ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκαν Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐκ
Χερωνήσου
τεῖχος ἐλόντες Ἀράτου· ἐπῆρχε δὲ Μιλ-
τιάδης σφιν.

PAUSANIAS (no doubt following the account he heard on the spot) says that the offering was made by "Miltiades, son of Cimon, who first of that house obtained sovereign power in the Thracian Chersonese" (vi. 19. 4). This is an instructive instance of the way in which the more celebrated person in a family attracts to himself in oral traditions the feats of the less distinguished. ÆLIAN'S *three* Miltiadeses, on the other hand (*Var. Hist.* xiii. 35)—like his *two* Perianders, *ten* Sibyls, and *three* Bacides,—spring from

the assumption that different traditions must needs relate to different persons.

⁸⁷ τῶν λοιπῶν πρώτοις ἐπολέμησε Λαμφακηνοῖσι. Lampsacus was only forty *stades* distant from a headland of the Chersonese, on which in the time of STRABO a little town called Callipolis (*Gallipoli*) was built (xiii. c. 1, p. 92). This site, like the similar one of Zancle in Sicily, offered opportunities to the piratical adventurers of Miltiades's time not likely to be neglected, and probably the war in question was of a predatory character. Lampsacus was a colony from Miletus.

⁸⁸ ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς. This expression seems to mean γνώριμος γενόμενος. It is far from unlikely that some sort of feudal relation had been entered into between Cræsus and Miltiades. (See note 40 on iv. 14.) The whole of the coast of the Troad and Propontis was claimed by the Lydian kings as lords of the soil, and Abydos was said to be founded by the permission of Gyges. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 95.) It is probable under such circumstances that certain seigniorial rights would be reserved, and as the towns increased in wealth and commercial importance, a continual struggle would go on, the sovereigns endeavouring to increase the fund which they derived from the burghers, and the latter to get rid of the obligations under which they lay. To enforce payment in a summary manner, an effectual method would be to connive at the piratical proceedings of another vassal at the expense of the delinquent.

ηγόρευε τοῖσι Λαμφακηνοῖσι μετιέναι Μιλτιάδεα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, σφέας πίτυος τρόπον ἀπείλεε ἐκτρίψειν⁸⁹. πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμφακηνῶν ἐν τοῖσι λόγιοις, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι τό σφι ἀπείλυσεν ὁ Κροῖσος, “πίτυος τρόπον ἐκτρίψειν,” μόγις κοτὲ μαθὼν τῶν τις πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε τὸ ἔον, ὅτι πίτυς μούνη πάντων δενδρέων ἐκκοπίεσα βλαστὸν οὐδένα μετίζει⁹⁰, ἀλλὰ πανώλεθρος ἐξαπόλλυται· δείσαντες ὧν οἱ Λαμφακηνοὶ Κροῖσον, λύσαντες μετήκαν Μιλτιάδεα. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ διὰ Κροῖσον ἐκφεύγει μετὰ δὲ, τελευτᾷ 38 ἅπαις τὴν ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα παραδούς Στῆσαγόρῃ τῷ Κίμωνος ἀδελφεοῦ παιδὶ ὁμομητρίου· καὶ οἱ τελευτήσαντι Χερσονησίται θύουσι, ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἵππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι ἐν τῷ Λαμφακηνῶν οὐδενὶ ἐγγίγνεται ἀγωνίζεσθαι. πολέμου δὲ ἔοντος πρὸς Λαμφακηνούς, καὶ Στῆσαγόρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἅπαιδα, πληγέντα τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει ἐν τῷ πρυτανίῳ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αὐτομόλου μὲν τῷ λόγῳ πολεμίου δὲ καὶ ὑποθερμοτέρου τῷ ἔργῳ.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Στῆσαγόρῳ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἐνθαῦτα Μιλτιάδεα τὸν Κίμωνος, Στῆσαγόρῳ δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφεόν, καταλαμφόμενον τὰ πρήγματα ἐπὶ Χερσονήσου ἀποστέλλουσι τριήρεϊ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι⁹¹. οἳ μιν καὶ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐποίεον εὖ, ὡς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν⁹² τοῦ πατρὸς Κίμωνος αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ⁹³ σημανέω ὡς ἐγένετο. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἀπικόμενος εἰς τὴν Χερσονήσον εἶχε κατ’ οἴκους, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Στῆσαγόρεα δηλαδὴ⁹⁴ ἐπιτιμέων· οἱ δὲ Χερσονησίται πυνθανόμενοι

38

39

Relations of the younger Miltiades with the Pisistratids.

⁸⁹ πίτυος τρόπον ἀπείλεε ἐκτρίψειν. It has been concluded that Herodotus missed the real gist of this story, from the circumstance that he does not mention Lampsacus having been formerly called *Pityoessa* or *Pityea*, which is said to have been the case. (DEIOCHUS and EPAPHRODITUS, *ap. Steph. Byzant.* v. Λάμψακος.) But the name *Pityea* applied to some town in that region occurs even in the *Iliad* (ii. 829), and of this it is not likely that Herodotus would be ignorant. It does not seem to me necessary to suppose that Croesus intended a pun by the phrase he made use of. He resorted to an illustration which would be appropriate to the region, abounding as it did in firs; just as in the prophetic writings of the Old

Testament similar illustrations are supplied by the cedars of Lebanon and the vineyards and olive gardens of the valley of the Jordan.

⁹⁰ μετίζει. See note 604 on i. 180.

⁹¹ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι. The connexion of the Pisistratids with the Troad appears by their holding Sigeum (v. 94.)

⁹² ὡς οὐ συνειδότες δῆθεν, “as if, far-sooth, they knew nothing about.”

⁹³ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ, “in another story.” He fulfils his promise in *this* book, § 103, a circumstance which proves not only that the present division into nine books is not original (as LUCIAN’s story makes it), but that a different division must have been contemplated.

⁹⁴ δηλαδὴ. See note 346 on iv. 135.

ταῦτα, συνελέχθησαν ἀπὸ πασέων τῶν πολλῶν οἱ δυναστεύοντες πάντοθεν· κοινᾷ δὲ στόλῳ ἀπικόμενοι ὡς συλλυπηθόμενοι, ἐδέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Μιλτιάδης τε δὴ ἴσχει τὴν Χερσόνησον, πεντακοσίους βόσκων ἐπικούρους, καὶ γαμέει Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρηϊκῶν βασιλέος θυγατέρα Ἡγησιπύλην. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθει⁹⁵ ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, κατελάμβανε δέ μιν ἐλθόντα ἄλλα τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα· (τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει τούτων⁹⁶ Σκύθας ἔφηνγε· Σκύθαι γὰρ οἱ

40

His expulsion from the Chersonese by the Scythians.

⁹⁵ νεωστὶ μὲν ἐληλύθει. On the assumption that this phrase refers to the first arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese, Larcher and Clinton (*F. H. a.* 515) have created a greater difficulty than really exists in it, from erroneously supposing that "the Pisistratids" spoken of above must include Hipparchus, who was killed in the year 514 B.C. But "the Pisistratids" merely mean "the Pisistratid party," and the expression is so used by Herodotus (v. 62—65). The first arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese need not therefore have taken place before 510 B.C. Yet even then it seems strange that such a phrase as νεωστὶ ἐληλύθει should be applied to an event occurring at least seventeen years before. This inconvenience would be avoided by supposing that "the recent arrival" of Miltiades meant his return after his flight. In that case, τὰ κατέχοντα πράγματα, "the troubles which occupied him," must be taken to mean the troubles arising out of his relations with the Scythians, and the ἄλλα χαλεπώτερα to refer to the new dangers threatened by the Ionian rebellion and its consequences. The Scythian invasion will be regarded as happening in the third year of these (τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων), and his return from the exile occasioned by it, in the third year before the arrival of the Phoenician fleet at Tenedos, and "the troubles which then came upon him" (τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων). This interpretation synchronizes tolerably well with the course of events. Aristagoras was certainly slain in Thrace by a great Thracian movement in 497 B.C. (see CLINTON under the years 497 and 465), and it is natural that the natives, flushed by success, should proceed to try whether they might not be as successful in the Hellespont. The Phoenician fleet came to Tenedos in 493, so that about two years would be given for the limits within which Miltiades was expelled and returned. The words τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων

will on this theory mean "in the third year of these troubles," i.e. the Ionian rebellion of which I am writing, which began with the burning of Sardis 499 B.C.

⁹⁶ τρίτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔτει τούτων. This ought to mean the same, or nearly the same, as the more common expression, τρίτῳ ἔτει μετὰ ταῦτα. See below, δεύτερῳ ἔτει τούτων (§ 46 and vii. 80). But the sense in which it has been generally taken is "in the third year before," and the time denoted regarded as the same with that expressed below by τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον. This interpretation seems however to be commended mainly by the assumption that νεωστὶ ἐληλύθει must refer to the first arrival of Miltiades in the Chersonese, and this appears to me far from certain. (See the last note.) I should rather be inclined to suppose that Herodotus has here got hold of a tradition belonging to a different cycle from that which he has just been following,—probably one derived from Hellespontine sources, which merely related that Miltiades, after flying from before the Scythians, whom Darius had provoked, remained in exile until he recovered his power by the aid of the Dolonchi,—an event which took place in the third year before the advent of the Phoenician fleet. Such a Hellespontine tradition would take no account of what might have happened to Miltiades's ancestors at Athens. Their adventures Herodotus probably obtained from some other quarter. We may perhaps suppose that the main thread of the narrative proceeded from the third line of § 34 to the beginning of § 40, thus: Ἐτυράννευε δὲ αὐτέων μέχρι τότε Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος τοῦ Στησαγόρεω, κτησάμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην πρότερον Μιλτιάδεω τοῦ Κυψέλου· οὗτος δὲ ὁ Κίμωνος Μιλτιάδης, κ.τ.λ., and that the author subsequently inserted the family history comprised in §§ 34—39.

νομάδες ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ βασιλέος Δαρείου συνεστράφησαν, καὶ ἤλασαν μέχρι τῆς Χερσονήσου ταύτης· τούτους ἐπιόντας οὐκ ὑπομείνας ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἔφευγε ἀπὸ Χερσονήσου, ἐς ὃ οἱ τε Σκύθαι ἀπαλλάχθησαν καὶ μιν οἱ Δόλογοι κατήγαγον ὀπίσω·) Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον ἐγεγόνεε τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων⁹⁷. τότε δὲ πυνθανόμενος εἶναι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐν Τενέδῳ, πληρώσας τριήρεας πέντε χρημάτων τῶν παρεόντων ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὥσπερ ὠρμήθη ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος, ἔπλεε διὰ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου· παραμειβετό τε τὴν Χερσονήσον καὶ οἱ Φοίνικες οἱ περιπίπτουσι τῇσι νηυσί. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ Μιλτιάδης σὺν τῇσι τέσσαρσι τῶν νεῶν καταφεύγει ἐς Ἴμβρον, τὴν δὲ οἱ πέμπτην τῶν νεῶν κατεῖλον διώκοντες οἱ Φοίνικες. τῆς δὲ νεὸς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῶν Μιλτιάδεω παίδων ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἄρχων Μητίοχος, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ὀλόρου τοῦ Θρήϊκος ἐὼν θυγατρὸς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης· καὶ τοῦτον ἅμα τῇ νηὶ εἶλον οἱ Φοίνικες, καὶ μιν πυθόμενοι ὥς εἴη Μιλτιάδεω παῖς ἀνήγαγον παρὰ βασιλέα, δοκέοντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι⁹⁸. ὅτι δὴ Μιλτιάδης γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐν τοῖσι Ἰωσι πείθεσθαι κελεύων τοῖσι Σκύθησι, ὅτε οἱ Σκύθαι προσεδέοντο λύσαντας τὴν σχεδίην ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν. Δαρείος δὲ, ὥς οἱ Φοίνικες Μητίοχον τὸν Μιλτιάδεω ἀνήγαγον, ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν⁹⁹ Μητίοχον ἀγαθὰ δὲ συχνά· καὶ γὰρ οἶκον καὶ κτήσιν ἔδωκε καὶ Περσίδα γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς οἱ τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμέαται. Μιλτιάδης δὲ ἐξ Ἰμβρου ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

41 His narrow escape from the Phœnician fleet which captures his son *Metiochus*.

whom Darius treats with great kindness.

He arrives at Athens.

Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον 42

⁹⁷ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ . . . τῶν τότε μιν κατεχόντων. Dobree considers that this sentence is mainly derived from the hand of a commentator, who misunderstood the meaning of the words τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων in the beginning of the section. He would read as a substitute for them, ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρότερον. But this change is unsupported by any variation in the MSS.

⁹⁸ χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι. Literally, "would deposit a great favour with him," i. e. lay him under a great obligation. The metaphor is taken from the depositing of a balance with a banker, on whom the depositor thus acquires a hold. Thus Felix left St. Paul in bonds, θέλων χάριτα κατα-

θέσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, wishing not "to do the Jews a favour," but "to lay the Jews under an obligation," i. e. to stop their mouths in the event of his official conduct being attacked. (*Acts* xxiv. 25.)

⁹⁹ ἐποίησε κακὸν μὲν οὐδέν. It seems not impossible that Darius rather wished than otherwise to attach to himself some person of influence among the number of the Hellenic dynasts in these regions. (See note 69 on § 30.) Both his temper and his comprehensive views would lead him to a very different policy from that which would occur to the merely military Persian commanders and the cruel semi-barbarous Phœnicians. (See note 74 on § 32.)

New settle-
ment of
Ionia.

ἐγένετο τούτων ἐς νείκος φέρον Ἴωσι, ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν χρήσιμα κάρτα τοῖσι Ἴωσι ἐγένετο τούτου τοῦ ἔτεος. Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος, μεταπεμφάμενος ἀγγέλους ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν συνθήκας σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τοὺς Ἴωνας ἡνάγκασε ποιεέσθαι, ἵνα δοσίδικοι εἶεν καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροίεν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. ταῦτά τε ἡνάγκασε ποιεῖν καὶ τὰς χώρας σφέων μετρήσας κατὰ παρασάγγας¹⁰⁰,—τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια^a,—κατὰ δὲ τούτους μετρήσας φόρους ἔταξε ἐκάστοισι, οἳ κατὰ χώραν διατελέουσι ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ¹⁰¹, ὥς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφέρνηος· ἐτάχθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τὰ καὶ πρό-
43 τερον εἶχον¹⁰². Καὶ σφι ταῦτα μὲν εἰρηναῖα ἦν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι, τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος¹⁰³, Μαρδο-

In the next
spring Mar-

¹⁰⁰ μετρήσας κατὰ παρασάγγας. By this expression one may conjecture that the use of the Persian scale of measurement was at this time imposed upon the Ionians,—not a difficult matter, if the Persian scale was one adopted from Babylon. For it seems probable that this scale was identical with one which prevailed in Egypt from very early times (see note 511 on ii. 168), and this had been adopted for commercial purposes by the Samians, and probably also by all persons who had commercial intercourse either with Phœnicia or Egypt. Hence it is not unlikely that in the time of Herodotus any Ionian merchant (especially if his trade lay with the east) would speak in terms of the Perso-Babylonian scale. (See note 597 on i. 178.)

^a τοὺς καλέουσι οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ τριήκοντα στάδια. This must not be regarded as strictly true. STRABO (xi. c. 11, p. 442) says that some put the *parasang* at sixty stades, some at thirty, and some at forty. He remarks a similar variation with regard to the Egyptian *schœnus*. (See note 24 on ii. 6.) These differences will not be surprising if we regard the measure as forming an element in an organized system of locomotion, such as the Persian *estafette*. A *parasang* would be the *posting unit of distance*, the space which on average ground a courier would perform in a given time. But in the *tariff* by which travellers would be guided there would be bye-laws to meet the varying conditions of road, of season, of climate, and perhaps even of fiscal or police regulations, which would materially affect the length of the *parasang* considered geogra-

phically. These considerations appear in the Roman Itineraries and in every modern system of posting conducted by the governments of the country. Col. Shiel in 1837 found considerable inconvenience from the Kurdistan muleteers whom he hired habitually *halting* every *farsakh*, i. e. *parasang* (*Journal of Geogr. Soc.* viii. p. 77), and on the road on which this occurred there were certainly no measured distances.

¹⁰¹ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ. This passage has been remarked as decisively proving the subjection of the Asiatic Hellenes to the king of Persia, at a time when the restoration of their liberty by Athenian arms was a favourite topic with the Attic orators. MÜLLER (*Dorier*. i. pp. 186, 187) points out several other circumstances which show the same thing.

¹⁰² κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶχον. This mild treatment of the rebels is said by DIODORUS SICULUS (*Excerpt. Vat.* p. 38) to be due to the persuasions of Hecateus, who was deputed by his countrymen to plead their cause with Artaphernes.

¹⁰³ τῶν ἄλλων καταλελυμένων στρατηγῶν ἐκ βασιλέος. Every thing which is related of Darius, with the exception of a single anecdote (see note 235 on iv. 84), goes to show that, like Alexander and Napoleon, his genius for consolidating the countries he conquered, and combining anew the elements of prosperity, was no less striking than his success as a conqueror. The generals mentioned in the text appear to have been superseded by direct orders from the king; and there seems every likelihood that the immediate occasion of this was the extreme harshness

νιος ὁ Γωβρύεω κατέβαινε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, στρατὸν πολλὸν μὲν *donius con-*
 κάρτα πεζὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν ¹⁰⁴, ἡλικίην τε νέος *ducts an*
 ἐὼν, καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκὼς βασιλέος Δαρείου θυγατέρα Ἀρταζώ- *expedition*
 στρην ¹⁰⁵. ἄγων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπεὶ τε *over land,*
 ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ νεὸς ἐκομίζετο ἅμα *against Ere-*
 τῆσι ἄλλῃσι νηυσὶ ¹⁰⁶, στρατιὴν δὲ τὴν πεζὴν ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἦγον *tria and*
 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὥς δὲ παραπλέων τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπίκετο ὁ *Athens no-*
 Μαρδόνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἐνθαῦτα μέγιστον θῶμα ἐρέω τοῖσι μὴ *minally, but*
 ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων ¹⁰⁷ Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπτὰ Ὀτάνεα γνώμην *really for*
 ἀποδέξασθαι ὥς χρεὸν εἶη δημοκρατέεσθαι Πέρσας· τοὺς γὰρ *the subju-*
 τυράννους τῶν Ἰώνων καταπαύσας πάντας ὁ Μαρδόνιος δημο- *gation of*
 κρατίας ¹⁰⁸ κατίστα ¹⁰⁹ ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ἡπείγετο *Hellas.*
 ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη μὲν χρήμα πολλὸν νεῶν,
 συνελέχθη δὲ καὶ πεζὸς πολλὸς στρατὸς, διαβάντες τῆσι νηυσὶ τὸν
 Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης· ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ἐπὶ τε
 Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας. Αὐταὶ μὲν ὦν σφι πρόσχημα ἦσαν τοῦ
 στόλου· ἀτὰρ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ὅσας ἂν πλείστας δύναιντο καταστρέ- 44

The fleet
in attend-

with which they treated the towns they overran. (See § 32.)

¹⁰⁴ πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικόν. See note 190 on i. 59. To the instances there quoted may be added CICERO (*Pro Rabirio*, § 4), "Hæc verba non solum tenebris vetustatis, sed etiam luce libertatis oppressa sunt."

¹⁰⁵ Ἀρταζώστρην. Gobryas himself was Darius's father-in-law (vii. 2), and brother-in-law (vii. 5). He appears in the account of the conspiracy against Smerdis as the most courageous and zealous of all the seven chiefs. The rock inscriptions make him "bow-bearer" of Darius. (See note 199 on iii. 70.) In the narrative of the Scythian expedition he is represented as the most sagacious and prudent of all the Persians. All these particulars go to the point of his being especially attached to Darius's person and possessing his confidence. The appointment of his son Mardonius, therefore, with extraordinary powers in the existing conjuncture looks like the consummation of Darius's policy of *imperial* order, as contradistinguished from the violent individual despotism of the great chiefs belonging to the old Persian régime. Perhaps even the feature of Mardonius's youth is significant. He was not old enough to have imbibed the pre-

judices of the ruffianly school who mutilated attendants (iii. 119), and considered all regulation of fiscal imposts worthy only of a huckster (iii. 89). Among the generals superseded is an Otanes, who, though not himself the conspirator, was probably connected with him.

¹⁰⁶ ἅμα τῆσι ἄλλῃσι νηυσὶ. Perhaps to keep in check the savagery of the Phœnicians. See note 74 on § 32, above.

¹⁰⁷ τοῖσι μὴ ἀποδεκομένοισι Ἑλλήνων. See iii. 80.

¹⁰⁸ δημοκρατίας. These constitutional governments would be no inconvenient machinery for carrying on the ordinary business of the respective towns, while at the same time the imperial interests were protected by the existence of a considerable Persian force at Dascyleum and Magnesia. But the argument from such measures in favour of the historical truth of the views attributed to Otanes, is of the same kind as one would be, which should infer the probability of a republican government being suggested in the council chamber of a Plantagenet, from the fact that the kings of that dynasty were not unfriendly to municipal institutions.

¹⁰⁹ κατίστα. See note 287 on ii. 102.

ance on the
army is
wrecked off
Athos,

φεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇσι νηυσὶ Θασίους οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταειραμένους καταστρέψαντο, τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πεζῷ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῖσι ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτίσαντο ¹¹⁰. τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων ἔθνεα πάντα σφι ἦν ἤδη ὑποχείρια γεγονότα ¹¹¹. ἐκ μὲν δὴ Θάσου διαβαλόντες πέρην, ὑπὸ τὴν ἡπειρου ἐκομίζοντο μέχρι Ἀκάνθου· ἐκ δὲ Ἀκάνθου ὀρμεώμενοι, τὸν Ἄθων περιέβαλλον· ἐπιπесῶν δὲ σφι περιπλέουσι βορῆς ἄνεμος μέγας τε καὶ ἄπορος, κάρτα τρηχέως περιέσπε πλήθει πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐκβάλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἄθων· λέγεται γὰρ κατὰ τριηκοσίας μὲν τῶν νεῶν τὰς διαφθαρείσας εἶναι, ὑπὲρ δὲ δύο μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. ὥστε γὰρ θηριωδεστάτης ἐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης ¹¹² ταύτης τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄθων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἀρπαζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμενοι, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστέατο, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ῥίγει· ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρα-

45

and the land
forces suffer

τὸς οὕτω ἔπρησσε. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατοπεδευομένῳ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήικες ¹¹³ ἐπεχείρησαν· καὶ σφεων

¹¹⁰ Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοῖσι ὑπάρχουσι δούλους προσεκτίσαντο. Possibly at this time Alexander the Macedonian became formally a vassal of Persia. See notes on v. 21, vii. 127, and viii. 136.

¹¹¹ σφι ἦν ἤδη ὑποχείρια γεγονότα. The operations of Megabazus, who had been left in Sestos with 80,000 men by Darius on his return from Scythia (iv. 143), were continued by Otanes (v. 25), and it would seem likely that the services of the former were confined to the European shore, where, after taking Perinthus, ἤλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ταύτης οἰκισμένων ἡμερούμενος βασιλεῖ (v. 2). The only particulars given of those operations relate to the Pæonians; but it appears incidentally that Doriscus was then strongly garrisoned, and Eion on the Strymon occupied (vii. 106, 7). From the anecdotes related of him (iv. 143, 144) it is plain that Megabazus was not only highly valued by the king, but that he had an eye for an effective military position; which latter quality is further evinced by his seeing through the plans of Histæus (v. 23). Possibly therefore when he had completed the arrangements for the permanent military occupation of the European shore, he returned, and Otanes

was put in his place to carry out the details which were necessary on the Asiatic coast and the Hellespont for connecting the two continents by a chain of posts. By the list which Herodotus gives of the places taken by Otanes (v. 26), it is plain that the main consideration which influenced him was to command the straits so as to secure an uninterrupted communication. It should not be overlooked that the phrase τὰ ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων is only appropriate to a narrator who takes some place in the neighbourhood of the straits for his centre.

¹¹² θηριωδεστάτης ἐούσης τῆς θαλάσσης. This expression has been put forward as an instance of gross incorrectness on the part of Herodotus; and, in the view of defending him from the charge, it has been suggested that his meaning may be, that the *shore* of the sea in question was thickly tenanted with wild animals. But the words can hardly bear such a meaning; and a better defence would be, that by them the author intends to describe the existence of *sharks* in large numbers.

¹¹³ Βρύγοι Θρήικες. It can scarcely be doubted that these are the same tribes elsewhere called Βρίγες or Βρύγες. See note on vii. 73.

πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μαρδόνιον δὲ αὐτὸν τρωματίζουσι. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ δουλосύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπανέστη ἐκ τῶν χωρέων τούτων Μαρδόνιος, πρὶν ἢ σφεας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο. τούτους μέντοι καταστρεφάμενος ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὴν ὀπίσω, ἅτε τῷ πεζῷ τε προσπταίσας πρὸς τοὺς Βρύγους¹¹⁴ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ μεγάλως περὶ Ἄθων. οὗτος μὲν νυν ὁ στόλος αἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρεῖος, πρῶτα μὲν Θασίους διαβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ὡς ἀπόστασιν μηχανοῖατο, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκέλευε σφεας τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρέειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν¹¹⁵. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Θάσιοι, οἳα ὑπὸ Ἰσθιαίου τε τοῦ Μιλησίου πόλιορκεθέντες καὶ προσόδων ἐουσέων μεγάλων, ἐχρέοντο τοῖσι χρήμασι ναὺς τε ναυπηγεύμενοι μακρὰς καὶ τεῖχος ἰσχυρότερον περιβαλλόμενοι. ἡ δὲ πρόσδοδος σφι ἐγένετο ἐκ τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μετᾶλλων· ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν ἐν Σκαπτῇ Ἰλῃ¹¹⁶, τῶν χρυσέων μετᾶλλων, τὸ ἐπίπαν ὀγδώκοντα τάλαντα προσήιε· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ Θάσῳ ἐλάσσω μὲν τούτων, συχνὰ δὲ οὕτω ὥστε τὸ ἐπίπαν Θασίοισι, εὐοῖσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι¹¹⁷, προσήιε ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἡπείρου καὶ τῶν μετᾶλλων ἔτεος ἐκάστου διηκόσια τάλαντα· ὅτε δὲ τὸ πλείστον προσήλθε, τριηκόσια. Εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα καὶ μακρῷ ἦν αὐτῶν θωμασιώτατα τὰ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀνεύρον, οἱ μετὰ Θάσου κτίσαντες τὴν νῆσον ταύτην· ἥτις νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θάσου τούτου τοῦ Φοίνικος τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε^a. τὰ δὲ μέταλλα τὰ Φοινικικὰ ταῦτα ἔστι τῆς Θάσου μεταξὺ Αἰνύρων τε χώρου καλεομένου καὶ Κοινύρων, ἀντίον δὲ Σαμοθρῆκης· ὄρος μέγα, ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν τῇ ζητήσει. τοῦτο μὲν νυν ἔστι

¹¹⁴ Βρύγους. One MS (*b*) has Βρύγας. See the last note.

¹¹⁵ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἀβδηρα κομίζειν. Herodotus (i. 163) represents Abdera as founded for the second time by the Teians flying from before the face of Harpagus. But by this time it would seem to have become Persian in feeling; otherwise it would hardly have been selected as a dépôt for the galleys. The story told in viii. 120 goes to prove that even the defeat of Xerxes failed to detach Abdera from his cause.

¹¹⁶ ἐν Σκαπτῇ Ἰλῃ. This name became *Scaptēsyla* in Latin, the aspirate being represented by the sound *s*; just as

ἐξ, ἐπτά, ἔρπω, ἄλς appear in their Latin equivalents as *sex*, *septem*, *serpo*, *sal*.

¹¹⁷ εὐοῖσι καρπῶν ἀτελέσι, "while free from imposts on their produce." The author apparently means to say that without the *islanders* paying any tithe or land-tax, the whole of the public expenses were defrayed from the profits of the mines, and the produce of the public demesne on the continent, a balance still remaining of two or three hundred talents. It must be remembered that among the public expenses would come the celebration of the religious festivals—a very heavy burden in ancient times.

^a ἔσχε. See above, note 86.

τοιούτο· οἱ δὲ Θάσιοι τῷ βασιλείῃ κελεύσαντι καὶ τὸ τείχος τὸ σφέτερον κατέϊλον, καὶ τὰς νέας τὰς πάσας ἐκόμισαν ἐς Ἀβδηρα.

48 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρείος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅ τι ἐν νόῳ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἐωυτῷ ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπε ὦν κήρυκας ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλείῃ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε· ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἐωυτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς

49 καὶ ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιεέσθαι. οὗτοί τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα· καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἐδίδουσαν τὰ προΐσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ οἱ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσונτες. οἳ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῆται· ποιήσασι δέ σφι ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεκέατο, δοκέοντες ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας¹¹⁸

50 τοὺς Αἰγινῆτας δεδωκέναι ὡς ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύονται· καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτούντες τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγόρεον τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν κατηγορίην Κλεομένης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, βασιλεὺς ἐὼν Σπαρτιητέων, διέβη ἐς Αἰγιναν βουλόμενος συλλαβεῖν Αἰγινητέων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους· ὡς δὲ ἐπειράτο συλλαμβάνων, ἄλλοι τε δὴ αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο ἀντίξοοι τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Κρίος ὁ Πολυκρίτου μάλιστα· ὃς οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸν οὐδένα ἄξειν χαίροντα Αἰγινητέων· ἄνευ γάρ μιν Σπαρτιητέων τοῦ κοῖνου ποιεῖν ταῦτα ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀναγνωσθέντα χρήμασι· ἅμα γὰρ ἂν μιν τῷ ἐτέρῳ βασιλείῃ ἐλθόντα συλλαμβάνειν· ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου¹¹⁹. Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης, εἶρετο τὸν Κρίον ὃ τι οἱ εἶη τὸ οὔνομα· ὃ δὲ τὸ ἐὼν ἔφρασε· οἱ· ὃ δὲ Κλεομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν

Darius summons all the Hellenic states to submit.

Most of them comply, and among these the *Aeginetæ*, to punish whom at the appeal of the Athenians,

Cleomenes goes to the island, but is thwarted by his colleague Demaratus.

¹¹⁸ ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας. Several MSS have ἐπὶ σφίσι ἐπέχοντας, but EUSTATHIUS (on *Od.* xix. 71, τί μοι ἐπέχεις;) takes occasion to remark that Herodotus separates the compound verb into its constituent parts. The expression ἐπέχειν here seems to answer to the old English phrase "to have at." Translate: "considering that the *Aeginetæ* were aiming a blow at *them* when they rendered the

symbols of submission, that they might make war upon them with the Persian king for an ally."

¹¹⁹ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρήτου. The first decided break between Cleomenes and Demaratus was with the army of confederates at Elensis. See note 200 on v. 75. For the use of the word ἐπιστολῆς, see note 27 on iv. 10.

ἔφη· “ ἤδη νῦν καταχάλκου, ὦ Κριεῖ, τὰ κέρα ¹²⁰, ὡς συνοισόμενος
μεγάλῳ κακῷ.”

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑπομένων Δημάρητος ὁ 51
Ἀρίστωνος διέβαλλε τὸν Κλεομένεα, ἔων βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος
Σπαρτητέων οἰκίης δὲ τῆς ὑποδεεστέρης· κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν
ὑποδεεστέρης,—ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεγονάσι,—κατὰ πρεσβυ-
γενεῖην δὲ κως τετίμηται μᾶλλον ἢ Εὐρύσθενος. Λακεδαιμόνιοι 52
γὰρ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ ¹²¹ λέγουσι αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον,
τὸν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου, βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν
σφέας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται, ἀλλ’ οὐ τοὺς
Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολλὸν, Ἀριστοδήμῳ
τεκεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα τῇ οὐνομα εἶναι Ἀργεῖην· θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτὴν

Story of this
Demaratus.

Early his-
tory of the
kings of
Sparta ac-
cording to
Lacedæmo-
nian tradi-
tions.

¹²⁰ καταχάλκου, ὦ Κριεῖ, τὰ κέρα.
There is a bitterness about the Spartan
king, whose authority was not only re-
sisted, but resisted with the insolent
words: οὐδένα ἄξιον χαίροντα Αἰγινήτων,
which should have prevented any com-
parison of this expression with the jests
of Cicero upon the name of Verres. It
is rather the mask of levity under which
the deepest feelings seek to conceal them-
selves; and may be more fitly compared
with the words of Esau (*Gen.* xxvii. 36),
which were spoken just after he had
“cried with a great and exceeding bitter
cry.” SHAKESPEAR (*King Richard II.*,
Act 2, Sc. 1) furnishes a matchless speci-
men of this condition of mind, and at the
same time gives the clue to its explana-
tion:

“KING RICHARD. What comfort, man?
How is’t with aged Gaunt?

GAUNT. O, how that name befits my
composition!

Old Gaunt, indeed; and gaunt in being
old.

Within me grief hath kept a tedious fast;
And who abstains from meat, that is not
gaunt?

For sleeping England long time have I
watched;

Watching breeds leanness; leanness is all
gaunt.

The pleasure that some fathers feed upon
Is my strict fast,—I mean my children’s
looks;

And therein fasting hast thou made me
gaunt.

Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as the
grave,

Whose hollow womb inherits nought but
bones.

KING RICHARD. Can sick men *play so
nicely* with their names?

GAUNT. No: *misery makes sport to
mock itself*:

Since thou dost seek to kill my name in
me,

I mock my name, great king, to flatter
thee.”

With the same propriety he makes Con-
stance, who in an agony of passion at the
compromise of her son’s claim had thrown
herself upon the earth in the presence of
the assembled sovereigns (*King John*,
Act 3, Sc. 1), rise up, on hearing the
words of King Philip:

“The yearly course, that brings this day
about,

Shall never see it but a holiday,”

with the reply—

“A *wicked* day, and not a *holy* day.”

¹²¹ ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ. The nar-
rative which follows is extremely valuable,
as containing the genuine Lacedæmonian
traditions relative to the condition of their
country at the period immediately follow-
ing the Heraclide invasion. It may be
put together with the account of Theras
given in iv. 147—149, and from the com-
bination of the two a very complete ethno-
logical account (in terms of mythology)
may be constructed of what the Lacedæ-
monians of the time of Herodotus thought
about their own early history.

λέγουσι εἶναι Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος· ταύτην δὲ τεκεῖν δίδυμα· ἐπιδύοντα δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοδήμον τὰ τέκνα νούσῳ τελευτᾶν, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε ἔοντας βουλευσάιν κατὰ νόμον βασιλέα τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι οὐκ ὄν δὴ σφῆας ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἔλονται, ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἔόντων, οὐ δυναμένους δὲ γινῶναι, ἣ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἐπειρωτᾶν τὴν τεκοῦσαν· τὴν δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴν φάναι διαγινώσκειν, εἰδυῖαν μὲν καὶ τὸ κάρτα λέγειν ταῦτα βουλομένην δὲ εἴ κως ἀμφοτέρω γενοῖατο βασιλέες· τοὺς ὧν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπορέειν· ἀπορέοντας δὲ πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρησομένους ὃ τι χρῆσονται τῷ πρήγματι; τὴν δὲ Πυθίην κελεύειν σφῆας ἀμφοτέρα τὰ παῖδιά ἡγήσασθαι βασιλέας, τιμᾶν δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν γεραίτερον· τὴν μὲν δὴ Πυθίην ταῦτά σφι ἀνελεῖν· τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἀπορέουσι οὐδὲν ἔσσαν ὁκως ἐξεύρωσι αὐτῶν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ὑποθέσθαι ἄνδρα Μεσσηνίου τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Πανίτην· ὑποθέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Πανίτην τάδε τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, φυλάξαι τὴν γεναμένην ὁκότερον τῶν παίδων πρότερον λούει καὶ σιτίζει· καὶ ἣν μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνεται αἰεὶ ποιεῦσα, τοὺς δὲ πᾶν ἔξειν ὅσον τι καὶ δίξηνται καὶ θέλουσι ἐξευρεῖν· ἣν δὲ πλανᾶται καὶ ἐκείνη ἐναλλάξ ποιεῦσα, δηλὰ σφι ἔσεσθαι ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκείνη πλέον οὐδὲν οἶδε· ἐπ' ἄλλην τέ σφῆας τραπέσθαι ὁδόν· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας, κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Μεσσηνίου ὑποθήκας, φυλάξαντας τὴν μητέρα τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων λαβεῖν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τιμῶσαν τὸν πρότερον καὶ σίτοισι καὶ λουτροῖσι, οὐκ εἰδυῖαν τῶν εἵνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο· λαβόντας δὲ τὸ παιδίον τὸ τιμώμενον πρὸς τῆς γεναμένης, ὥς ἐὼν πρότερον τρέφειν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ· καὶ οἱ οὐνομα τεθῆναι Εὐρυσθέnea, τῷ δὲ [νεωτέρῳ¹²²] Προκλέα· τούτους ἀνδρωθέντας, αὐτοὺς τε ἀδελφεοὺς ἔοντας λέγουσι διαφόρους εἶναι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων γενομένους ὡσαύτως διατελέειν. Ταῦτα μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι μῦθοι Ἑλλήνων· τάδε δὲ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα¹²³ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ γράφω τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας¹²⁴ μέχρι μὲν Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης, τοῦ

53
The account
which is
current
among the

¹²² [νεωτέρῳ]. This word is omitted from M, K, F, d. It is quite unnecessary, and seems to have crept in as a gloss.

¹²³ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα. This is the reading of the majority of MSS. Gais-

ford follows Schweighäuser, who, on the authority of F, adopts κατὰ ταῦτα λεγόμενα.

¹²⁴ τούτους τοὺς Δωριέων βασιλέας. Before these words there appears to be a

θεοῦ ἀπεόντος ¹²⁵, καταλεγόμενους ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀπο- other Hel-
 δεικνυμένους ὥς εἰσι Ἕλληνες· (ἤδη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλληνας
 οὔτοι ἐτέλεον) ἔλεξα δὲ μέχρι Περσέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι
 ἔλαβον, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ¹²⁶, ὅτι οὐκ ἔπεστι ἐπωνυμῇ Περσεί οὐδεμία
 πατὴρ ὀνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλεί' Ἀμφιτῤῥων· ἤδη ὦν ὀρθῶ λόγῳ
 χρεωμένῳ μέχρι τοῦ Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἴρηται μοι. ἀπὸ δὲ Δανάης
 τῆς Ἀκρισίου καταλέγουσι τοὺς ἄνω αἰεὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν, φαινοῖατο
 ἂν ἔοντες οἱ τῶν Δωριέων ἡγεμόνες Αἰγύπτιοι ἰθαγενεές.) Ταῦτα 54
 μὲν νυν κατὰ τὰ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι γεγενεηλόγηται· ὥς δὲ ὁ Περ- The Per-
 σέων λόγος ¹²⁷ λέγεται, αὐτὸς ὁ Περσεὺς ἐὼν Ἀσσύριος ἐγένετο sian ac-
 Ἕλληνα, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἱ Περσέος πρόγονοι· τοὺς δὲ Ἀκρισίου γε count of
 πατέρας ὁμολογούντας κατ' οἰκηϊότητα Περσεί οὐδὲν ¹²⁸, τούτους δὲ Perseus.
 εἶναι, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Αἰγυπτίους. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν νυν 55
 περὶ τούτων εἰρήσθω· ὅ τι δὲ ἔοντες Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὅ τι ἀποδεξά-
 μενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιληίας ¹²⁹, ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν
 εἴρηται, ἑάσομεν αὐτὰ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ κατελάβοντο τούτων μνήμην
 ποιήσομαι.

Γέρεα δὲ δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι Σπαρτιῆται δεδώκασιν ἱρωσύ- 56
 νας δύο, Διὸς τε Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Διὸς Οὐρανίου ¹³⁰. καὶ πόλεμόν Prerogatives
of the kings

lacuna, which I apprehend was filled up with a genealogy connecting the Lacedæmonians with the royal houses of Mycenæ and Argos, perhaps derived from the γενεαλογίαί of Hecateus. (See CREUZER, *Historicorum Græcorum antiquissimorum Fragmenta*, pp. 46—55.)

¹²⁵ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεόντος. The Hellenic genealogies invariably ended with the name of some deity, probably the tutelary deity of the family, but any how necessary as an hypothesis, in order that the list of ancestors might not be infinite. Thus Herodotus (ii. 143) speaks of the rivalry of the Egyptian genealogers with Hecateus, γενεαλογήσαντι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεόν. In this passage the author says that he has given the catalogue in its proper order, as the Greeks recognize it, all the names having clear evidence of being Greek, but has left out "the god," the *point d'appui* of the pedigree.

¹²⁶ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον, τοῦδε εἵνεκα. The MSS and Gaisford reverse the order of the clauses: τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέκαθεν ἔτι ἔλαβον.

¹²⁷ ὁ Περσέων λόγος. See notes 338 on i. 95, and 471 on i. 139.

¹²⁸ ὁμολογούντας κατ' οἰκηϊότητα Περσεί οὐδέν. According to the "Persian" legend Perseus had nothing whatever to do with Acrisius, whom the Hellenic traditions made his maternal grandfather. Hence the ancestors of Acrisius are said "in no respect to agree with [the Persian] Perseus in the point of relationship;"—they indeed being, as the Hellenic legend made them, Egyptians.

¹²⁹ ὅ τι δὲ ἔοντες Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὅ τι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιληίας, "but in what way they were Egyptian, and what feats they did, that they received the Dorian kingdoms." The "others" of whom the writer here speaks are, I conceive, especially Hecateus.

¹³⁰ Διὸς τε Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Διὸς Οὐρανίου. This is the only passage in which Ζεὺς Λακεδαίμων is mentioned in any ancient writer. It can scarcely be doubted, whatever the original idea of the deity here spoken of, that he was invoked under this title as the guardian of the nation, and stands in the same relation to the Lacedæmonians that *Athene* did to the Athenians. It is not necessary to suppose that he had a separate *temple* under this title, or that the kings were priests of him

γε ἐκφέρειν ἐπ' ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώραν· τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρτιηγένον διακωλυτήν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἄγρῳ ἐνέχεσθαι· στρατευομένων δὲ, πρώτους ἵεναι τοὺς βασιλέας ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι· ἑκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας^a λογιάδας ἐπὶ στρατιῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς· προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίησι ὁκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι· τῶν δὲ θυομένων ἀπάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν σφέας. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια. Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, τὰ εἰρηναῖα, κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδοται· ἣν θυσίην τις δημοτελῆ ποιέηται, πρώτους ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἄρχεσθαι διπλήσια νέμοντας ἑκατέρῳ τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δαιτυμόνεσι· καὶ σποινδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων προβάτων τὰ δέρματα· νεομηνίας δὲ ἀνὰ πάσας καὶ ἐβδόμας ἵσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς¹³¹, διδισθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήϊον τέλειον ἑκατέρῳ

in all his relations; but only that they, as the representatives of the nation, were bound to conduct the ritual in which the functions of a national deity were ascribed to him. The origin of the name is another question. Larcher considers that *λακεδαίμων* is equivalent to *deus tonans*, in which case *Zeus Λακεδαίμων* is synonymous with *Zeus ὑψιβρεμέτης* the 'thunder-god,'—a not improbable account of the matter. In this view he would probably, as an elemental deity, be derived from the ante-dorian times, which the *Zeus Οὐράνιος* undoubtedly is. But this very circumstance excites a certain suspicion of the truth of the conjecture. Of the two elements which constituted the nation, one would expect each to be represented, either by separate rituals appropriate to each, or by one which should unite the characteristics of both. Hence the *Zeus Λακεδαίμων* seems more likely to be a deity of the Heraclide invaders. If we suppose him analogous to the Cretan Zeus, an armed warrior-god, the root *λακ*, both here and in the name of the people (*Λάκωνες*), seems more likely to be connected etymologically with *λᾶξ* (the sole of the foot), and to have reference to the sounding tramp of the soldiery, the Cadmeo-dorian conquerors of the country (*κρουπεζοφόρων γένος ἀνδρῶν*). In this view the ritual would probably be of a pyrrhic nature, like that of the Curetes (STRABO x. c. 3, p. 356), and may be supposed to date from the time of the Lycurgean institutions, *i. e.* the

time of the military organization of the nation. This would account for the order in which the two priesthoods are named, that of the military caste naturally taking precedence over the one common to the members of it with their perioecian fellow subjects.

^a From other passages it would seem that the body-guard consisted not of one but of three hundred. (See note on vii. 205.) But perhaps the three hundred were divided into three watches, so that there were never less than one hundred on guard at a time. In the case of a battle of course the whole number would turn out. (THUCYDIDES, v. 72.)

¹³¹ *ἐβδόμας ἵσταμένου τοῦ μηνός*. Apollo was called *ἐβδομαγέτας* (ÆSCHYLUS, *Theb.* 806), and it has been assumed that this name is derived from the tradition that he was born on the seventh day of the month, which unquestionably was sacred to him on that account. HESIOD (*Opp. et D.* 770) says: *ἐβδόμη ἱερὸν ἡμᾶρ· τῇ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα γέιναιτο Λητώ*. The *Carnea* were celebrated on the seventh day of the month which at Athens was called Thargelion, and the philosopher Carneades got his name from being born, as Plato was, on that day. (PLUTARCH, *Quæst. Symp.* viii. 1, 2.) But with reference to Apollo's reputed birth on the seventh day of the month, Plutarch (l. c.) expressly gives him the name of *ἐβδομαγενής* from it; and there seems no reason for wishing to change this, as Valckenaer does, into *ἐβδομαγέτης*.

of Sparta
abroad

57
and at
home.

ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος¹³², καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων, καὶ οἶνον τετάρτην Λακωνικὴν¹³³. καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι πᾶσι προεδρίας ἐξαιρέτους· καὶ προξένους ἀποδεικνύναι τούτοισι προσκεῖσθαι τοὺς ἂν ἐθέλωσι τῶν ἀστῶν^a. καὶ Πυθίους αἰρέεσθαι δύο ἑκάτερον· (οἱ δὲ Πύθιοι εἰσι θεοπρόποι ἐς Δελφοὺς, σιτεόμενοι μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια.) μὴ ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἀποπέμπεσθαι σφι ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἀλφίτων τε δύο χοίνικας ἑκατέρῳ καὶ οἶνον κοτύλην· παρευοῦσι δὲ διπλήσια πάντα δίδοσθαι· τὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς ἰδιωτέων κληθέντας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τιμᾶσθαι· τὰς δὲ μαντηίας τὰς γινομένας· τούτους φυλάσσειν· συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους¹³⁴. δικάζειν δὲ μόνους τοὺς βασιλέας τοσάδε μῦνα· πατρούχου τε παρθένου¹³⁵· πέρι ἐς τὸν ἰκνέεται ἔχειν, ἣν μὴ περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγνήσῃ· καὶ ὁδῶν δημοσιέων πέρι· καὶ ἣν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλέων ἐναντίον ποιέεσθαι· καὶ παρίξειν βουλευούσι τοῖσι γέρονσι, εὐοῦσι δυὼν δέουσι τριήκοντα· ἣν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστα σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους¹³⁶, τρίτην δὲ, τὴν ἑαυτῶν.

¹³² ἐς Ἀπόλλωνος. The manuscripts S and V have ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα. But the use of the genitive seems to admit of an explanation. The animal was probably brought to the temple of the god, and there delivered to the king to be sacrificed.

¹³³ τετάρτην Λακωνικὴν. The ellipse appears to be of the word *μοῖρα* or *μερὶς*, and one may suppose the quantity intended to be the fourth part of some generally received measure, probably the jar in which the wine when made was stowed away. These would differ in different countries. The *amphoreus*, in times when its contents came to be accurately settled, contained 8 gallons, 7·365 pints (*Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities*, sub v.), but in every country local convenience furnishes the original standard of quantity, and the Laconian measure, of which the kings received a fourth part, was probably at first merely the contents of a jar which when full could be conveniently carried by its two ears (*ἀμφιφορεύς*). It may be observed that the *τετάρτη* (or quarter-bottle) is not a subdivision recognized in the Attic metrology, from which the *medimnus* seems to be taken. Hence perhaps the qualificatory epithet *Λακωνική*. The *chaenix* and

the *cotyle* were Attic; hence no explanation is given of them.

^a προξένους ἀποδεικνύναι . . τῶν ἀστῶν. The protection which the possession of a *proxenus* afforded to a foreigner was in all cases no doubt purchased at the price of considerable presents from the client; and hence the assignment of the right to stand in that relation would be an important piece of patronage. Similarly the bestowing the custody of wards was one of the most valuable privileges of the early English sovereigns.

¹³⁴ συνειδέναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυθίους. The importance of having some check upon the kings in order to prevent the publication of false oracles is evinced by the case of Demaratus (below, § 66). See also v. 63.

¹³⁵ πατρούχου παρθένου, "an heiress." The technical name given to a female so circumstanced was in Athens *ἐπικληρος* or *ἐγκληρος*. The Dorians called her *ἐπιπάμων*, *ἐπιπαματις*, or *αὐτοπάμων*. (SLUITER, *Lectiones Andocidae*, p. 48; TIMÆUS, *Voc. Platt.* v. πατρ. π.) The number of females so situated was very great at Lacedæmon. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* ii. p. 1270.)

¹³⁶ δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους. ΤΗΣΥ-

58 Ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται¹³⁷ ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σπαρτιητέων· ἀποθανοῦσι δὲ τάδε· ἱππῆες περιαγγέλλουσι τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν· κατὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν γυναῖκες περιϊοῦσαι λέβητα κροτέουσι¹³⁸. ἐπεὰν ὦν τοῦτο γένηται τοιοῦτο, ἀνάγκη ἐξ οἰκῆς ἐκάστης ἐλευθέρους δύο καταμαίνεισθαι¹³⁹, ἄνδρα τε καὶ γυναῖκα· μὴ ποιήσασι δὲ τοῦτο ζημίαι μεγάλαι ἐπικέαται· νόμος δὲ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι κατὰ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς θανάτους ἐστὶ ὧντος καὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· τῶν γὰρ ὦν βαρβάρων οἱ πλευνες τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ χρέωνται κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους τῶν βασιλέων· ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἀποθάνῃ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ πάσης δεῖ Λακεδαίμονος, χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων¹⁴⁰, ἀριθμῷ τῶν περι- οίκων ἀναγκαστοὺς ἐς τὸ κῆδος ἵεναι. τούτων ὦν καὶ τῶν εἰλω- τέων καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐπεὰν συλλεχθῶσι ἐς τῷτο πολλὰι χιλιάδες, σύμμικτα τῇσι γυναίξιν κόπτονται τε τὰ μέτωπα¹⁴¹ προθύ- μως καὶ οἰμωγῇ διαχρέωνται ὑπλέτῳ· φάμενοι τὸν ὕστατον αἰεὶ ἀπογενόμενον τῶν βασιλέων τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον¹⁴². ὃς δ' ἂν ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ δὲ εἶδωλον σκευά- σαντες ἐν κλίνῃ εὐ ἐστρωμένη ἐκφέρουσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορῇ δέκα ἡμερέων οὐκ ἴσταται σφί οὐδ' ἀρχαιρεσίῃ συνίξει, ἀλλὰ

DIDES (i. 20) mentions this opinion as one of the popular fallacies of his time. Another he speaks of is the reputed existence of the Πιτανάτης λόχος in the Lacedæmonian army, which he emphatically denies. See ix. 53, below.

¹³⁷ ταῦτα μὲν ζῶσι τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι δέδοται. It is remarkable that the writer should not mention among the regal rights the absolute power of life and death with which the kings were invested when on service, as he does take notice of some privileges which accrued to them only then. ARISTOTLE expressly remarks on the great change in their powers according as they were at home or abroad (*Politic.* iii. p. 1285), and quotes Homer to show that it was the same with Agamemnon. But both this power and the unlimited amount of flesh noticed in the text arise out of the necessities of martial law. He who is responsible for the safety of an army must be absolute over the commissariat.

¹³⁸ λέβητα κροτέουσι. Probably the representative of the oriental *gong*,—a feature, which as well as that of exhibiting

the signs of mourning in a sordidness of dress and person, bespeaks a custom existing antecedently to the Dorian invasion, and probably derived from Asiatic ancestors,—with whom to put dust on the head would be a common expression of grief.

¹³⁹ καταμαίνεισθαι. See last note.

¹⁴⁰ χωρὶς Σπαρτιητέων, “independently of the Spartans,” just as *χωρὶς τοῦ φόρου* (i. 106) is “independently of the specified tribute.” The assemblage of mourners was to consist of two free Spartans (a man and woman) from each house, and a *fixed* number, the amount of which Herodotus does not specify, of perioeciæans.

¹⁴¹ τὰ μέτωπα. These words are omitted in S.

¹⁴² τοῦτον δὴ γενέσθαι ἄριστον, “that this one, if ever there was (δὴ), had been a very great man.” These staple commendations are the *neniæ* which used to be recited over the ancient Roman patricians, “*Hunc plurimi consentiunt Romani patriæ primorem fuisse virum*,” and the like, which in their case, as well as that of the Lacedæmonians, are probably derived from a common ancestry.

πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας. Συμφέρονται δὲ ἄλλο τόδε τοῖσι Πέρσησι. ἐπεὰν ἀποθανόντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἄλλος ἐνίστηται βασιλεὺς, οὗτος ὁ ἐσιὼν ἐλευθεροῖ ὅστις τι Σπαρτιητέων τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὠφείλει· ἐν δ' αὖ Πέρσησι ὁ κατιστάμενος βασιλεὺς τὸν προσοφειλόμενον φόρον¹⁴³ μετῖει πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλιν. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τάδε Αἰγυπτίοισι Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν¹⁴⁴ καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ μάγειροι ἐκδέκονται τὰς πατρῴας τέχνας, καὶ αὐλητῆς τε αὐλητέω γίνεται, καὶ μάγειρος μαγείρου, καὶ κήρυξ κήρυκος· οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνήν ἐπιθέμενοι ἄλλοι σφέας παρακληίουσι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπιτελέουσιν¹⁴⁵. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γίνεται.

Τότε δὲ τὸν Κλεομένεα, ὄντα ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ κοινὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀγαθὰ προσεργαζόμενον, ὁ Δημάρητος διέβαλε, οὐκ Αἰγινιτέων οὕτω κηδόμενος ὥς φθόνῳ καὶ ἄγῃ¹⁴⁶ χρεώμενος. Κλεομένης δὲ νοστήσας ἀπ' Αἰγίνης ἐβούλετο τὸν Δημάρητον παῦσαι τῆς βασιλῆης, διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε ἐπίβασιν ἐς αὐτὸν ποιούμενος· Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ γήμαντι γυναικάς δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο· καὶ οὐ γὰρ συνεγινώσκετο αὐτὸς τούτων εἶναι αἵτιος, γαμέει τρίτην γυναικα· ὧδε δὲ γαμέει· ἦν οἱ φίλος τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἀνὴρ, τῷ προσεκέετο τῶν ἀστῶν μάλιστα ὁ Ἀρίστων· τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐτύγχανε εὐῶσα γυνὴ καλλίστη μακρῷ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι καλλίστη ἐξ αἰσχίστης γενομένη· εὐῶσαν γάρ μιν τὸ εἶδος φλαύρην ἢ τροφὸς αὐτῆς, οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίῳν θυγατέρα καὶ διυσιδεά εὐῶσαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρέουσα τοὺς γονέας συμφορὴν τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς ποιευμένους, ταῦτα ἕκαστα μαθοῦσα, ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε· ἐφόρεε αὐτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν

¹⁴³ τὸν προσοφειλόμενον φόρον, "the tribute in arrear," i. e. that which is owing in addition to what has been paid.

¹⁴⁴ οἱ κήρυκες αὐτῶν. See below, vii. 134. There was also at Athens a house of Κήρυκες.

¹⁴⁵ οὐ κατὰ λαμπροφωνήν ἐπιθέμενοι . . . ἐπιτελέουσιν "others do not on the strength of vocal power invade their sphere and exclude them, but they continue on doing as their fathers did."

¹⁴⁶ ἄγῃ. The MSS vary between ἄγει, ἄττη, αὐτη, and ἄτρη. The word ἄγῃ was

restored by Valcknaer, by the help of a citation of Suidas; and there can be little doubt it is the genuine reading. Ἀγαις is interpreted by HESYCHIUS (ηλώσσει, and ascribed to Æschylus in the *Thressæ*. The same lexicographer gives Ἀγασίς· φθόνος, and Ἀγαστής· βάσκανος. And Herodotus uses the word ἀγαιομένοι in connexion with φθονοῦντες in viii. 69. According to Eustathius, the ancient Alexandrine grammarians asserted that ἀγάσθαι was used in three senses: τὸ θαυμάζειν, τὸ φθονεῖν, τὸ μισεῖν.

ἡμέρην ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρόν· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐν τῇ Θεράπῃ¹⁴⁷ καλε-
 μένῃ ὑπερθε τοῦ Φοιβητίου ἱροῦ. ὅπως δὲ ἐνείκει ἡ τροφὸς, πρὸς
 τε τῷγαλμα ἴστα καὶ ἐλίσσεται τὴν θεὸν ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς δυσμορ-
 φίης τὸ παιδίον· καὶ δὴ κοτε ἀπιούσῃ ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῇ τροφῷ
 γυναικα λέγεται ἐπιφανῆναι, ἐπιφανέισαν δὲ ἐπείρεσθαι μιν ὃ τι
 φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ; καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορέει· τὴν δὲ
 κελεύσαι οἱ δεῖξαι¹⁴⁸· τὴν δὲ οὐ φάναι, ἀπειρήσθαι γάρ οἱ ἐκ τῶν
 γειναμένων μηδενὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι· τὴν δὲ πάντως ἐωυτῇ κελεύειν
 ἐπιδεῖξαι· ὁρῶσαν δὲ τὴν γυναικα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένην ιδέσθαι
 οὕτω δὴ τὴν τροφὸν δεῖξαι τὸ παιδίον· τὴν δὲ καταψῶσαν τοῦ
 παιδίου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἶπαι, ὡς καλλιστεύσει πασέων τῶν ἐν
 Σπάρτῃ γυναικῶν. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης μεταπεσείεν
 τὸ εἶδος· γαμέει¹⁴⁹ δὲ δὴ μιν ἐς γάμου ὄρην ἀπικομένην Ἄγητος ὁ
 62 Ἀλκείδω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος φίλος. Τὸν δὲ Ἀρίστωνα
 ἔκνιξε ἄρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ὁ ἔρως· μηχανᾶται δὴ τοιάδε· αὐτὸς
 τε τῷ ἐταίρῳ τοῦ ἦν ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη ὑποδέκεται δωτίνην δώσειν τῶν
 ἐωυτοῦ πάντων ἐν τὸ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκείνος ἔλῃται, καὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον
 ἐωυτῷ ἐκέλευε ὡσαύτως τὴν ὁμοίην διδόναι· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς
 ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικί, ὁρέων ἐοῦσαν καὶ Ἀρίστωνι γυναικα, καταινέει
 ταῦτα· ἐπὶ τούτοισι δὲ ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν· μετὰ δὲ, αὐτὸς τε [ὁ
 Ἀρίστων¹⁵⁰] ἔδωκε τοῦτο, ὃ τι δὴ ἦν, τὸ εἴλετο τῶν κειμηλίων τῶν
 Ἀρίστωνος [ὁ Ἄγητος¹⁵¹]. καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι
 παρ' ἐκείνου, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ τοῦ ἐταῖρου τὴν γυναικα ἐπειράτο ἀπ-
 άγεσθαι· ὁ δὲ πλὴν τούτου μόνου τὰ ἄλλα ἔφη καταινέσαι· ἀναγκα-
 63 ζόμενος μὲν τοι τῷ τε ὄρκῳ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης τῇ παραγωγῇ ἀπεί-
 ἀπάγεσθαι. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὴν τρίτην ἐσηγάγετο γυναικα ὁ Ἀρί-

¹⁴⁷ ἐν τῇ Θεράπῃ. See note 189 on
 v. 72. The temple of Helen belonged to
 the Achæan or ante-dorian times, when
 not the Heraclides, but the Tyndarides
 were the ruling race. Its superior anti-
 quity to the Phœbeum is shown by the
 position it occupies relatively to it, the
 hill-top being the place which the *earliest*
 settlers would fix on for the site of their
 temples. *Therapne* was, according to the
 Laconian traditions, a daughter of Lelex.
 (PAUSANIAS, iii. 19. 9.)

¹⁴⁸ δεῖξαι. All the MSS have this form
 instead of δέξαι, which would be in accord-
 ance with the practice of Herodotus else-
 where, and there is an equal unanimity

for ἐπιδεῖξαι, just below.

¹⁴⁹ γαμέει. The change from the infi-
 nitive to the indicative, upon the author
 passing from the relation of an idle story
 to that of an undoubted fact should not
 be overlooked.

¹⁵⁰ ὁ Ἀρίστων. These words exist in
 all the MSS, but so do τῶν Ἀρίστωνος
 below, and it seems impossible that *both*
 should have been written.

¹⁵¹ ὁ Ἄγητος. These words are want-
 ing in S, and as they render the sense
 much more perspicuous, they are much
 more likely to have been added by a
 transcriber than to have been omitted.

στων, τὴν δευτέραν ἀποπεμφάμενος· ἐν δέ οἱ χρόνῳ ἐλάσσονι, καὶ Demaratus, the son of a third wife, was born under doubtful circumstances.

οὐ πληρώσασα τοὺς δέκα μῆνας ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη, τίκτει τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Δημάρητον· καὶ τις οἱ τῶν οἰκετέων ἐν θώκῃ κατημένῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξαγγέλλει ὥς οἱ παῖς γέγονε· ὁ δὲ ἐπιστάμενός τε τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἡγάγετο τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἐπὶ δακτύλων συμβαλλόμενος τοὺς μῆνας, εἶπε ἀπομόσας, “οὐκ ἂν ἐμὸς εἴη.” τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι· πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποίησαντο τὸ παραυτίκα. ὁ δὲ παῖς ἠὔξετο, καὶ τῷ Ἀρίστωνι τὸ εἰρημένον μετέμελε· παῖδα γὰρ τὸν Δημάρητον ἐς τὰ μάλιστά οἱ ἐνόμισε εἶναι. Δημάρητον δὲ αὐτῷ οὖνομα ἔθετο διὰ τόδε· πρότερον τούτων παιδημεῖ Σπαρτιῆται Ἀρίστωνι, ὡς ἀνδρὶ εὐδοκιμέοντι διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ γενομένων, ἀρὴν ἐποίησαντο παῖδα γενέσθαι· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ τὸ οὖνομα Δημάρητος ἐτέθη. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, Ἀρίστων μὲν ἀπέθανε Δημάρητος δὲ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην· ἔδεε δὲ, ὡς ἔοικε, ἀνάπυστα γενόμενα ταῦτα καταπαῦσαι Δημάρητον τῆς βασιληΐης, διὰ τὰ ¹⁵² Κλεομένει διεβλήθη μεγάλως πρότερόν τε ὁ Δημάρητος ἀπαγαγὼν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐπ’ Αἰγινήτεων τοὺς μηδίσαντας διαβάντος Κλεομένεος. Ὅρμηθεὶς ὦν ἀποτίνυσθαι ὁ Κλεομένης, συντίθεται **65** Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἁγίου^a, ἐόντι οἰκῆς τῆς αὐτῆς *Leotyichides by the aid of Cleomenes,* Δημαρήτῳ, ἐπ’ ᾧ τε, ἦν αὐτὸν καταστήσῃ βασιλέα ἀντὶ Δημαρήτου, ἔψεται οἱ ἐπ’ Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ Λευτυχίδης ἦν ἐχθρὸς τῷ Δημαρήτῳ μάλιστα γεγονὼς διὰ πρῆγμα τοιούνδε· ἀρμοσαμένου Λευτυχίδεω Πέρκαλον τὴν Χίλωνος τοῦ Δημαρμένου θυγατέρα, ὁ Δημάρητος ἐπιβουλεύσας, ἀποστερεῖ Λευτυχίδα τοῦ γάμου, φθάσας αὐτὸς τὴν Πέρκαλον ἀρπάσας καὶ σχὼν γυναῖκα. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Λευτυχίδῃ ἡ ἔχθρη ἡ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον ἐγεγόνεε· τότε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένεος προθυμίας ¹⁵³ ὁ Λευτυχίδης κατόμνυ-

¹⁵² διὰ τὰ. Bekker alters this without any MS authority into δι’ ἧ. But there is no reason whatever why τὰ should not here have the force of the relative. Translate: “But, as it would seem, the ventilating of these matters was fated to deprive Demaratus of his crown, owing to the strong charges brought against him by Cleomenes, not only before, for having withdrawn the army from Eleusis, but more than ever on this occasion, when Cleomenes went over after the Median parti-

zans among the Æginetæ.”

^a τοῦ Ἁγίου. All the MSS have this reading, but in viii. 131 all but one have Ἡγησίλεω, and that has Ἡσίλεω, which is obviously a mere corruption from it. But neither is to be altered: there we have the formal pedigree of Leotyichides; here a story probably based on local tradition.

¹⁵³ ἐκ τῆς Κλεομένεος προθυμίας, “urged by the ardent desire of Cleomenes.” Compare τὴν τοῦτου προθυμίην, i. 124.

ται¹⁵⁴ Δημαρήτου, φὰς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰκνεομένως βασιλεύειν Σπαρ-
τιητέων οὐκ ἔοντα παῖδα Ἀρίστωνος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατωμοσίην
ἐδῶκε ἀνασώζων ἐκείνο τὸ ἔπος τὸ εἶπε Ἀρίστων τότε, ὅτε οἱ
ἐξήγγειλε ὁ οἰκέτης παῖδα γεγονέναι, ὁ δὲ συμβαλλεόμενος τοὺς
μῆνας ἀπώμοσε, φὰς οὐκ ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι· τούτου δὲ ἐπιβατεῖων τοῦ
ρήματος ὁ Λευτυχίδης, ἀπέβαινε τὸν Δημάρητον οὔτε ἐξ Ἀρίστω-
νος γεγονότα, οὔτε ἰκνευμένως βασιλεύοντα Σπάρτης, τοὺς ἐφόρους
μάρτυρας παρεχόμενος κείνους οἱ τότε ἔτυχον πάρεδροι τε ἔοντες
καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Ἀρίστωνος. Τέλος δὲ, ἔόντων περὶ αὐτῶν
νεικέων· ἔδοξε Σπαρτιήτησι ἐπείρεσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελ-
φοῖσι εἰ Ἀρίστωνος εἴη παῖς ὁ Δημάρητος; ἀνῴστου¹⁵⁵ δὲ γενο-
μένου ἐκ προνοίης τῆς Κλεομένης ἐς τὴν Πυθίην, ἐνθαῦτα προσ-
ποιέεται Κλεομένης Κόβωνα τὸν Ἀριστοφάντου, ἄνδρα ἐν Δελ-
φοῖσι δυναστεύοντα μέγιστον· ὁ δὲ Κόβων Περίαλλαν τὴν πρό-
μαντιν ἀναπείθει τὰ Κλεομένης ἐβούλετο λέγεσθαι λέγειν. οὕτω
δὲ ἡ Πυθίη, ἐπειρωτῶντων τῶν θεοπρόπων, ἔκρινε μὴ Ἀρίστωνος
εἶναι Δημάρητον παῖδα. ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα ἐγένετο
ταῦτα, καὶ Κόβων τε ἔφυγε ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ Περίαλλα ἡ πρόμαντις
ἐπαύσθη τῆς τιμῆς.

66

who cor-
rupts the
Delphic
oracle, suc-
ceeds to the
place of De-
maratus,

67

who, being
insulted by
Leoty-
chides,

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Δημαρήτου τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς βασιληΐης οὕτω
ἐγένετο. ἔφευγε δὲ Δημάρητος ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐς Μήδους ἐκ τοιοῦδε
ὀνειδέος· μετὰ τῆς βασιληΐης τὴν κατάπαυσιν ὁ Δημάρητος ἤρχε
αἰρεθεὶς ἀρχήν. ἦσαν μὲν δὴ γυμνοπαιδίαι^a θεωμένου δὲ τοῦ
Δημαρήτου, ὁ Λευτυχίδης γεγωνὸς ἤδη αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀντ' ἐκεί-
νου, πέμψας τὸν θεράποντα, ἐπὶ γέλωτί τε καὶ λάσθῃ εἰρώτα τὸν
Δημάρητον ὁκοῖόν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν; ὁ δὲ
ἀλγῆσας τῷ ἐπειρωτήματι εἶπε φὰς αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων ἤδη
πεπειρηῆσθαι, κείνον δὲ οὐ· τὴν μέντοι ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξειν
Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἢ μυρίας κακότητος ἢ μυρίας εὐδαιμονίας. ταῦτα
δὲ εἴπας καὶ κατακαλυφάμενος, ἦϊε ἐκ τοῦ θεήτρου ἐς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ

¹⁵⁴ κατόμνυται, "protests upon oath against him,"—a proceeding probably necessary for the purpose of initiating an investigation of the matter.

¹⁵⁵ ἀνῴστου. This rare form of the verbal is analogous to the aorist infinitive ἀνῶσθαι which appears i. 157.

^a γυμνοπαιδίαι. See note 286 on i. 82.

The time of the year at which this festival took place was early in the month Hecatombeon; for the battle of Leuctra took place on the fifth day of that month, and the news of it reached Lacedæmon on the last day of the festival. XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, vi. 4. 16.

οἰκία· αὐτίκα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ἔθνε τῷ Διὶ βοῦν, θύσας δὲ, τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε. Ἀπικομένη δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθéis ἐς τὰς χεῖράς οἱ¹⁵⁶ τῶν σπλάγχων, κατικέτευε λέγων τοιάδε· “ὦ μήτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος¹⁵⁷ ἵκετεύω καὶ τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε¹⁵⁸ φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθινήν, τίς μεν ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὀρθῶ λόγῳ; Δευτυχίδης μὲν γὰρ ἔφη ἐν τοῖσι νείκεσι λέγων, κύνουσάν σε ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς οὕτω ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Ἀρίστων· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν ματαιότερον λόγον λέγοντες φασὶ σε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τῶν οἰκετέων τὸν ὀνοφορβόν, καὶ ἐμὲ εἶναι ἐκείνου παῖδα. ἐγὼ ὦν σε μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀληθές· οὔτε γὰρ, εἴ περ πεποιήκας τι τῶν λεγομένων, μούνη δὴ πεποιήκας μετὰ πολλέων δέ· ὅ τε λόγος πολλὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ ὡς Ἀρίστωνι σπέρμα παιδοποιὸν οὐκ ἐνὴν τεκείν γὰρ ἂν οἱ καὶ τὰς προτέρας γυναῖκας.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε· ἡ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “ὦ παῖ, ἐπείτε με λιτῇσι μετέρχεαι εἰπεῖν τὴν ἀληθινήν, πᾶν εἰς σὲ κατειρήσεται τὰ ληθές. ὥς με ἡγάγετο Ἀρίστων ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, νυκτὶ τρίτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἦλθέ μοι φάσμα εἰδόμενον Ἀρίστωνι· συνευνηθὲν δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους οὓς εἶχε ἐμοὶ περιετίθει· καὶ τὸ μὲν οἰώωκεε, ἦκε δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρίστων· ὥς δέ με εἶδε ἔχουσιν στεφάνους, εἰρώτα τίς εἶη ὃ μοι δούς; ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφάμην ἐκείνου· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο· ἐγὼ δὲ κατωμνύμην φαμένη

68
after learn-
ing the par-
ticulars of
his birth
from his
mother,

69

¹⁵⁶ οἱ. See note 318 on ii. 113, and note 534 on ii. 175.

¹⁵⁷ καταπτόμενος. The phrase καταπτόμενος Ἑρκείου Διὸς is to be explained on the principle that the tasting the flesh of the victim dedicated to the god was regarded as bringing the person so tasting it into a personal communication with him. The small portion of the flesh which was burnt, or the wine which was poured out, was considered to be consumed by the god himself (“Ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lare dives,” HORACE (*Sat.* ii. 5. 14), and they who partook of the remainder were deemed to share the feast with him (ὁμοσπάεζοι). This feeling it was which produced so strong an objection in the early Christians to eat εἰδωλόθυτα. They were universally regarded by the gentiles as by the mere act becoming κοινωνοὶ τῶν δαιμονίων, and even of themselves very few could get rid of old habits of thought, and be aware, with ST. PAUL, that ‘idols and offerings to idols’ were things of nought. (See

I *Cor.* x. 16—21.) Demaratus, by placing a portion of the victim in his mother’s hands to taste, caused her also καθάπτεσθαι τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς.

¹⁵⁸ τοῦδε, “this image here.” The meal took place in the presence of the image of the family god.

“O noctes cœnæque Deûm, quibus ipse meique

Ante Larem proprium vescor, vernasque procaces

Pasco libatis epulis.”

(HORACE, *Sat.* ii. 6. 66.)

In Ethiopia a practice was said to prevail which shows the origin of this kind of solemnity (iii. 24). The Ζεὺς ἑρκείος, or the *Lar*, was at the outset the deified common ancestor of the ὁμοσίνουι or ὁμόκατοι. His altar at Athens was in the *Pandroseum*, a temple which belongs to the primitive times, antecedent to the συνοικισμὸς which is in mythical history ascribed to Theseus.

αὐτὸν οὐ καλῶς ποίειν ἀπαρνεύμενον· ὀλίγον γάρ τι πρότερον ἐλθόντα καὶ συνεννηθέντα δοῦναι μοι τοὺς στεφάνους. ὁρέων δέ με κατομνυμένην ὁ Ἀρίστων, ἔμαθε ὡς θείον εἶη τὸ πρῆγμα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἱ στέφανοι ἐφάνησαν ἐόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἡρώϊου τοῦ παρὰ τῆσι θύρῃσι τῆσι αὐλείῃσι ἰδρυμένον· (τὸ καλέουσι Ἀστραβάκου¹⁵⁹.) τοῦτο δὲ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἥρωα ἀναίρεον εἶναι. οὕτω δὴ, ὦ παῖ, ἔχεις πᾶν ὅσον τι καὶ βούλει πυθέσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἥρωος τούτου γέγονας καὶ τοι πατήρ ἐστι Ἀστράβακος ὁ ἥρωας, ἢ Ἀρίστων· ἐν γάρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι. τῇ δέ σευ μάλιστα κατὰπτονται οἱ ἐχθροὶ, λέγοντες ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων, ὅτε αὐτῷ σὺ ἡγγέλθης γεγεννημένος, πολλῶν ἀκουόντων οὐ φήσεί σε ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι, (τὸν χρόνον γὰρ, τοὺς δέκα μῆνας, οὐδέ κω ἐξήκειν,) αἰδρῆτῃ τῶν τοιούτων κείνος τοῦτο ἀπέρριψε τὸ ἔπος· τίκτουσι γὰρ γυναῖκες καὶ ἐννεάμηνα καὶ ἐπτάμηνα, καὶ οὐ πᾶσαι δέκα μῆνας ἐκτελέσασαι· ἐγὼ δὲ σέ, ὦ παῖ, ἐπτάμηνον ἔτεκον· ἔγνω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρίστων οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον, ὡς ἀνολή τὸ ἔπος ἐκβάλοι τοῦτο. λόγους δὲ ἄλλους περὶ γενέσιος τῆς σεωυτοῦ μὴ δέκεο· τὰ γὰρ ἀληθέστατα πάντα ἀκήκοας. ἐκ δὲ ὀνοφορβῶν αὐτῷ τε Δευτυχίδῃ καὶ τοῖσι ταῦτα λέγουσι τίκτοιεν αἱ γυναῖκες παῖδας.” Ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγε· ὁ δὲ πυθόμενός τε τὰ ἐβούλετο καὶ ἐπόδια λαβὼν, ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἡλιν¹⁶⁰ τῷ λόγῳ, φὰς ὡς ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πορεύεται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑποτοπηθέντες Δημάρhton δρησμῷ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐδίδωκον· καὶ κως ἔφθη

70
flies to *Elis*,
and from
thence to
the court
of Darius.

¹⁵⁹ Ἀστραβάκου. The local traditions relative to Astrabacus connected him with the rites of the Tauric Artemis. He and his brother Alopecus were said to have found the sacred image brought by Orestes and his sister Iphigenia, and left, according to the Laconian legend, in the neighbourhood of Sparta. The sanctity of the fetish exhibited itself in the frenzy which seized upon them. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 16. 9.) As the ritual of *this* Artemis is undoubtedly of the ante-dorian times, it is reasonable to suppose that Astrabacus belongs to the same era. Hence the derivation of his name from ἀστράβη (any beast of burden, but especially an ass—ἀστραβηλάτης being interpreted as ὀνηλάτης), is a very plausible one. That the protecting genius of the stable should be called by a name derived from this animal is not wonderful when it is remembered that Arcadia was

celebrated for its breed; and the Latin *Epona* in fact presents an exact parallel. The connexion of such a deity with orgiastic frenzy is a matter of extreme obscurity. Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is that which would identify him with the *Silenus*, who on ancient monuments is often represented as riding upon an ass in an excited state among a crowd of bacchanals. CREUZER'S view, that the true form of Astrabacus is Astrobacus, and that the personage in question is a moon-struck astrologer (*Symbolik*. iii. pp. 638. 737), appears to me utterly worthless. Still the majority of the MSS here have the form Ἀστροβάκου, although Gaisford in adopting the other has the countenance of S and V.

¹⁶⁰ ἐς Ἡλιν. This must not be taken to mean *Elis, the town*, but the *country*, "the land of Elis." See note on viii. 73.

ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβάς¹⁶¹ ὁ Δημάρητος ἐκ τῆς Ἡλίδος ἐπιδιαβάντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, αὐτοῦ τε ἄπτοντο καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτὸν ἀπαιρέοντο· μετὰ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐξεδίδονσαν αὐτὸν οἱ Ζακύνθιοι, ἐνθεύτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην¹⁶² παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον· ὁ δὲ ὑπεδέξατό τε αὐτὸν μεγαλωστί¹⁶³, καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἔδωκε¹⁶⁴. οὕτω ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος¹⁶⁵ καὶ τοιαύτη χρησάμενος τύχη, ἄλλα τε Λακεδαιμονίοισι συχνὰ ἔργοισι τε καὶ γνώμησι ἀπολαμπρυνθεῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα¹⁶⁶ σφί ἀνελόμενος τεθρίππῳ προσέβαλε, μῦθος τοῦτο πάντων δὴ τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποιήσας.

Λευτυχίδης δὲ ὁ Μενάρεος, Δημαρήτου καταπαυσθέντος, δι-
εδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην καὶ οἱ γίνεται πᾶς Ζευξίδημος, τὸν δὴ
Κυνίσκον μετεξέτεροι Σπαρτητέων ἐκάλεον. οὗτος ὁ Ζευξίδημος
οὐκ ἐβασίλευσε Σπάρτης· πρὸ Λευτυχίδεω γὰρ τελευτᾷ, λιπὼν
παῖδα Ἀρχίδημον· Λευτυχίδης δὲ στερηθεὶς Ζευξιδήμου γαμέει
δευτέρην γυναῖκα Εὐρυδάμην, ἐοῦσαν Μενίου μὲν ἀδελφεὴν Δια-

71

Family of
Leoty-
chides,

¹⁶¹ ἐς Ζάκυνθον διαβάς. The direct run from the Peloponnese to Zacynthus was from the headland Araxus, which is the northern boundary of "hollow Elis." (STRABO, viii. c. 2, p. 140.) To get round this into the Corinthian gulph, so as to reach Delphi by way of Cirrha, might be very difficult, and thus Demaratus would be furnished with an excuse for bearing up to Zacynthus. The most natural course for him to have taken to get to Delphi would have been through Arcadia to the Achæan seaboard; but this would have led him through the parts where his enemy Cleomenes was most popular.

¹⁶² ἐνθεύτεν διαβαίνει ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. CRESIAS would seem to have represented him as not joining the Persian court until the expedition of Xerxes. (See Photius, quoted in note on vii. 37.) That passage is perhaps reconcilable with an earlier flight, by the supposition that, like Themistocles, he remained for some time on the coast of Asia; but it is decidedly opposed to the account of Herodotus, who makes him a resident at the court of Susa, and an adviser of Xerxes, long before the death of Darius. See vii. 3 and 239.

¹⁶³ μεγαλωστί. The manuscripts S and V have μεγάλας.

¹⁶⁴ γῆν τε καὶ πόλιν ἔδωκε. In a similar way Artaxerxes bestowed upon The-

mistocles, when he took refuge under his empire, three cities, Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus. (THUCYDIDES, i. 137.) The position held by these chiefs was apparently the same as that designated in the parable. (LUKE xix. 12—28.) They were, in the nomenclature of India, the *zemindars* of the localities over which they had authority. They collected the revenue, which was fixed at a certain proportion of the gross produce, of which the amount was *estimated* at an unvarying sum. Their income therefore would be the difference between these two. Themistocles netted from Magnesia no less than fifty talents. The cities granted to Demaratus seem to have been Teuthrania, Halisarna, and Pergamus; for these were in the hands of his descendants Eurysthenes and Procles at the time of Thimbron's expedition. (XENOPHON, *Hellenica*, iii. 1. 6.)

¹⁶⁵ οὕτω ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Δημάρητος. He reached Susa, according to Herodotus (vii. 3), not earlier than the fourth year after the battle of Marathon.

¹⁶⁶ Ὀλυμπιάδα. Some MSS have Ὀλύμπια, which is the expression used in § 36, and one which S has in § 125. But all the MSS have Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελεῖσθαι in § 103, and νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα in ix. 33. The word to be understood is νίκη.

and their
fortunes.

72 *Δευτυχίδεω. Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ Δευτυχίδης κατεγήρα ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀλλὰ τίσιν τοιήνδε τινὰ Δημαρήτῳ ἐξέτισε· ἐστρατήγησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐς Θεσσαλίην*¹⁶⁷, *παρεὼν δὲ οἱ ὑποχείρια πάντα ποιήσασθαι ἐδωροδόκησε ἀργύριον πολὺ· ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ δὲ ἀλούς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπικατήμενος χειρίδι πλήρῳ ἀργυρίου, ἔφυγε ἐκ Σπάρτης, ὑπὸ δικαστήριον ὑπαχθεῖς· καὶ τὰ οἰκία οἱ κατεσκάφη· ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην*¹⁶⁸, *καὶ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν ταύτῃ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐγένετο χρόνῳ ὕστερον.*

Proceedings
of Cleo-
menes at
Ægina.

73 *Τότε δὲ ὡς τῷ Κλεομένει εὐωδώθη*¹⁶⁹ *τὸ ἐς τὸν Δημάρητον πρήγμα, αὐτίκα παραλαβὼν Δευτυχίδα ἦγε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγινίτας, δεινὸν τινὰ σφι ἔγκοτον διὰ τὸν προπηλακισμόν ἔχων. οὕτω δὴ οὔτε οἱ Αἰγινῆται, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων ἡκόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἐδικαίευν ἔτι ἀντιβαίνειν, ἐκείνοί τε ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄνδρας δέκα Αἰγινητέων τοὺς πλείστου ἀξίους καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει, ἡγον καὶ*

¹⁶⁷ ἐς Θεσσαλίην. This was an expedition undertaken against the *Aleuadae*, the chiefs of that party which had endeavoured to bring about the interference of Persia. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 7, 8.) It is likely therefore that it took place at no long period of time after the success of the Hellenic confederates against the Persians. And this circumstance will perhaps help to explain the different statements by DIODORUS (xi. 48) and other authors as to the time of the *death* of Leotychides. Pausanias says that Archidamus, his grandson, succeeded to the regal power upon the *exile* of Leotychides. Diodorus apparently confuses this with his death, and accordingly puts this in 476 B.C. Concurring with other authorities in making Archidamus reign forty-two years, he puts his death in 434 B.C., consistently with his first mistake (xii. 35). But it is quite certain from THUCYDIDES (iii. 1. 26) that Archidamus was alive in 428 and dead in 427 B.C.; and it appears from PLUTARCH (*Cimon*, 16) that the year of the earthquake at Sparta and the revolt of the Helots (i.e. 464 B.C.) was the fourth year of his reign. But Leotychides came to the throne in 491 B.C. (see CLINTON on the year); and the positive statement of DIODORUS, that the reigns of Leotychides and Archidamus together amounted to sixty-four years, exactly agrees with the

indirect evidence of Herodotus and Thucydides, which makes them spread over the interval between 491 and 427. The whole of these variations will be explained if we suppose that Leotychides lived in exile at Tegea from 476 to 469, and that during that interval Archidamus his grandson was *regent* at Sparta. This would place the expedition against the Aleuadae about the year 477. And as in that year the Lacedæmonians lost their supremacy, it is not likely that any prominent part in punishing traitors to the cause of Helas would be taken by *them* afterwards.

¹⁶⁸ ἔφυγε δὲ ἐς Τεγέην. Leotychides took sanctuary, according to PAUSANIAS (see note 221 on i. 66), in the temple of Athene Alea, and died in Tegea. By his alliance with Cleomenes one may gather that he was favourable to the Achaean policy of that king; and hence perhaps the reason of his choosing Arcadia as his place of refuge. The recollection of the power wielded by Cleomenes under similar circumstances (§ 75 and note 172, below) possibly induced the Spartans to abstain from pressing him too hard, and made them still recognize him as king, although they made his grandson and son-in-law Archidamus regent. (See the last note.)

¹⁶⁹ εὐωδώθη, "was put into good train." See note 362 on iv. 139.

ἄλλους καὶ δὴ καὶ Κρίον τε τὸν Πολυκρίτου καὶ Κάσαμβρον τὸν Ἀριστοκράτεος, οἵπερ εἶχον μέγιστον κράτος· ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφεας ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, παραθήκην παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους Αἰγινήτησι Ἀθηναίους. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κλεομένεα ἐπαῖστον 74
γενόμενον κακοτεχνήσαντα ἐς Δημάρητον δείμα ἔλαβε Σπαρ- Subsequent
τητέων, καὶ ὑπεξέσχε¹⁷⁰ ἐς Θεσσαλίην· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπικόμενος fortunes of
ἐς τὴν Ἀρκαδίην, νεώτερα ἔπρησσε πρήγματα συνιστὰς τοὺς Cleomenes,
Ἀρκάδας¹⁷¹ ἐπὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἄλλους τε ὄρκους προσάγων σφι, ἣ μὴν ἔψεσθαί σφεας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγῆται¹⁷², καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Νώνακριν πόλιν πρόθυμος ἦν τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἀγινέων, ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ¹⁷³. [ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει λέγεται εἶναι

¹⁷⁰ ὑπεξέσχε. See note 186 on v. 72.

¹⁷¹ συνιστὰς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. This attempt to organize an alliance of the antedorian population of the Peloponnese against Sparta seems to be the final development of the general policy of Cleomenes. See the notes 189 on v. 72 and 200 on v. 75.

¹⁷² ἣ μὴν ἔψεσθαί σφεας αὐτῷ τῇ ἂν ἐξηγῆται. These are the *terms* of the oath, for the maintenance of which, among other securities, Cleomenes was especially anxious to have that of the water of the Styx, sworn to by the leading chieftains of Arcadia. It should not be overlooked that the *ὄρκος* is not what is meant by the word "oath" in its modern acceptation. It is the sacred *symbol* which the person who swore touched in order to give a religious sanction to the promise or the assertion which he made—whatever that might be. Its representative in modern proceedings is the volume of the Old or New Testament, which is taken in the hand of the Jew or Christian, as the case may be, —or the china cup which a Malay breaks before he gives evidence. Hence ἐξορκοῦν τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ is "to administer an oath by the water of Styx," which HESIOD (*Theog.* 784) calls θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον.

The political significance of this procedure of Cleomenes was to get himself constituted *dictator* of the Arcadian townships, who, just like the Latin confederates by the fountain Ferentina, met through their chiefs by the fountain of Styx from the earliest times. It was a daring attempt to undo the effects of the Heraclide invasion and to convert Lacedæmon, as an Achæan state, into the most powerful member of an ancient confederacy, of which one of

her kings should be constituted the chief. There were many elements in the Peloponnese favourable to the success of this scheme. The old population remained in considerable numbers in every part of the peninsula, and in the north was unmixed with any other. The Achæan League of nearly 400 years later showed how strong a hold their ancient associations still had upon the race to which Cleomenes made it his boast to belong (v. 72). Had he succeeded in his attempt the kingdom of Sparta must have fallen to pieces. The pure Spartans were a very small minority even of the free Lacedæmonians; while the whole of the perieciæ were genuine Achæans. In Argos Cleomenes had already destroyed so many of the free citizens as to lead to a revolution, in which "the slaves," *i. e.* the old Achæan population, gained the upper hand and held their power for several years (below, § 83). In the Megarid the Achæan interest would be represented by the connexions of his protégé Isagoras (see notes 167 on v. 66 and 196 on v. 74), while of an important portion of Elis (the valley of the Alpheus and the mountains bounding it to the west), STRABO says: μεστὴ ἔστιν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα Ἀρτεμισίων τε καὶ Ἀφροδισίων καὶ Νυμφαίων, ἐν ἅλσεσιν ἀνθρώων ὡς τὸ πολὺν, διὰ τὴν εὐὐδρίαν· συχνὰ δὲ καὶ Ἑρμεῖα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, Ποσειδία δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς—in other words, it was full of traces of the elemental religious system of the Achæan race (viii. c. 3, p. 154).

¹⁷³ τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ. LEAKE (*Travels in the Morea*, iii. pp. 165—9) says that the natives still retain some of the ancient superstitions relative to this famous water, which is a slender perennial stream falling

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who at last destroys himself in a fit of madness, which is variously accounted for.

ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων τὸ Στυγὸς ὕδωρ¹⁷⁴.] καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔστι τοιόνδε τι ὕδωρ ὀλίγον φαινόμενον ἐκ πέτρης στάζει ἐς ἄγκος· τὸ δὲ ἄγκος αἵμασις τις περιθέει κύκλος. ἡ δὲ Νώνακρις, ἐν τῇ ἡ πηγὴ αὕτη τυγχάνει εὐδουσα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας πρὸς Φενεῶ. Μαθόντες δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κλεομένεα ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, κατήγον αὐτὸν δείσαντες¹⁷⁵ ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίῃ νοῦσος ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον· ὅπως γὰρ τεω ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχρανε¹⁷⁶ ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον· ποιεῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλῳ· ὁ δὲ δεθεὶς τὸν φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἴτεε μάχαιραν, οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι, ἀπειλεε τὰ μιν αὖτις ποιήσκει· ἐς ὃ δείσας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος,—ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων,—διδόει οἱ μάχαιραν· Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον, ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐωυτὸν λωβώμενος· ἐπιτάμνων γὰρ κατὰ μήκος τὰς σάρκας προὔβαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἐς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας· ἐς ὃ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα ἀπὶκετο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· ὥς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημάρητον γενόμενα λέγειν· ὥς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μῦθοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἑλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν· ὥς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱροῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἀργου Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλσος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων ἐνέπρησε.

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Narrative of an expe-

Κλεομένει γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐχρήσθη Ἀργος αἰρήσειν. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ Σπαρτιήτας ἄγων ἀπὶκετο ἐπὶ ποταμὸν

over a very high precipice and entering the rock at the bottom, which part, from the nature of the ground, is inaccessible. They call it τὰ Μαυρο-νέρια (the black waters), and τὰ Δρακο-νέρια (the terrible waters), and say that no vessel will hold it. In the most improved shape which the fiction of the poisoning of Alexander by Aristotle took, this water was represented as the agent. See BLAKESLEY'S *Life of Aristotle*, pp. 91—3.

¹⁷⁴ [ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ . . ὕδωρ.] This paragraph is omitted in F, and it can hardly have stood together with the paragraph which presently follows, ἡ δὲ Νώνακρις . . πρὸς Φενεῶ, although they may possibly

both have proceeded from the hand of the author.

¹⁷⁵ κατήγον αὐτὸν δείσαντες. See note 194, below.

¹⁷⁶ ἐνέχρανε, "he used to make a feint of thrusting." The form ἐπέχραον is used by APOLLONIUS RHODIUS (ii. 283): τῶν ἀκροτάτησιν ἐπέχραον ἤλιθα χερσίν. The future χραύσῃ appears in the *Iliad*. v. 138, where the Scholiast explains it by ἀμύξῃ ἐπ' ὀλίγον and τὸν χρώτα ἐπιξύσῃ. It is very characteristic that the lunacy of Cleomenes should have taken the turn of insult to that section of his countrymen whom his constant policy was to humble.

Ἐρασῖνον, ὃς λέγεται ῥέειν ἐκ τῆς Στυμφληλῆς λίμνης· (τὴν γὰρ διη λίμνην ταύτην ἐς χάσμα ἀφανὲς ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἐν Ἄργεϊ, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπ' Ἀργείων Ἐρασῖνον καλέεσθαι) ἀπικόμενος δ' ὦν ὁ Κλεομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐσφαγιάζετο αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐ γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐκαλλιέρεε διαβαίνειν μιν, ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου¹⁷⁷ οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολήτας, Ἀργείους μέντοι οὐδ' ὥς χαιρήσειν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναχωρήσας, τὴν στρατιὴν κατήγαγε ἐς Θυρέην· σφαγιασάμενος δὲ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταῦρον, πλοίοισι σφεας ἤγαγε ἔς τε τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώραν καὶ Ναυπλίην¹⁷⁸. Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐβοήθειον πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· ὥς δὲ ἀγχοῦ μὲν ἐγίνοντο τῆς Τίρυνθος χώρῳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κέεται Σήπεια οὐνομα, μεταίχμιον οὐ μέγα ἀπολιπόντες ἴζοντο ἀντίοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μάχην οὐκ ἐφοβέοντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ δόλῳ αἰρεθέωσι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐς τοῦτο τὸ πρήγμα εἶχε τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐπίκουνα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη¹⁷⁹· τούτοις τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι, λέγον ὧδε·

Ἄλλ' ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα νικήσασα
ἐξελάσῃ, καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρηται¹⁸⁰,

¹⁷⁷ ἄγασθαι μὲν ἔφη τοῦ Ἐρασίνου. The contrast between the conduct of Cleomenes here, and his utter contempt of the hero Argus's fate (below, § 80), is no doubt partly to be accounted for by the circumstance that when he committed the sacrilege his blood was heated, and this would induce a man who was ὑπομαργότερος to do much in the way of outrage, from which, in his cooler moments, he would shrink. But it must not be forgotten that the Erasinus was exactly one of those streams to which the ante-dorian population most attached the notion of sanctity. It, like the Styx, entered the earth in Arcadia,—the home of the old religion,—and although it burst forth afresh in an enemy's country, it still was sacred in the eyes of Cleomenes's party, whose prejudices would have been shocked by a disregard of the omens which forbade it to be crossed. Nothing of this sort would offend them at Argos, which was mainly Cadmeo-dorian. The seat of government of the Atridae was Mycenæ, the population of which were a thorn in the sides of the Argives until they destroyed the city in

the year 468 B.C. See CLINTON on the year.

¹⁷⁸ ἔς τε τὴν Τιρυνθίην χώραν καὶ Ναυπλίην. This region would probably be full of an Achæan population. The two towns were both noted for their cyclopean walls; and like Mycenæ, although in the territory of Argos, were ill-affected to the Dorian interest. Hence Cleomenes might consider that he was going to land in a friendly country. It seems not unlikely that an understanding with their inhabitants, or a party among them, enabled him to secure the means of transport at Thyreæ, and that his success in this operation produced the fear in the minds of the Argives μὴ δόλῳ αἰρεθέωσι. The vessels were some of them Æginetan, pressed into the service (§ 92); probably merchant vessels lying at Thyreæ after delivering their cargoes.

¹⁷⁹ τὸ ἐπίκουνα ἔχρησε ἡ Πυθίη. See above, § 19.

¹⁸⁰ ὅταν ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρσενα νικήσασα ἐξελάσῃ, καὶ κῦδος ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄρηται.

These lines seem to refer to the success

πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφίας τότε θήσει
ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρείει καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἀνθρώπων,
δεινὸς ὅφρις τριέλικτος ἀπώλετο¹⁸¹ δουρὶ δαμασθείς.

- Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα συνελθόντα¹⁸² τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι φόβον παρείχε·
καὶ δὴ σφι πρὸς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῷ κήρυκι τῶν πολεμίων χρᾶσθαι·
δόξαν δέ σφι, ἐποίηεν τοιόνδε· ὅκως ὁ Σπαρτιήτης κήρυξ προση-
μαίνει τι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἐποίηεν καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὠντοῦτο.
- 78 Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ποιέωντας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ὁκοῖόν τι ὁ
σφέτερος κήρυξ σημήνεια, παραγγέλλει σφι ὅταν σημήνην ὁ κήρυξ
ποιέεσθαι ἄριστον, τότε ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὄπλα χωρέειν εἰς τοὺς
Ἀργεῖους. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπιτελέα ἐκ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
ἄριστον γὰρ ποιευμένοισι τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἐκ τοῦ κηρύγματος
ἐπεκέατο· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσαν αὐτῶν, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας
εἰς τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ἄργου καταφυγόντας περιϋζόμενοι ἐφύλασσον.
- 79 Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐποίηε τοιόνδε· ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἄν-
δρας¹⁸³ καὶ πυνθανόμενος τούτων, ἐξεκάλει πέμπων κήρυκα ὄνο-

of Cleomenes in obtaining the crown of Lacedæmon to the prejudice of his half-brother Dorieus (v. 42). If this was owing to the influence of his *mother's* family (the importance of which seems to be implied by their names being given, v. 41), the description of the transaction is not inappropriate. It has been already remarked, that it was in all probability *through his mother* that Cleomenes became the representative of the Achæan party among the population. (See note 100 on v. 41.) The "obtaining renown among the Argives" may have been the fruit of the wars of which the contest for Thyreæ was the beginning. When Aristagoras came to Sparta, these either had not ended, or at any rate not ended so long back as to prevent him from speaking of them as a thing of the time (see v. 49), and there is nothing in Herodotus's story of the burning of the grove to fix its chronology.

¹⁸¹ δεινὸς ὅφρις τριέλικτος ἀπώλετο. This expression must refer to the Argives, whose death is to make "many women tear their garments in sign of mourning;" but it is not easy to give a perfectly satisfactory explanation of the image employed. The symbol of the Argives of the time of the Oedipodean legend is in SOPHOCLES not the *serpent*, but the *eagle* which stoops

upon it, the serpent being the emblem of Thebes (*Antigone*, 110—126). But if this story in the text be derived from Peloponnesian sources, it is not impossible that the δεινὸς ὅφρις of the oracle is the *Cadmean* element of the Argive nation, which seems to have entered much more largely into its composition than it did into that of the Lacedæmonians, probably from the much greater communication in early times between Argos and Phœnicia. (See the genealogy of Theras, the brother of Argeia, in iv. 147, and the story of Io in i. 1.) It is quite clear from the sequel of the narrative (see note 188, below) that the great loss of Argos fell upon the ruling class, *i. e.* the Cadmeo-dorian element.

¹⁸² ταῦτα πάντα συνελθόντα, "the coincidence of all these things," viz. the oracle to Cleomenes, 'that he should take Argos,' his former success against them after the expulsion of his rival brother, and their finding themselves occupying the position called Σήπεια, which they connected with σηπία—a word that appears in some parts of Peloponnese to have signified ὄφρις, PAUSANIAS, viii. 16—and with the δεινὸς ὅφρις by which the oracle denoted themselves.

¹⁸³ ἔχων αὐτομόλους ἄνδρας. These would be not from the Argives shut up in the fane, but from the Achæan serfs, whose

μαστὶ λέγων τῶν Ἀργείων τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπεργμένους· ἐξεκάλει δὲ, φὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὰ ἄποινα· ἄποινα δέ ἐστι Πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνέαι¹⁸⁴ τεταγμένοι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίνειν· κατὰ πεντήκοντα δὴ ὦν τῶν Ἀργείων, ὡς ἐκάστους ἐκκαλούμενος, ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκτείνει· ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ τεμένει· ἄτε γὰρ πυκνοῦ ἔντος τοῦ ἄλσεος, οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὃ τι ἔπρησσον, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ δένδρος κατεῖδε τὸ ποιούμενον· οὐκὼν δὴ ἔτι καλεόμενοι ἐξήσαν. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Κλεομένης ἐκέλευε πάντα τινὰ τῶν εἰλωτέων περι-
 80
 ρεῖν ὕλην τὸ ἄλσος· τῶν δὲ πειθομένων, ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἄλσος· καιο-
 μένου δὲ ἤδη, ἐπείρετο τῶν τινα αὐτομόλων, τίνος εἴη θεῶν τὸ
 ἄλσος; ὁ δὲ ἔφη Ἀργου εἶναι· ὁ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε, ἀναστενάξας μέγα
 εἶπε· “ὦ Ἀπολλὼν χρηστήριε, ἡ μεγάλως με ἠπάτηκας φάμενος
 Ἀργὸς αἰρήσειν· συμβάλλομαι¹⁸⁵ δ' ἐξήκειν μοι τὸ χρηστήριον.”
 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὁ Κλεομένης τὴν μὲν πλέω στρατιὴν ἀπῆκε
 81
 ἀπίνειν ἐς Σπάρτην· χιλίους δὲ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τοὺς ἀριστέας ἤϊε ἐς
 τὸ Ἡραῖον θύσων¹⁸⁶· βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ
 ἱρεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι ξείνῳ αὐτόθι θύειν· ὁ δὲ
 Κλεομένης τὸν ἱερά ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἰλωτας ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀπ-
 ἄγοντας μαστιγῶσαι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔθυσε, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπῆϊε ἐς
 τὴν Σπάρτην¹⁸⁷· Νοστήσαντα δὲ μιν ὑπήγον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς
 82

His viola-
 tion of the
 sanctity of
 the He-
 ræum.

masters were among them, and who betrayed their names to the conqueror.

¹⁸⁴ δύο μνέαι. The same ransom was exacted by the Athenians for each of the Chalcidian *Hippobotæ* which they took (v. 77). It therefore may be considered as the ransom of a man-at-arms, not of an inferior soldier; and hence too it may be inferred that the Argives shut up in sanctuary were of the ruling class, *i. e.* Cadmeo-dorians.

¹⁸⁵ συμβάλλομαι. See note 322 on i. 91.

¹⁸⁶ ἤϊε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον θύσων. This temple was on the confines of the domains of Argos and Mycenæ, forty *stadæ* distant from the former and ten from the latter. (STRABO, viii. c. 6, p. 195.) Its proximity to the latter place indicates that its original foundation belonged to a time when Mycenæ was the seat of government,—and therefore that the fundamental character of the ritual was ante-dorian. Hence Cleomenes

confidently sacrificed in it, as being of Achæan descent, and treated the priest who endeavoured to prevent him as if he were really the intruder. Hence too, when the temple was burnt down, the priestess took sanctuary in an Achæan fane at Tegea in Arcadia. See note 221 on i. 66. For a similar proceeding of Cleomenes with regard to the temples of ante-dorian deities, see note 188 on v. 72.

¹⁸⁷ ἀπῆϊε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην. The local legends of Argos in after times represented him as having been repulsed from the city by Telesilla the poetess, who occupied the fortifications of the town with the domestic servants, and met the enemy in the field with a force consisting of the women accoutred in the armour which hung up in the temples. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 20. 9.) SOCRATES (*ap. Plutarch, De mul. virt.* p. 245) gives the same account in even a more exaggerated form. The other Spartan king, Demaratus, had succeeded in

On his return to Sparta he is accused of treachery, but successfully defends himself.

ἐφόρους, φάμενοί μιν δωροδοκῆσαντα οὐκ ἐλέειν τὸ Ἄργος, παρεὼν εὐπετέως μιν ἐλείν· ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεξε, οὔτε εἰ ψευδόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι· ἔλεξε δ' ὦν φάμενος ἐπεὶ τε δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ἄργου ἶρόν εἶλε, δοκέειν οἱ ἐξεληλυθῆναι τὸν χρησμόν τοῦ θεοῦ· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα οὐ δικαιοῦν πειρᾶν τῆς πόλιος, πρίν γε δὴ ἱροῖσι χρήσεται, καὶ μάθῃ εἴτε οἱ ὁ θεὸς παραδιδόι εἴτε οἱ ἐμποδὼν ἔστηκε· καλλιερευμένῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῶν στηθέων φλόγα πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαι· μαθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτω τὴν ἀτρεκήν, ὅτι οὐκ αἰρέει τὸ Ἄργος· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐξέλαμψε, αἰρέειν ἂν κατ' ἄκρης τὴν πόλιν· ἐκ τῶν δὲ στηθέων λάμψαντος, πᾶν οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ὅσον ὁ θεὸς ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων, πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα ἐδόκεε Σπαρτίτῃσι λέγειν, καὶ ἀπέφυγε πολλὸν τοὺς διώκοντας.

83

Utter protestation of the Argive power.

Ἄργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐξηρώθη οὕτω, ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν¹⁸⁸ ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντές τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες. ἔπειτ' αὖ σφας οὔτοι ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἑωυτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον· ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα¹⁸⁹. τέως μὲν δὴ σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους·

occupying a part of the city called *Pamphiliacum*, and was beaten out of it by the women.

¹⁸⁸ οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν. The Achæan periceians. See notes 172 on § 74, above, and 419 on i. 121. PLUTARCH (*De mul. virt.* p. 245), following the authority of Socrates, says of this transaction that the Argives, ἐπανορθούμενοι τὴν ὀλιγανδρίαν οὐχ, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ, τοῖς δούλοις, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιόικων ποιησάμενοι πόλιν τὰς ἀρίστους συνέκτισαν τὰς γυναῖκας. He adds a curious feature, which is clearly a distortion of the fact, that a part of the revolution consisted in legitimatizing the marriages of the Dorian rulers with the Mycenaean subjects, and ratifying the bond by the religious sanction of the *Mycenaean Here*. The number of Argives slain by Cleomenes was so great that popular fables made it 7777. (PLUTARCH, l. c.) The Argives themselves put it at 6000 in their complaint to the Delphic oracle (vii. 148). It is no doubt this transaction to which ARISTOTLE alludes (*Politic.* v. p. 1303): καὶ ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος, ἡναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιόικων

τινάς.

¹⁸⁹ μάχῃ ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. It is impossible to doubt that the blow struck by Cleomenes to the ruling class in Argos produced a disorganization of the existing constitution, and that the effects of this must have showed itself throughout the whole of the Argive dependencies by increasing the power of the Achæan race. Whether this showed itself in the form of a servile war, or of an enforced claim for the possession of extended civil rights in the several towns, it is impossible to say from the scanty accounts which the narrative in the text gives. The analogy of other ancient states would render it probable that the first effect of the victory of Cleomenes would be the replenishment of the ruling class by a large draft from the commons, and by the constituting new tribes, or new houses in existing tribes; and probably a preponderance of Achæan influence resulted, which in time produced a reaction. In such a view the attack of "the slaves" upon Tiryns might really be something analogous to the secession of the Roman *plebs* to the Mons Sacer.

ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις Κλέανδρος, γένος ἑὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας ¹⁹⁰. οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι δεσπότησι· ἐκ τούτου δὲ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν.

Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα Κλεομένέα φασὶ μανέντα ἀπολέσθαι 84
κακῶς· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σπαρτιῆται φασὶ ἐκ δαιμονίου μὲν οὐδενὸς μανῆναι
Κλεομένεα, Σκύθῃσι δὲ ὁμίλησαντὰ μιν ἀκρητοπότην γενέσθαι καὶ
ἐκ τούτου μανῆναι· Σκύθας γὰρ τοὺς νομάδας, ἐπεὶ τέ σφι Δαρεῖον
ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν χώραν, μετὰ ταῦτα μεμονόνα μιν τίσασθαι·
πέμψαντας δὲ ἐς Σπάρτην, συμμαχίην τε ποιεέσθαι καὶ συντίθεσθαι
ὡς χρεὼν εἴη αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Σκύθας παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν ¹⁹¹
πειρᾶν ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν, σφέας δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας
κελεύειν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὁρμεωμένους ἀναβαίνειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐς τὸν
αὐτὸν ἀπαντᾶν. Κλεομένεα δὲ λέγουσι, ἡκόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ
ταῦτα, ὁμιλεῖν σφι μεζόνως, ὁμιλέοντα δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἰκνευμένου
μαθεῖν τὴν ἀκρητοποσίην παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν
νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται· ἔκ τε τούτου ¹⁹², ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπεὰν
ζωρότερον βούλωνται πῖεειν, “ἐπισκύθισον” λέγουσι. οὕτω δὲ
Σπαρτιῆται τὰ περὶ Κλεομένεα λέγουσι. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσιν
ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτω ἐκτίσαι ¹⁹³.

Spartan account of the cause of the madness of Cleomenes.

Herodotus gives his own view.

¹⁹⁰ γένος ἑὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας. A prophet from Phigalia would not im- probably endeavour to carry out the policy which Cleomenes attempted, viz. to unite the populations which had descended from the old ante-dorian inhabitants, by the common bond of their religious associations; and to persuade them that the time had come for the recovery of the Achæan supremacy and the reduction of Dorian Argos to its former condition as a dependency on Achæan Mycenæ. There can be little doubt that in the war between Argos and Tiryas a part was taken by Mycenæ, and that its termination was effected by the utter destruction of that city by the Argives, which THUCYDIDES mentions to have taken place, without at all entering into the circumstances which led to it (i. 10).

¹⁹¹ παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν. For the course which, under such circumstances, they would be conceived to take, see note 363 on i. 104. Such a route would be an impossibility for nomads, for it would involve a journey of nearly thirty days for

a man in travelling trim (εὐζώνῳ) along the N.E. coast of the Black Sea, by mere mountain paths. But the story appears to be a mere fiction, without any historical foundation. See note 216 on iv. 77.

¹⁹² ἔκ τε τούτου, “from so far back.” The manuscripts S, V have ἐκ τούτου.

¹⁹³ ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τίσιν ταύτην ὁ Κλεομένης Δημαρήτω ἐκτίσαι. It may seem strange that Cleomenes's misfortune should be considered as a visitation inflicted especially in consequence of his treatment of Demaratus, — when the treachery and cruelty displayed in his conduct at Argos is to modern apprehensions so much more striking. But it should be remembered that in order to effect his purpose he had tampered with the *Pythian* priestess (§ 66); and although subsequently to his banishment for this he was again restored to all his regal rights, yet the offence must always have appeared of the gravest kind to Dorians, especially when it turned out to have been committed in the course of a scheme for humiliating the Dorian race throughout Peloponnesus. When this

85

Spartan proceedings relative to Ægina after the death of Cleomenes.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κλεομένεος, ὥς ἐπύθοντο Αἰγινῆται, ἔπεμπον ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους καταβωσομένους Λευτυχίδεω περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ὁμήρων ἐχομένων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δικαστήριον συναγαγόντες, ἔγνωσαν περιῦβρίσθαι Αἰγινήτας¹⁹⁴ ὑπὸ Λευτυχίδεω· καὶ μιν κατέκριναν ἔκδοτον ἄγεσθαι ἐς Αἶγιναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐχομένων ἀνδρῶν. μελλόντων δὲ ἄγειν τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν Λευτυχίδα, εἶπέ σφι Θεασίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεος, ἐὼν ἐν Σπάρτῃ δόκιμος ἀνὴρ· “τί βούλεσθε ποιεῖν, ἄνδρες Αἰγινῆται, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἔκδοτον γενόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιητέων ἄγειν; εἰ νῦν ὀργῇ χρεώμενοι ἔγνωσαν οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται, ὅκως ἐξ ὑστέρης¹⁹⁵ μὴ τι ὑμῖν, ἣν ταῦτα πρήσσητε, πανώλεθρον κακὸν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐσβάλωσι¹⁹⁶.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἔσχοντο τῆς ἀγωγῆς· ὁμολογίῃ δὲ ἐχρήσαντο τοιῷδε, ἐπισπόμενον Λευτυχίδα

86

Anecdote of a judgment on one Glaucus for breach of faith.

ἐς Ἀθήνας, ἀποδοῦναι Αἰγινήτησι τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος Λευτυχίδης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαίτεε τὴν παραθήκην, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προφάσις εἶλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι, φάντες δύο σφέας ἐόντας βασιλέας παραθέσθαι, καὶ οὐ δικαιοῦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀποδιδόναι. οὐ φαμένων δὲ ἀποδώσειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔλεξε σφι Λευτυχίδης τάδε· “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποίετε μὲν ὁκότερα

scheme was entirely shipwrecked by Cleomenes's insanity and death, it is only natural to suppose that the opposing party recovered much of the influence they had lost. And the whole narrative of Cleomenes bears many traces of being derived from some person attached to that party. Hence the commendation of Cleomenes's half-brother Dorieus as τῶν ἡλικῶν πάντων πρῶτος and εἷ ἐπιστάμενος κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην αὐτὸς στήσων τὴν βασιληίην. Yet as a Laconian the narrator has no sympathy for the Argive prisoners who were destroyed, or for the violation of the sacred precincts at Eleusis and Argos, although as a Dorian he speaks of the Argive perieccians as the *slaves* of the ruling class. All these characteristics fit in very well with the situation and hereditary sympathies of Archias of Pitane, of whom Herodotus makes mention in iii. 55.

¹⁹⁴ ἔγνωσαν περιῦβρίσθαι Αἰγινήτας. No explanation is given of this sudden change in the policy of Sparta. Perhaps it may be found in the circumstance that Gorgo, the daughter and heiress of Cleo-

menes, was married to her uncle Leonidas (vii. 239). He was a son of Anaxandrides by his *first* wife (v. 43). This marriage therefore may be regarded as an union of the Dorian and Achæan interests in the royal house of the Eurysthenides. Leonidas would have had a right to Gorgo as her nearest kinsman; but the alliance perhaps became the more welcome to her Achæan connexions, from Cleomenes having clearly shown, during his banishment in Arcadia, that his views were not confined to the elevation of the Spartan Achæans, but extended to the supremacy of the Achæan race in the Peloponnese,—at the expense of Sparta if necessary.

¹⁹⁵ ἐξ ὑστέρης. See note 382 on i. 108.

¹⁹⁶ ἐσβάλωσι. Gaisford prints this on the authority of some MSS. The others vary between ἐμβάλωσι and ἐκβάλωσι, either of which would seem at least as good as ἐσβάλωσι. But there is no criterion of their relative probability. If ἐκβάλωσι be used, there must be implied a reference to the *expulsion* of Leotyichides from Sparta.

βούλεσθε αὐτοί· καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδόντες ποίετε ὅσια, καὶ μὴ ἀποδιδόντες τὰ ἐναντία τούτων· ὁκοῖον μέντοι τι ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ συνηνείχθη γενέσθαι περὶ παραθήκης, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἶπαι. λέγομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Σπαρτιῖται, γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι κατὰ τρίτην γενεὴν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο¹⁹⁷ Γλαῦκον Ἐπικύδεος παῖδα· τούτον τὸν ἄνδρα φάμεν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι¹⁹⁸ πάντων ὅσοι τὴν Λακεδαίμονα τούτον τὸν χρόνον οἴκεον· συνενειχθῆναι δέ οἱ ἐν χρόνῳ ἰκευμένῳ τάδε λέγομεν· ἄνδρα Μιλήσιον ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σπάρτην βούλεσθαι οἱ ἔλθειν ἐς λόγους, προῖσχόμενον τοιάδε· εἰμὶ μὲν Μιλήσιος, ἦκω δὲ τῆς σῆς, Γλαῦκε, βουλόμενος δικαιοσύνης ἀπολαῦσαι· ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, ἐν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην, τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλὸς, ἐμευτῷ λόγους ἐδίδουν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπικίνδυνός ἐστι αἰεὶ κοτε ἢ Ἰωνίῃ ἢ δὲ Πελοπόννησος ἀσφαλῆως ἰδρυμένη, καὶ διότι χρήματα οὐδαμὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐστι ὁρᾶν ἔχοντας· ταῦτά τε ὦν ἐπιλεγομένῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ ἔδοξε μοι τὰ ἡμίσεα πάσης τῆς οὐσίας ἐξαργυρώσαντα θέσθαι παρὰ σέ, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενῳ ὥς μοι κείμενα ἔσται παρὰ σοὶ σόα· σὺ δὴ μοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δέξαι καὶ τάδε τὰ σύμβολα σῶζε λαβών· ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων ταῦτα ἀπαιτῇ, τούτῳ ἀποδοῦναι· ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἦκων ξείνος τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε· Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐδέξατο τὴν παραθήκην ἐπὶ τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ· χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἦλθον ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τούτου τοῦ παραθεμένου τὰ χρήματα οἱ παῖδες· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς λόγους τῷ Γλαύκῳ καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ σύμβολα, ἀπαίτεον τὰ χρήματα· ὁ δὲ διωθέετο ἀντυποκρινόμενος τοιάδε· οὔτε μέμνημαι τὸ πρῆγμα, οὔτε με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε¹⁹⁹, βούλομαί τε ἀναμνησθεῖς ποιεῖν πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον· καὶ

¹⁹⁷ τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο. See note 95 on iii. 34.

¹⁹⁸ τούτον τὸν ἄνδρα φάμεν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα περιήκειν τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀκούειν ἄριστα δικαιοσύνης πέρι. Of this man our account is, that beside all other qualities of the first kind which attached to him, he had the highest reputation for justice. Περιήκειν is nearly the same in sense as περιβάλλειν. A similar expression occurs below, vii. 16: τά σε καὶ ἀμφοτέρα περιήκοντα κακῶν ἀνδρῶν ὀμιλαί σφάλλουσι, "both of which qualities (viz. sagacity and readiness to follow good

counsels) belong to you, but the influence of evil associates foils them [in their operation]."

¹⁹⁹ οὔτε με περιφέρει οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τούτων τῶν ὑμεῖς λέγετε, "nor does any thing lead me indirectly to a knowledge about the matters you mention," i.e. I have no clue, in following which I may come in a roundabout way to know about the matter. This is the exact description of the mental process in recollection. Τούτων is governed by περὶ understood, and οὐδὲν is the nominative to περιφέρει.

γὰρ εἰ ἔλαβον, ὀρθῶς ἀποδοῦναι· καὶ εἴ γε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἔλαβον, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλήνων χρήσομαι ἐς ὑμέας· ταῦτα ὧν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλ-
λομαι κυρώσειν ἐς τέταρτον μῆνα ἀπὸ τοῦδε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Μιλήσιοι
συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὥς ἀπεστερημένοι τῶν χρη-
μάτων· Γλαῦκος δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστη-
ρίῳ· ἐπειρωτῶντα δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ χρηστήριον εἰ ὄρκῳ τὰ χρήματα
λήϊσεται; ἡ Πυθίη μετέρχεται τοῖσδε τοῖσι ἔπεισι

Γλαῦκ' Ἐπικυδείδῃ, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον οὕτω
ὄρκῳ νικῆσαι, καὶ χρήματα ληΐσασθαι.
ἄμνυ' ἐπεὶ θάνατός γε καὶ εὖροκον μένει ἄνδρα.
ἀλλ' Ὅρκου πάσις ἐστὶν ἀνώνυμος· οὐδ' ἐπὶ χεῖρες,
οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰσὶν ὅσας
συμμάρψας ὀλέσει γενεὴν, καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.
ἄνδρὸς δ' εὖροκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων.

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Γλαῦκος συγγνώμην τὸν θεὸν παραιτέετο αὐτῷ
ἴσχειν τῶν ῥηθέντων· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔφη, τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι. Γλαῦκος μὲν δὴ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς
Μιλησίους ξείνους, ἀποδιδόει σφί τὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ
λόγος ὁδε, ὧς Ἀθηναῖοι, ὠρμήθη λέγεσθαι ἐς ὑμέας, εἰρήσεται
Γλαύκου νῦν οὔτε τι ἀπόγονόν ἐστι οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἰστίη οὐδεμία
νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου· ἐκτέτριπταί τε πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης^a.
οὕτω ἀγαθὸν μηδὲ διανοέεσθαι περὶ παραθήκης ἄλλο γε, ἢ
ἀπαιτούντων ἀποδιδόναι." Λευτυχίδης μὲν εἶπας ταῦτα, ὥς οἱ
οὐδὲ οὕτω ἐσήκουον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπαλλάσσετο.

87

Story re-
sumed of
the feud
between
Athens and
Ægina.

Οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται²⁰⁰, πρὶν τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων δοῦναι δίκας
τῶν ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὕβρισαν Θηβαίοισι χαριζόμενοι, ἐποίησαν
τοιούνδε· μεμφόμενοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἀδικέεσθαι,
ὥς τιμωρησόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρεσκευάζοντο· καὶ ἦν γὰρ δὴ

^a πρόρριζος ἐκ Σπάρτης. JUVENAL has reproduced this story,—not very aptly as regards the subject he is illustrating:

"Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates:
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod du-
bitaret

Depositum retinere, et fraudem jure tueri
Jurando: quærebat enim, quæ numinis
esset

Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet
Apollo?

Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus; et ta-
men omnem
Vocem adyti dignam templo veramque
probat, vit.

Extinctus totâ pariter cum prole domoque
Et quamvis longâ deductis gente propin-
quis."

Sat. xiii. 199—210.

²⁰⁰ οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται. The history of the
feud between Athens and Ægina is re-
sumed from v. 89.

τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι πεντετηρίς²⁰¹ ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ, λοχήσαντες ὦν τὴν θεωρίδα νῆα εἶλον πλήρεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Ἀθηναίων λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας, ἔδησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ παθόντες ταῦτα 88 πρὸς Αἰγινήτων, οὐκέτι ἀνεβάλλοντο μὴ οὐ τὸ πᾶν μηχανήσασθαι ἐπ' Αἰγινήτησι· καὶ ἦν γὰρ Νικόδρομος Κνοιθου καλεόμενος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὗτος μεμφόμενος μὲν τοῖσι Αἰγινήτησι προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ ἐξέλασιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, μαθὼν δὲ τότε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀναρτημένους ἔρδειν Αἰγινήτας κακῶς, συντίθεται Ἀθηναίοισι προδοσίην Αἰγίνης, φράσας ἐν τῇ τε ἡμέρῃ ἐπιχειρήσει, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν ἡκειν δεήσει βοηθέοντας· μετὰ ταῦτα, καταλαμβάνει μὲν κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο²⁰² ὁ Νικόδρομος Ἀθηναίοισι τὴν παλαιὴν καλεομένην πόλιν· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐ παραγίνονται ἐς δέον· οὐ γὰρ 89 ἔτυχον εἶναι νέες σφι ἀξιόμαχοι τῇσι Αἰγινήτων συμβαλέειν ἐν ᾧ ὦν Κορινθίων ἐδέοντο χρήσαι σφι νέας, ἐν τούτῳ διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα²⁰³. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἦσαν γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα²⁰⁴, Ἀθηναίοισι διδοῦσι δεομένοισι εἴκοσι νέας, διδοῦσι δὲ πενταδράχμους ἀποδόμενοι· δωτήνην γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐκ ἔξην δοῦναι· ταύτας τε δὴ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὰς σφετέρας²⁰⁵, πληρώσαντες ἑβδομήκοντα νέας τὰς ἀπάσας, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἶγιναν· καὶ ὑπέρισαν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ τῆς συγκειμένης. Νικό- 90 δρομος δὲ, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν καιρὸν οὐ παρεγίνοντο, ἐς πλοῖον ἐσβὰς ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης· σὺν δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινήτων ἔσποντο· τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὗτοι ὀρμεώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Αἰγινήτας· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὕστερον ἐγίνετο. Αἰγινήτων δὲ οἱ παχέες, 91 ἐπαναστάντος τοῦ δήμου σφι ἅμα Νικοδόρῳ, ἐπεκράτησαν· καὶ ἔπειτὰ σφεας χειρωσάμενοι, ἐξῆγον ἀπολέοντες. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ἄγος σφι ἐγένετο τὸ ἐκθύσασθαι οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγίνοντο ἐπι-

²⁰¹ πεντετηρίς. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has πεντήρης, which would mean "a galley with five banks of oars." The meaning of the text is "a festival held every fifth year."

²⁰² κατὰ τὰ συνεθήκατο. See note 211 on iv. 76.

²⁰³ διεφθάρη τὰ πρήγματα, "their game was ruined." See § 13: κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλεὺς πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι.

²⁰⁴ ἦσαν γὰρ σφι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον φίλοι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. This friendship may have originated in the conduct of the Corinthians recorded in v. 93, they having put a decisive bar to the scheme of the Lacedæmonians for restoring the Pisistratids.

²⁰⁵ καὶ τὰς σφετέρας. These therefore must have been fifty in number; for the reason of which see SMITH'S *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, sub voce ναυκραρία.

μηχανώμενοι· ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἣ σφι ἔλεον γενέσθαι τὴν θεόν· ἐπτακοσίους γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου ζωγρήσαντες, ἐξήγον ὡς ἀπολέοντες· εἷς δέ τις τούτων ἐκφυγὼν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς πρόθυρα Δήμητρος θεσμοφόρου· ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἶχετο· οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τέ μιν ἀποσπάσαι οὐκ οἶοί τε ἀπέλκοντες ἐγίνοντο, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἦγον οὕτω· χεῖρες δὲ κεῖναι ἐμπεφυκυῖαι ἦσαν τοῖσι ἐπισπαστήρσι. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν σφέας αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγινῆται ἐργάσαντο· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἤκουσι ἐναυμάχησαν νηυσὶ ἐβδομήκοντα· ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐπεκαλέοντο τούτους αὐτοὺς τοὺς καὶ πρότερον ²⁰⁶, Ἀργεῖους· καὶ δὴ σφι οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι ²⁰⁷, μεμφόμενοι ὅτι Αἰγιναῖαι νέες ἀνάγκῃ λαμφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος ἔσχον τε ἐς τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώραν καὶ συναπέβησαν Λακεδαιμονίοισι. συναπέβησαν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Σικωνίων νεῶν ἄνδρες ²⁰⁸ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἐσβολῇ. καὶ σφι ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη, χίλια τάλαντα ἐκτίσαι, πεντακόσια ἐκατέρους. Σικωνιοὶ μὲν νυν συγγινόντες ἀδικῆσαι, ὡμολόγησαν, ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐκτίσαντες, ἀζήμιοι εἶναι. Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὔτε συνεγινώσκοντο ἦσαν τε αὐθαδέστεροι. διὰ δὲ ὧν σφι ταῦτα δεομένοισι ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβοήθεε, ἐθέλονται δὲ ἐς χιλίους ²⁰⁹. ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς ἀνὴρ ᾧ οὖνομα Εὐρυβάτης, πεντάεθλον ἐπασκῆσας. τούτων οἱ πλευνες οὐκ ἀπενόστησαν ὀπίσω, ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησαν ὑπ'

²⁰⁶ τοὺς καὶ πρότερον. The Argives, according to their own and the Æginetan account, had contributed to the destruction of the Athenians recorded in v. 85—87.

²⁰⁷ οὗτοι μὲν οὐκέτι βοηθέουσι. The severe blow which had been struck by Cleomenes to the ruling class probably much crippled them, independently of the soreness which they would have felt at the service rendered by Æginetan vessels in the transport of the Lacedæmonian army. But besides this, the population of Argos had been much altered. See note 188, above.

²⁰⁸ ἀπὸ Σικωνίων νεῶν ἄνδρες. These appear to have been volunteers who joined in Cleomenes's expedition. If belonging to the commercial population of Sicyon, which was exalted in influence by the policy of the Orthagorid dynasty (see note 169 on v. 67), they would inherit a hatred

of the ruling class of Argos, and be not unwilling to lend themselves to the policy of Cleomenes.

²⁰⁹ ἐθέλονται δὲ ἐς χιλίους. Perhaps these may be regarded as mercenaries taken into the service of the Æginetæ. It seems impossible to frame any connected notion of the operations in this contest, of which the important feature in the mind of the narrator appears to be the personal prowess of the two individuals whom he names. But the succession of contests, first between the Argives and Lacedæmonians, and, after the blow struck by Cleomenes, between the ruling class and the serfs, could hardly fail to collect bands of *condottieri* ready to take service any where if good pay were offered;—and this it would certainly be in the power of a rich mercantile state to do. The skill of Eurybates certainly bespeaks a *professional soldier*.

Ἀθηναίων ἐν Αἰγίνῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὐρυβάτης, μονομαχίην ἐπασκέων, τρεῖς μὲν ἄνδρας τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ κτείνει, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου Σωφάνεος τοῦ Δεκελῆος ἀποθνήσκει. Αἰγινῆται δὲ 93
 ἐοῦσι ἀτάκτοισι Ἀθηναίοισι συμβαλόντες τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐνίκησαν καὶ σφεων νέας τέσσερας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον.

Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνήπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας. ὁ δὲ 94
 Πέρσης τὸ ἔωυτοῦ ἐποίηε, ὥστε ἀναμιμνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος ²¹⁰ μεμνήσθαι μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος, ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος, καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ²¹¹. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύνει τῆς στρατηγίης· ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγούς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δατίν τε ἔοντα Μῆδον γένος, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνηα τὸν Ἀρταφέρνηος ²¹² παῖδα ἀδελφιδέον ἔωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε ἑξ ἀνδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν, ἄγειν ἔωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα ²¹³. Ὡς δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἀποδεχθέντες, πορευόμενοι παρὰ βασιλέος ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίης ἐς τὸ Ἀλήϊον πεδῖον ²¹⁴, 95

Continuation of the story of the Persian invasion.

Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes.

²¹⁰ ἀναμιμνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος. See v. 105.

²¹¹ τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. See above, § 48.

²¹² Ἀρταφέρνηα τὸν Ἀρταφέρνηος. The manuscripts P, K, V, F have Ἀρταφέρνηα τοῦ Ἀρταφέρνηος. See note 63 on v. 25.

²¹³ ἄγειν ἔωυτῷ ἐς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα. There is a harshness about this commission which contrasts strongly with the mildness of the policy related in §§ 42, 43, and also with the treatment of the captive Eretrians when brought to Darius (§ 119). It would seem as if the failure of Mardonius had given greater weight to the party who advocated a stern policy in the treatment of the conquered nations. (See notes 74 on § 32, and 103 on § 43.) That the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes was distinguished by great severity is plain from the sufferings of Naxos. (See notes 216 on vi. 96, and 77 on v. 31.) But the attributing the severity of the commission to personal irritation of Darius against the Athenians, stimulated by the charges of the Pisistratids, is, it can hardly be doubted, a piece of later

Athenian colouring, and from the same mint as the story introduced by PLATO into the funeral oration (*Menexenus*, § 10), that Datis was sent with orders to bring the Eretrians and Athenians into the presence of Darius, if he wished to keep his own head on his shoulders. Compare *Legg.* iii. § 15.

²¹⁴ τὸ Ἀλήϊον πεδῖον. For Ἀλήϊον the manuscript S has Ἀλώϊον, and P, Ἀλήνιον. These are perhaps all genuine readings,—at least, not derived from one another by any error of transcription, but representing the views of Alexandrine grammarians as to the proper form of the word. The root of this is perhaps really *Al* or *Hal* (see note 243 on i. 72), and the name may be derived from the accessibility of the place to vessels from the sea. In the *Iliad*, after the usual manner of the Greeks to find etymologies for every name in their own tongue, it is made the scene of the wanderings (ἄλη) of Belleophon, who,

—καππεδῖον τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἶος ἀλᾶτο
 ὃν θυμὸν κατέδωκε, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλε-
 εῖνων (vi. 201).

ἅμα ἀγόμενοι πεζὸν στρατὸν πολλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, ἐνθαῦτα στρατοπεδευόμενοισι ἐπήλθε μὲν ὁ ναυτικός πᾶς στρατὸς ὁ ἐπιταχθεὶς ἐκάστοισι παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ ἵππαγωγοὶ νέες, τὰς τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει προεῖπε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ δασμοφόροισι Δαρεῖος ἐτοιμάζειν. ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς ταύτας καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες ἐς τὰς νέας, ἔπλεον ἐξακοσίησι τριήρεσι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἡπείρου εἶχον τὰς νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηϊκῆς· ἀλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὀρμεώμενοι, παρὰ τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον ἐποיעύντο, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει ²¹⁵, δέξαντες μάλιστα τὸν περίπλοον τοῦ Ἀθω, ὅτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ποιεύμενοι ταύτῃ τὴν κομιδὴν μεγάλως προσέπταισαν· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡ Νάξος σφέας ἠνάγκαζε, πρότερον οὐκ ἀλούσα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἐκ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου πελάγους προσφερόμενοι προσέμιζαν τῇ Νάξῳ, (ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρώτην ἐπεῖχον στρατεύεσθαι οἱ Πέρσαι, μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον ²¹⁶), οἱ Νάξιοι πρὸς τὰ οὖρεα οἴχοντο φεύγοντες, οὐδὲ ὑπέμειναν· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι τοὺς κατέλαβον αὐτῶν, ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά καὶ τὴν πόλιν· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ²¹⁷, ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀνάγοντο.

96 Capture of Naxos and the other islands,

97 with the exception of Delos, to which Datis pays the highest respect.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐποיעύν, οἱ Δῆλιοι, ἐκλιπόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Δῆλον, οἴχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς Τήνον· τῆς δὲ στρατιῆς καταπλεούσης, ὁ Δᾶτις προπλώσας οὐκ ἔα τὰς νέας πρὸς τὴν νῆσον προσορμίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηνῇ ²¹⁸. αὐτὸς δὲ πυθόμενος ἵνα ᾗσαν οἱ Δῆλιοι, πέμπων κήρυκα ἡγόρευέ σφι τάδε· “ἄνδρες ἱροὶ, τί φεύγοντες οἴχεσθε οὐκ ἐπιτηδέα καταγρόντες κατ' ἐμεῦ; ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτό γε φρονέω, καί μοι ἐκ βασιλέος ὧδε ἐπέσταλται, ἐν ᾗ χώρῃ οἱ δύο θεοὶ ²¹⁹ ἐγένοντο ταύτην μηδὲν

²¹⁵ δοκέει. Gaisford has δοκέειν. The MSS are divided.

²¹⁶ μεμνημένοι τῶν πρότερον. They appear to have remembered the powerful resistance made by the Naxians (v. 34) when they had notice of the armament coming against them, and therefore determined to surprise them this time. The manuscripts S and V have τῶν προτέρων, which is perhaps the preferable reading, —if it were supported by an equal weight of authority.

²¹⁷ ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες. For some idea of the amount of the mischief comprised in this brief notice see note 77 on

v. 31.

²¹⁸ ἀλλὰ πέρην ἐν τῇ Ῥηνῇ. The word ἔσχε or some equivalent is to be supplied, gathered by inference from οὐκ ἔα προσορμίζεσθαι. See note 190 on i. 59.

²¹⁹ οἱ δύο θεοί. The Median Datis recognized in the Phœbus and Phœbe of Delos the Mithras and Mitra of the Magian religion. Hecatus and Hecate were the names under which the same deities were worshipped over all the Asiatic coast in the neighbourhood of Lesbos and Tenedos. (See note 506 on i. 151.) The Phœnicians, who doubtless formed a part of the fleet, would have had no re-

σίνεσθαι, μήτε αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν μήτε τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῆς. νῦν ὦν καὶ ἄπιτε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν νῆσον νέμεσθε." ταῦτα μὲν ἐπεκηρυκέυσато τοῖσι Δηλίοισιν μετὰ δὲ, λιβανωτοῦ τριηκόσια τάλαντα κατανήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐθνμήσε. Δᾶτις 98 μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἔπλεε ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν <sup>The arma-
ment sails
for Eretria.</sup> πρῶτα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας²²⁰. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐνθεύτεν ἐξαναχθέντα, Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Δῆλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα [μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα²²¹]. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κου <sup>An earth-
quake at
Delos pre-
cludes the
miseries
suffered
during the
reigns of
Darius,
Xerxes,
and Ar-
taxerxes.</sup> τέρας ἀνθρώποισι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν²²² ἔφηνε ὁ θεός· ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω²²³, τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενεῶν, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας· τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῇ γενόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ'

spect for this combination of deities; and hence Datis sailed on by himself, and kept them at Rhenea. They would have respected *Mitra* in her character of Aphrodite *Urania*; but in this she would have not been coupled with a male deity, but have been more analogous to the Arcadian *Artemis*, or the Sardian *Cybebe*. (See note 297 on v. 102.) For another instance of Datis's reverence for the Delian *Apollo*, see § 118.

²²⁰ ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. The effect of the conciliatory and temperate policy of Darius (§§ 42, 43) had doubtless been to render the Hellenic cities on the main again available for supplying a subsidiary force, just as they had been to Cyrus and Cambyses. (See ii. 1; iii. 1.)

²²¹ [μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα]. The MSS vary in this passage in such a way as to induce the belief that the variations have all arisen out of the desire of explaining the fact that Herodotus limited the assertion of the Delians to his own experience, —which of course from the nature of the case he necessarily did. M and K have μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα, which Gaisford adopts. One manuscript (F) has ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα without μέχρι. One (P) has μέχρι ἐμεῖο μηδέποτε σεισθεῖσα, and several τὰ μέχρι (or μέχρις) ἐμεῖο οὐ σεισθεῖσα.

A great deal of trouble has been occasioned to the commentators by the circumstance of THUCYDIDES (ii. 8) having stated that Delos was stirred by an earthquake just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, adding πρότερον οὐπώ σεισθεῖσα ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται.

There is no doubt that his statement and that of Herodotus are at direct issue with each other; but it will be observed that Herodotus grounds his merely upon the assertions of the Delians; and the only inference to be drawn from the discrepancy is, that Thucydides, if he heard, did not credit the story of the first earthquake, and that Herodotus either wrote *this passage* before the second occurred (see last note on vii. 137), or at some place where he did not hear of it,—which if he were in Italy would not be wonderful. For a proof of the futility of basing historical conclusions on such statements as these, see note 32 on iii. 10.

²²² μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν. In the view of the victorious Greeks after the battles of Salamis and Platea, the destruction of Athens and of the other towns in Europe devastated in the expedition of Xerxes appeared the prominent features of Hellenic suffering. But from the account of Herodotus himself it is very plain that the destruction of Miletus, Phocæa, Naxos, and other Hellenic states in the islands and on the Asiatic main, must have produced a far greater amount of calamity.

²²³ καὶ Ἀρταξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω. It has been argued that because Herodotus names the three Persian sovereigns together, and at the same time speaks of three generations, Artaxerxes must have been dead; and consequently that this passage could not have been written before B.C. 425. See the following note.

αὐτῶν τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμέοντων. οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἀεικὲς κινηθῆναι Δῆλον τὸ πρὶν εἶουσιν ἀκίνητον καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον περὶ αὐτῆς ὧδε·

Κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον, ἀκίνητόν περ εἶουσιν²²⁴.

δύνатаι δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρείος ἐρξίης, Ξέρξης ἀρήϊος, Ἀρταξέρξης μέγας ἀρήϊος²²⁵. τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας ὧδε ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν σφετέρην "Ελληνες καλῶιεν. *

99

The arma-
ment arrives
at *Carystus*,
which at
first resists,

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὥς ἀπῆραν ἐκ τῆς Δήλου προσίσχον πρὸς τὰς νήσους²²⁶. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ στρατιήν τε παρελάμβανον καὶ ὁμήρους τῶν νησιωτέων παῖδας ἐλάμβανον ὥς δὲ περιπλέοντες τὰς νήσους προσέσχον καὶ ἐς Κάρυστον²²⁷, (οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι οἱ Καρύστιοι οὔτε

²²⁴ καὶ ἐν χρησμῷ ἦν γεγραμμένον . . . ἀκίνητόν περ εἶουσιν. These words are omitted in the manuscripts M, F, K. But they exist in the rest; and they can hardly be considered as an interpolation, although perhaps neither they nor indeed the greater part of the section may have existed in the first draught of the work. (See note 231 on § 101.)

²²⁵ Ἀρταξέρξης μέγας ἀρήϊος. If, as seems to follow from this passage, the root *Art* has the significance of μέγα, the conjecture of CREUZER, that the word Ἄρτεμις is a derivative of *Arta*, gains some plausibility; as the signification of the word would in that case be ἡ μεγάλη, or even ἡ μεγάλη μήτηρ, and it is in this character that the Artemis worship prevailed from Ephesus throughout Phrygia and Cappadocia.

²²⁶ πρὸς τὰς νήσους. These are doubtless the Cyclades, which were dependent upon Naxos, and were likely to yield at once when the metropolis fell. (See v. 31.) The Persians do not seem to have landed their cavalry until their arrival in Eubœa. It should not be overlooked that in this expedition Datis exactly followed the plan of operations sketched out some years before by Aristagoras in his conference with the elder Artaphernes.

²²⁷ ἐς Κάρυστον. This city, which was situated on the roots of Mount Ocha, derived its wealth mainly from exporting the marble from the quarries in its vicinity, the fine polish of which made the expression Καρύστιαί κίονες proverbial. (СТРАΒΟ,

x. c. 1, p. 322.) The marble is that which in Italy is called *cipolino*, which was much used by the wealthy Romans of the time of the empire, as is evinced by the number of columns of it still remaining. In resisting the summons of the Persians, the Carystians perhaps depended upon the danger of their rockbound neighbourhood, which is at this day considered the most dangerous navigation of the whole Ægean. The present population are wreckers of the very worst description; and although the bay appears to be protected from the Etesian winds (exposed as it is to every other), the appearance is a fallacious one. HAWKINS was nearly lost there, and describes the circumstance as follows: "We appeared to be so completely sheltered from the *Meltem* (Etesian) wind then blowing by the ridge of Mount Ocha, and there was so little chance at that season (September 12) of a wind from any other quarter, that I felt no apprehension of danger. What then could exceed my surprise and consternation when the whole fury of the *Meltem* poured down upon us from the ridge above,—its force having been concentrated, as I conceive, by the hollow form of the coast on the opposite side of the island? I had often experienced the effect of very violent gusts of wind in sailing along a mountainous coast; but this was a continued blast for the space of thirty hours, which would have tried the strength of the stoutest cable." (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, ii. p. 287.)

ὁμήρους ἐδίδσαν οὔτε ἔφασαν ἐπὶ πόλιν ἀστυγείτονας στρατεύ-
 εσθαι, λέγοντες Ἑρετρίαν τε καὶ Ἀθήνας,) ἐνθαῦτα τούτους ἐπολι-
 ὀρκεόν τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σφέων ἔκειρον, ἐς ὃ καὶ οἱ Καρύστιοι παρ-
 ἔστησαν ἐς τῶν Περσέων τὴν γνώμην. Ἑρετρίεες δὲ πυνθανόμενοι **100**
 τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐπὶ σφέας ἐπιπλέουσιν, Ἀθηναίων
 ἐδεήθησαν σφίσι βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπείπαντο
 τὴν ἐπικουρίην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους κληρουχέοντας τῶν
 ἵπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν, τούτους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωρούς·
 τῶν δὲ Ἑρετριέων ἦν ἄρα οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς βούλευμα· οἱ μετεπέμποντο
 μὲν Ἀθηναίους, ἐφρόνεον δὲ διφασίας ἰδέας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν
 ἐβουλευόντο ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοῆς ²²⁸,
 ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ²²⁹ ἴδια κέρδεα προσδεκόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Πέρσεω
 οἴσεσθαι, προδοσίην ἐσκευάζοντο· μαθὼν δὲ τούτων ἑκάτερα ὡς
 εἶχε Αἰσχίνης ὁ Νόθωνος, ἐὼν τῶν Ἑρετριέων τὰ πρῶτα, φράζει
 τοῖσι ἡκούσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων πάντα τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματι·
 προσεδέετό τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι σφέας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἵνα μὴ
 προσαπόλωνται· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα Αἰσχίνῃ συμβουλευσάντι
 πείθονται· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διαβάντες ἐς Ὠρωπὸν ἔσωζον σφέας
 αὐτούς. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πλέοντες κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἑρετρικῆς **101**
 χώρας κατὰ Ταμύνας καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλια· κατασχόντες δὲ
 ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο ²³⁰, καὶ παρσκευ-

but after-
wards sub-
mits.

The Eretri-
ans send to
Athens for
aid.

The arma-
ment arrives
at Eretria,
and after

²²⁸ ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοῆς, "into the mountain tops of Euboea." Valcknaer, from a description of the coast given by DIO CHRYSOSTOM under the person of a shipwrecked mariner, who gets ashore with great difficulty by running πρὸς τὰ κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, which he describes as ἄγρια καὶ σκληρὰ τῆς νήσου τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος, forms the strange opinion that the τὰ ἄκρα spoken of here are pretty nearly the same as the τὰ κοῖλα of viii. 13; and that the object of the Eretrians was to seek a refuge on a part of the coast inaccessible, or difficult of access, to the ships of the Persians. But a coast may very well be a rocky and rough one, and extremely dangerous to land on, although the height of the cliffs may be very small. The summits on which the Eretrians proposed to take refuge were no doubt those of the mountains, of which *Derphys*, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, is nearly inaccessible from its steepness.

²²⁹ ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν. That there was a

party in Eretria strongly inclined towards the Pisistratid faction is plain from the fact of that town serving as the base of Pisistratus's operations against Athens during his second exile. (See i. 62, and the note 199 on v. 74.) XENOPHON speaks of the Æolian towns *Myrina* and *Grynium*, as given by the king of the Persians to one Goggylus, ὅτι μόνος Ἑρετριέων μηδίσας ἔφυγεν. (*Hellenica*, iii. 1. 6.) Gorgion, the brother of Goggylus, had the town Gambrium in the same vicinity, and the two joined Thimbron in his expedition. As this was eighty years after the battle of Marathon, we must suppose the Goggylus of Xenophon either to have played the traitor at a much later time than the one of which Herodotus is speaking, or to have been the grandson of the original grantee.

²³⁰ αὐτίκα ἵππους τε ἐξεβάλλοντο. The cavalry was a powerful arm both at Eretria and its neighbour Chalcis. (See the passage of ARISTOTLE quoted in the note

six days
burns the
town and
carries off
the inha-
bitants.

αἰζοντο ὡς προσοισόμενοι τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι· οἱ δὲ Ἐρετρίεες ἐπεξελ-
θεῖν μὲν καὶ μάχεσθαι οὐκ ἐποיעύντο βουλήν· εἴ πως δὲ διαφυ-
λάξαιεν τὰ τείχεα, τούτου σφι ἔμελε πέρι, ἐπεὶ τε ἐνῖκα μὴ
'κλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν· προσβολῆς δὲ γινομένης καρτερῆς πρὸς τὸ
τεῖχος, ἔπιπτον ἐπὶ ἕξ ἡμέρας πολλοὶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρων· τῇ δὲ
ἐβδόμῃ Εὐφορβός τε ὁ Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Φίλαγρος ὁ Κυνέου,
ἄνδρες τῶν ἀστῶν δόκιμοι, προδιδούσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι· οἱ δὲ
ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἱρὰ συλῆσαντες ἐνέπρησαν
ἀποτιννύμενοι τῶν ἐν Σάρδισι κατακαυθέντων ἱρῶν, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους ἡνδραποδίσαντο²³¹ κατὰ τὰς Δαρείου ἐντολὰς.

102

Under the
guidance of
Hippias, the
Persians
then land at
Marathon,
where the
Athenians

Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας,
ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέργοντες²³² τε πολλὸν, καὶ δοκέοντες
ταῦτὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσκειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετρίεας ἐποίησαν
καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιπ-
πεύσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο
Ἰππίης²³³ ὁ Πεισιστράτεω. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα,

103

206 on v. 77.) There was therefore reason for landing the horses. The resources of Eretria in its palmy days, which must have been about this time, are evinced from the circumstance that on a column in the temple of Artemis at Amarynthus (a village about a mile from the town) STRABO (x. c. 1, p. 325) found an inscription stating that the festival of the goddess had been attended by a procession of 3000 hoplites, 600 knights, and 60 chariots. Andros, Tenos, Ceos, and other islands, independently of the settlements on the Macedonian shore, were among the dependencies of the town. Yet at Salamis the surviving Eretrians could only muster seven galleys (viii. 46), and at Platea only 600 hoplites, including the contingent from their neighbouring dependency Styra (ix. 28).

²³¹ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡνδραποδίσαντο. STRABO seems to have read a different text here from that which the present MSS give. His words are τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίαν πόλιν κατέσκαψαν Πέρσαι, σαγηνεύσαντες ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῷ πλήθει, περιχυθέντων τῶν βαρβάρων τῷ τείχει (x. cap. 1, p. 324). Undoubtedly there was a tradition that this operation had been carried into effect in the case of the Eretrians, for PLATO (*Legg.* iii. § 14) mentions that Datis τινὰ λόγον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἀφῆκε φοβερὸν,

ὡς οὐδεὶς Ἐρετρίαν αὐτὸν ἐκπεφευγὼς εἶη· συνάψαντες γὰρ τὰς χεῖρας σαγηνεύσαιεν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐρετρικὴν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ Δατίδος. The MSS in the time of Strabo may have varied here, as the present MSS vary in iii. 149. That the destruction or capture of the Eretrians was nearly complete, appears from the circumstances mentioned in the last note; but that Datis's boast was not strictly true is insinuated by Plato himself.

²³² κατέργοντες. The manuscripts S, V, P have κατεργάζοντες. The passage appears to me corrupt, but I can suggest no plausible correction.

²³³ ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης. It was by this point that Pisistratus entered Attica after his second exile; and independently of the circumstances mentioned in the text, and the good omen which the former success furnished, it seems not improbable that Hippias expected a demonstration to be made by his partisans in Attica similar to that which took place on the former occasion. (See i. 62, 63, and the notes.) But the new arrangements which resulted from Clisthenes's constitution (v. 66), had done much to break up the old associations, and the Athenian force was able to meet the invaders on the coast without immediate fear of an attack in the rear. (See note 176 on v. 69.)

ἐβροθήθουν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα· ἦγον δέ σφεας στρατηγοὶ <sup>under Mil-
tiades meet
them.</sup> δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης ²³⁴. τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στῆσαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἴπποκράτεος· καὶ αὐτῷ φεύγοντι ὀλυμπιάδα ἀνελέσθαι τεθρίπῳ συνέβη, καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀνελόμενον μιν τὸν αὐτὸ ἐξενέικασθαι τῷ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδελφεῷ Μιλτιάδῃ· μετὰ δὲ, τῇ ὑστέρῃ ὀλυμπιάδι τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι νικῶν παραδιδού Πεισιστράτῳ ἀνακηρυχθῆναι, καὶ τὴν νίκην παρὲς τούτῳ κατήλθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπόσπονδος· καί μιν ἀνελόμενον τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἵπποισι ἄλλην ὀλυμπιάδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὐκέτι περιέοντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου· κτείνουσι δὲ οὗτοί μιν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον, νυκτὸς ὑπείσαντες ἄνδρας. τέθαπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ ²³⁵. καταντίον δ' αὐτοῦ αἱ ἵπποι τεθάφονται αὐταὶ αἱ τρεῖς ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνελόμεναι. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ἵπποι ἤδη τὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, Εὐαγόρεω Λάκωνος· πλέω δὲ τουτέων, οὐδαμαί. ὁ μὲν δὲ πρεσβύτερος τῶν παίδων τῷ Κίμωνι Στῆσαγόρης ἦν τηνικαῦτα παρὰ τῷ πατρίῳ Μιλτιάδῃ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῇ Χερσονήσῳ· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος παρ' αὐτῷ Κίμωνι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι, τοῦνομα ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστῆος τῆς Χερσονήσου Μιλτιάδεω [Μιλτιάδης ²³⁶]. Οὗτος δὲ ὢν τότε 104 ὁ Μιλτιάδης, ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου καὶ ἐκπεφειγῶς διπλόον θάνατον, ἐστρατήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ, ἤδη τὸ ἐνθευτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ²³⁷ ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ· ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη ²³⁸, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

²³⁴ τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης. The account of this family is resumed from §§ 34—43 of this book.

²³⁵ πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ. From this point the author seems to get into the full stream of Athenian local traditions. The story of Cimon is apparently connected with his tomb; that of Phidippides (§ 105) with the shrine of Pan. See note 52 on i. 13.

²³⁶ [Μιλτιάδης]. I have enclosed this word between brackets because, if not spurious, it seems at any rate not in its

proper place.

²³⁷ οἱ ἐχθροί. These were doubtless the Alcmaeonids. See note 263 on § 115, below.

²³⁸ στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, "was thereupon made general of the Athenians,"—as if something connected with the trial led to the distinction. See note 315 on § 140, below. Compare ἔρμιζε οὕτως, § 107, and St. JOHN (*Evang.* iv. 6): ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς κεκοπιακῶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοπορίας ἐκαθέζετο οὕτως (as he reached it) ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ.

105 *Phidippides*, a courier, is sent to beg aid from Sparta. The god *Pan* appears to him on his way, and promises aid.

Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, ἔοντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμ-
πουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα
ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα· τῷ δὲ, ὡς αὐτός
τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε²³⁹, περὶ τὸ Παρ-
θέμιον οὔρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πὰν περιπίπτει βώσαντα δὲ τὸ
οὔνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδεω τὸν Πᾶνα, Ἀθηναίοισι κελεύσαι ἀπαγγέλ-
λαι διότι ἑωυτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῦνται ἔontos εἵνου Ἀθη-
ναίοισι, καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου ἤδη σφίσι χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ
ἐσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη
τῶν πρηγμάτων²⁴⁰ πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα, ιδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ
ἄκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρόν²⁴¹ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀργελίης

²³⁹ ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε. In later times the feat of Phidippides was adorned with some picturesque features quite incompatible with this statement. He was said on returning to have brought back to Athens the news of the victory at Marathon; and, rushing into the prytaneum, to have died with the words *χαίρετε νικῶμεν* on his lips. (LUCIAN, *Pro lapsu*, § 3.) (See the note 284 on i. 82.) And in some accounts the adventitious part of the narrative even extruded the historical foundation. Phidippides's death was related to have taken place in an attempt, in obedience to an oracle, to bring the sacred fire from Delphi to Athens in a single day. (*Schol. inedit. ad Aristidem*, quoted by Valcknaer.) PAUSANIAS, where he gives an account of the fane (i. 28. 4), calls the courier Philippiades,—which is also the reading of the manuscripts S and V. I should be inclined to think it the genuine one; for the name *Phidippides* is put by ARISTOPHANES (*Nub.* 67) as if invented by the homely Strepsiades and his fashionable wife by way of compromise between their respective crotchets. The point of the jest would be a good deal dulled if the name had been one of any celebrity at the time the *Clouds* were acted.

²⁴⁰ καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, “when their affairs were at last on a firm footing.” The establishment of the ritual was apparently coincident with the settlement of the new constitution on a firm basis,—a result to which it cannot be doubted the great national effort in repelling the foreigners contributed a most important part. See the

way in which the Athenian is made by PLATO to put the matter: ἡμῖν γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὅτε ἡ Πελοπόννησος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἴσως δὲ σχεδὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦσιν, ἐγγίγνεται, πολιτεία τε ἦν παλαιὰ καὶ ἐκ τιμημάτων ἀρχαί τινες τεττάρων, καὶ δεσπότις ἐνὴν τις αἰδώς, δι' ἣν δουλεύοντες τοῖς τότε νόμοις (ἦν ἠθέλομεν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ στόλου κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν γενομένου, φόβον ἄπορον ἐμβαλόν, δουλείαν ἔτι μείζονα ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις δουλεύσαι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πάνθ' ἡμῖν ξυνέπεσε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σφόδρα φιλία. (*Legg.* iii. § 15.) The statesmen of the time took advantage of that feeling of union which the external pressure had generated to conciliate that part of the population which was descended from the rustic aborigines, identical in blood and religious associations with the Arcadian mountaineers. This was effected by making Pan (*deus Arcadiæ*) one of the state deities, and dedicating to him a fane in the acropolis, which obtained national reverence the more easily from the occasion which gave rise to its consecration. (See note 176 on v. 69.)

²⁴¹ Πανὸς ἱρόν. It is very doubtful whether what was done was more than the revival with new (and probably increased) solemnities of an old and possibly neglected ritual. For the shrine of Pan was in a cave immediately below the Propylæa, by the side of a well of water. (PAUSANIAS, i. 28. 4.) He was associated with Apollo here, the cave being the reputed scene of the union of that deity with Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus and mother of Ion. (PAUSANIAS, l. c.)

θυσίησι ἐπετείησι καὶ λαμπάδι ²⁴² ἱλάσκονται. Τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς 106
 ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν
 Πάνα φανῆναι, δευτεραίως ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ·
 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε· “ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι ὑμῶν δέονται σφισι βοηθῆσαι καὶ μὴ περιῦδεῖν πόλιν
 ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι δουλοσύνη περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς
 ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἑρέτριά τε ἠνδραποδίσται, καὶ
 πόλι λογίμη ἢ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι τὰ
 ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε· τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίοισι,
 ἀδύνατα δὲ σφι ἦν τὸ παραντίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα οὐ βουλομένοισι
 λῦειν τὸν νόμον· ἦν γὰρ ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτῃ εἰνάτῃ δὲ
 οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἑόντος τοῦ κύκλου.
 Οὗτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατ-
 ηγέετο Ἴππῆς ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχο-
 μένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἴππῆς τῇ
 μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι· συνεβάλετο ὦν ἐκ τοῦ ὄνειρου,
 κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, τελευτή-
 σειν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός ²⁴³. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβάλετο ²⁴⁴

The Spar-
tans are
prevented
from march-
ing at the
instant, but
promise
their sup-
port.

107

Dream of
Hippias.

This site is confirmed by EURIPIDES.
It is:

ἔνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας
 Παλλάδος ὑπ' ὄχθῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς
 Μακρὰς καλοῦσι γῆς ἀνακτὸς Ἀθίδος.

(Ion, 11.)

and on a coin figured by LEAKE from the original in the British Museum, the fane appears as a grotto in the rock of the acropolis, on the north side of the descent from the Propylæa. There is a descent to it from the platform of the acropolis by forty-seven steps cut in the rock. (WORDSWORTH, *Athens and Attica*, p. 82.) Such a site as this indicates (on the principle laid down by THUCYDIDES, ii. 15) a ritual of the very earliest times; and probably the Apollo who forced Creusa was originally a Pan, who in later times under Dorian influence gave place to the other deity, and now again was admitted to a share of his old quarters.

²⁴² λαμπάδι. For the nature of the torch-race, see the *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*, v. λαμπαδηφορία. It is however an assumption to suppose that the word λαμπὰς always implies a race. It is not likely that it does so here; for it would have been quite impossible to

run to a fane so situated as that of Pan was. (See the last note.) Neither could there have been any race in that portion of the solemnity in honour of Hephestus, at the time of the *Apaturia*, when Ἀθηναίων οἱ καλλίστας στολὰς ἐνδεδυκότες, λαβόντες ἡμμένας λαμπάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας, ὑμνοῦσι τὸν Ἥφαιστον θύοντες, ὑπόμνημα τοῦ κατανοήσαντα τὴν χρεῖαν τοῦ πυρὸς διδάξει τοὺς ἄλλους. (ISTER, *ap. Harpocration*, v. λαμπάς.) So too the solemn procession with which the Orestean trilogy of ÆSCHYLUS terminated had torches, but nothing like a race. In the case in the text it seems as likely that an illumination of the cave with torches was the ceremony introduced. At Acaesium in Arcadia fire was kept continually burning before the image of Pan, who, as at Athens, was there associated with Apollo. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 36. 8.) See also the passage quoted in the note 109 on i. 32.

²⁴³ γηραιός. For his age at this time see notes 203 on i. 61, and 165 on v. 65, from which it will appear *probable* that he had been a young man grown up sixty years before, and therefore could not be less than seventy-six or seventy-seven.

²⁴⁴ συνεβάλετο. See note 322 on i. 91. The interpretation which he put upon his

ταῦτα· τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρῆς ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλειαν²⁴⁵. τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὥρμιζε οὕτως²⁴⁶, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε· καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε παταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεε· οἶα δὲ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἔοντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῖνες ἐσεῖοντο· τούτων ὦν ἓνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βῆς βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ, ἐποίετο πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐξυρεῖν· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάζας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας· “ἡ γῆ ἦδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστὶ, οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δὲ τι μοι μέρος μετῆν ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει.”

108 Ἰππῆς μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλῆος, ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πανδημεῖ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδάκεσάν σφεας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες, καὶ πόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναιρέατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ᾧδε· πιεζέμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ²⁴⁷ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτοῦς· οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε· “ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρω τε οἰκέομεν καὶ

dream was the same which Julius Caesar's advisers gave him under similar circumstances: “*Confusum eum somnio proximæ noctis (nam visus erat per quietem matri stuprum intulisse) conjectores ad amplissimam spem incitaverunt, arbitrium orbis terrarum portendi interpretantes; quando mater quam subjectam sibi vidisset, non alia esset quam terra quæ omnium parens haberetur.*” (Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*, § 3.) Compare also PAUSANIAS, iv. 26. 3. In the time of ARTEMIDORUS such a vision was recognized as a particularly lucky one for a statesman, on the principle above mentioned. (*Oneirocrit.* i. 82.) And it seems not impossible that a strange notice respecting Cyrus the Great in CTESIUS (see note 441 on i. 130) is to be explained from the existence of some piece of mystical symbolism in the Magian religion, by which the absolute sovereignty over the earth was formally conveyed to the monarch at his coronation.

²⁴⁵ καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλειαν. This clause appears to me an interpolated note. Some of the MSS have Αἰγλίην, and Stephanus Byzantinus Αἰγιάλεια. The

place seems the same as that spoken of above (§ 101) under the name of Αἰγίλεια or Αἰγίλεας.

²⁴⁶ οὕτως. This is the reading of one MS only (*b*). Gaisford with the majority reads οὗτος. But οὕτως is very significant (see note 238, above), and οὗτος would be superfluous. Hippias, accustomed to operations on the Greek coasts, first ran his ships aground and debarked the troops, and *thereupon*, as on being lightened the ships again floated, he moored them with an anchor out to sea, just off the shore, so as to be ready to receive the land forces again on an emergency. After doing this he proceeded to form the barbarians who had landed. The manœuvre, as far as the ships are concerned, is precisely the same as that mentioned in vii. 138.

²⁴⁷ Κλεομένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ. This occasion will probably have been when the Pisistratids were expelled (v. 64, 65), and while Cleomenes expected that the principal influence in Athens would be retained by the party to which he was favourable, viz. that represented by Isagoras.

The *Platæans* only help the Athenians. Origin of the connexion between them.

ὑμῖν τοιγάρ τις γένοιτο' ἂν ἐπικουρίῃ ψυχρή· φθαίητε γὰρ ἂν πολ-
λάκις ἔξανδραποδισθέντες ἢ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων· συμβουλευ-
ομεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισί τε
ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν εὐδυσὶ οὐ κακοῖσι²⁴⁸· ταῦτα συνεβούλευον
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ κατὰ εὐνοίην οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων, ὡς βου-
λόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι²⁴⁸.
Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ
ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δώδεκα θεοῖσι²⁴⁹,
ικέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδουσαν σφέας αὐτούς· Θηβαῖοι
δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας, Ἀθηναῖοι
δὲ σφί ἐβοήθεον· μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ
περιεῖδον· παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεψάντων
ἰμφοτέρων, οὐρῖσαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· εἰαν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν
τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν²⁵⁰. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ
ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἀπιούσι ἐπεθήκαντο
Βοιωτοὶ, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ· ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὔρους, τού-
τους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὔρον Θηβαίοισι
πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιᾶς²⁵¹. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες

²⁴⁸ συμβουλευόμεν δὲ ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ. This is the same view of the matter as that offered by the Plataeans when tried for their lives by the Thebans and Lacedæmonians about sixty years afterwards: *δεομένων γὰρ ξυμμαχίας ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἐβιάσαντο, ὑμεῖς ἀπεώσασθε καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκελεύετε τραπέσθαι ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντας, ὑμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούντων.* (THUCYDIDES, iii. 55.) But in Thucydides the Plataeans make this abandonment of themselves by the Lacedæmonians take place *after* the year of the earthquake and the occupation of Ithome by the Helots. Their argument required this; but it is striking that such an anachronism should be confidently ventured so soon after the events themselves. See notes 213 on i. 63; 138 on iii. 47; and 279 on v. 96.

²⁴⁹ συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι, "having come to *direct issue* with Bœotians." See note on vii. 142.

²⁵⁰ τοῖσι δώδεκα θεοῖσι. If the object of the Plataeans was to establish a league between themselves and Athens, the time of a sacrifice to "the twelve gods" would be an especially appropriate

occasion; for they were probably *θεοὶ συμβόλαιοι*. See note 16 on ii. 4.

²⁵¹ εἰαν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν, "that the Thebans should not meddle with those of the Bœotians who chose not to be merged in the Bœotian league." See for an explanation of the phrase the note 96 on iii. 34.

²⁵¹ πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιᾶς. Probably it was to recover the territory thus lost that the Thebans took advantage of the Lacedæmonian occupation of Eleusis (described v. 74) to seize Hysia. The Plataean orator in THUCYDIDES (ii. 71) asserts that the independence of Plataea was solemnly guaranteed by Pausanias and the Lacedæmonians in the presence of all the allied army immediately after the victory over Mardonius. At that time the Thebans would be in extremely bad odour from the connexion of the party in power with the Persian invaders; and perhaps this circumstance was taken advantage of to procure a declaration which at any other time could scarcely have been hoped for.

σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἤκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

109

Dissensions
among the
Athenian
generals.

The con-
duct of
Miltiades
and the
polemarch
Callima-
chus

Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐόντων συμβάλλειν· ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλέειν· τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδew κελεύοντων· ὥς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐνίκα ἡ χείρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα, ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχέειν· τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιοῦντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι, ἦν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος· πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε· “ ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἔστι ²⁵² ἢ καταδουλώσαι Ἀθήνας, ἢ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον, οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσιν· νῦν γὰρ δὴ, ἐξ οὗ ἐγέρνουντο Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἡκουσι μέγιστον· καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππίῃ· ἦν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, οἷη τέ ἐστι πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολλῶν γενέσθαι. κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἷά τέ ἐστι γενέσθαι, καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ τι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω· ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐόντων δέκα δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι· τῶν μὲν κελεύοντων συμβαλέειν, τῶν δὲ οὐ [συμβαλέειν ²⁵³]. ἦν μὲν νυν μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην ²⁵⁴ ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασεῖσιν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα, ὥστε μῆδίσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλωμεν πρὶν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, οἷοι τε εἰμὲν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν τείνει, καὶ ἐκ σέο ἄρτηται· ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἦν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλῃ, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία ²⁵⁵.” Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον· προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου

110
is the cause
of an imme-

²⁵² ἐν σοὶ νῦν . . . ἔστι. See note 231 on iii. 85.

²⁵³ [συμβαλέειν]. The MSS vary between συμβαλέειν, συμβάλλειν, and ξυμβάλλειν, which induces the suspicion that the word has crept in from the margin. It is not necessary; and in fact the real ellipse is not of συμβάλλειν, but of κελεύοντων.

²⁵⁴ ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην. This is perhaps an allusion to the Alcmaeonids. See note 263 on § 115, below.

²⁵⁵ τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία. By this circuitous expression the speaker avoids the use of words of ill omen, which in such a moment would be considered fatal.

τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν· μετὰ δὲ, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ diate en-
γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὥς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρυτανήτῃ engagement.
τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδουσιν· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὔτι κω συμ-
βολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανήτῃ ἐγένετο.

Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκείνους περιήλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε Ἀθηναῖοι 111
ὥς συμβαλέοντες· τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Order of
Καλλιμάχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν battle.
πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν²⁵⁶. ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου ἐξεδέ-
κοντο ὥς ἀριθμούνται²⁵⁷ αἱ φυλαὶ, ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων· τελευταῖοι
δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης *

γάρ σφι τῆς μάχης, θυσίας Ἀθηναίων ἀναγόντων καὶ πανηγύρι-
ας ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Ἀθη-
ναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι (λέγων) γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλα-
ταιεύσι. τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι,
ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρα-
τοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτη
ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο
πλήθει. Ὡς δὲ σφι διετέτακτο καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλὰ, 112
ἐνθαῦτα ὥς ἀπειθήσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρ- The Athe-
βάρους· ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ nians charge
the enemy
at speed,

²⁵⁶ τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν. In accordance with this custom EURIPIDES (*Suppl.* 656) makes Theseus, the commander of the Athenian army in the battle against the Thebans, occupy the same post:

αὐτόν τ' ἄνακτα, παῖδα κλεινὸν Αἰγέως,
καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ δεξιὸν τεταγμέ-
νους
κέρας, παλαιᾷς Κεκροπίας οἰκήτορας.

The tribe which occupied the right ex-
tremity in the battle of Marathon was the

Æantis.

²⁵⁷ ὥς ἀριθμούνται, "according as they were numbered," that is, with reference to the turn of their prytanes to preside in the assembly.

²⁵⁸ οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι οὔτε τοξευμάτων. The Persians conceived that it would be impossible for them to keep order in the onset under such circum-
stances; and that having no cavalry or archers to cover them while reforming, they must infallibly be destroyed.

113
and after an
obstinate
combat con-
quer and
pursue the
Persians
to their
ships.

πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέωντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθημένους²⁵⁹. τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι καὶ τὸ οὐνομα τὸ Μῆδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι²⁶⁰. Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγένετο πολλός· καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ Βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσai τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι²⁶¹ ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ Βάρβαροι, καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν· τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ Πλαταιεές, νικῶντες δὲ, τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων, τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρα ἀμφότερα ἐμάχοντο· καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι· φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι εἶποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἴτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

114
Distin-
guished
conduct of
Cullimachus

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυναίγειρος²⁶² ὁ Εὐφορίωνος

²⁵⁹ ἐσθημένους. This word, which is of the form of a perfect participle, as from a present tense ἐσθέειν, is used in one other passage (iii. 129). It is peculiar to Herodotus, and no other tense is any where used by him.

²⁶⁰ τὸ οὐνομα τὸ Μῆδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι. It seems likely that at the time of Datis's expedition the distinction between the Medes and Persians was little known in European Greece, even if it was in Asiatic. Accordingly ὁ Μῆδος was the general name by which the enemy was designated. The Medians were, it can hardly be doubted, the more civilized part of Darius's subjects, and from them the Persians must have learnt their scientific strategies. See the notes 535 on i. 162, and 512 on iv. 200. The statement in the text has been by some considered as contradictory to i. 165 and v. 120 (in which passages Asiatic Hellenes are represented as engaging with Persians), and to i. 169, where their resistance to these is spoken of as creditable to them. But this seems pressing the author too closely. It is very far from certain that the conquest even of Ionia was effected by Median troops; and certainly they would hardly be expected to do garrison duty. They may rather be regarded in the same light as the European regiments in the Anglo-Indian army. And all that Herodotus means to say in the text is that the Athenians at Marathon

were the first Hellenes with whom the prestige of the Median soldiers went for nothing. This was only natural, as they had no experience of them like the Asiatics. But still their prowess made the term ἄνδρες Μαραθωνομάχαι proverbial. (ARISTOPHANES, *Nub.* 936.)

²⁶¹ καὶ Σάκαι. These were probably the marines of the fleet landed upon the occasion. In the great expedition of Xerxes we find this service performed by Sacans (vii. 96), the name by which the Persians designated all Scythians (as Herodotus says)—that is, perhaps, all troops whose armament was similar to the Scythian, in which the bow was the principal weapon. This would be by far the most efficient engine for such a service as that of marines. The English bow-men performed the same duty in the infancy of English naval warfare. See the important part played by *Locksley* in the old ballad of *Sir Andrew Barton*.

²⁶² Κυναίγειρος. This is the brother of Æschylus the tragic poet. The story of his gallantry was improved upon in later times. JUSTIN (ii. 9) makes him, on losing his right hand, seize hold with his left; and upon this being likewise hevn off, take hold with his teeth ("ad postremum morsu navem detinuit"). A similar caricature is observable in the more modern ballad of Chevy Chase (of about the time of James I.) as compared with the

ἐνθαῦτα, ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νηὸς, τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς and *Cynæ-*
 πελέκει πίπτει· τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί. *girus.*
 Ἐπτα μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι 115
 τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες The Per-
 ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρῆς ἀνδράποδα, περιέπλων embarking
 Σούνιον βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ *Phalerum,*
 ἄστυ· αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων²⁶³ μηχανῆς
 αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι 116
 ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα, εὐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περι- but are baf-
 ἐπλων²⁶⁴ Σούνιον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθειον fled by a
 ἐς τὸ ἄστυ· καὶ ἔφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβάρους retrograde
 ἥκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλήϊου τοῦ ἐν movement
 Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλήϊῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει²⁶⁵. οἱ δὲ βάρ- of the Athe-
 βαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήροι, (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον nians, and
 τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων,) ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνακωχέυσαντες τὰς νῆας ἀπ- return to
 ἐπλων ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην²⁶⁶. Asia.

original of nearly two hundred years earlier. The latter says:

"For Wetharryngton my harte was wo
 That ever he slayne sholde be;
 For when both his leggis wer hewyn into,
 Yet he knyled and fought on his knee."

The two last lines became in the new version:

"For when his leggs were smitten off,
 He fought upon his stumpes."

For the description of the ἀφλαστα, of which Cynægirus is represented as taking hold, see the article *Aplustre* in the *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*. It is not necessary however to infer, with the writer of the article, from this passage, that an unusual direction was given to the extremity of the woodwork, denoted by the word ἀφλαστα. Herodotus seems to include in the term the whole of the after part of the upper works; and Cynægirus, in his account, appears to have been climbing up into the vessel by the stern, which, supposing her riding on a hawse carried out from the bow, would be depressed for the moment that the latter rose with a swell. Justin's notion rests upon the Homeric standard of men's strength and ships' size. An Athenian in 490 B.C. had too much experience of the sea to attempt to hold a vessel of probably at least eighty tons burthen by seizing it

with his hand.

²⁶³ ἐξ Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων. To this evil report PINDAR seems to allude in an Ode (*Pyth.* vii.) composed in honour of a Megacles, probably the son of Hippocrates, and brother of Agariste (mentioned by Herodotus vi. 131). Böckh considers that the Pythian victory commemorated was in the same year with the battle of Marathon. The poet, felicitating Megacles on his success,—which was by no means the first of the kind,—says, *νέε δ' εὐπραγία χαίρω τι τὸ δ' ἄχνημαι Φθόνον ἀμειβόμενον τὰ καλὰ ἔργα*. Heyne however places the victory in the year 474 B.C. If the attack upon Miltiades mentioned above, § 164, proceeded from the party of Clisthenes, no doubt the faction of Miltiades would take advantage of the popularity just acquired by their own leader (below, § 132) to damage the influence of the Alcmaeonids if a favourable occasion offered. It can hardly have been any but that party whom Miltiades had in his eye in his speech to the polemarch (§ 109). They seized the first opportunity to return the blow (§ 136).

²⁶⁴ περιέπλων. This is the reading of all the MSS except one (F), which last in iv. 156, has ἀπέπλεον. See the note 409 on that passage.

²⁶⁵ ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλήϊῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει. See note 160, a, on v. 63.

²⁶⁶ οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι . . . ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην,

117
Numbers of
the slain
on both
sides.
Portent
which befel
Epizelus
the Athe-
nian.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν ἐννεήκοντα καὶ δύο· ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι. συνήνικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω ἐν τῇ συστάσει μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθὸν τῶν ὁμμάτων στερηθῆναι, οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζῆς διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου εἶντα τυφλόν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθεος ἤκουσα τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον· ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὀπλίτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν, τὸ δὲ φᾶσμα τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτεῖναι· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.

118
Respect ex-
hibited by
Datis to an
image of
Apollo
taken from
Delium.

Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος²⁶⁷ ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο ἐν Μυκόνῳ, εἶδε ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνωσκει καὶ ἦτις μὲν ἦν ἡ ὄψις, οὐ λέγεται· ὁ δὲ, ὥς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐπέλαμψε, ζήτησιν ἐποιέετο τῶν νεῶν· εὐρὼν δὲ ἐν Φοινίσσῃ νηὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχυρ-
σωμένον, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἴη; πυθόμενος δὲ ἐξ οὗ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηὶ ἐς Δῆλον²⁶⁸, καὶ ἀπίκατο γὰρ τῆνικαῦτα οἱ Δῆλιοι ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν νῆσον, κατατίθεται²⁶⁹ τε ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐντέλλεται τοῖσι Δηλίοισι ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐς Δῆλιον τὸ Θηβαίων· τὸ δ' ἔστι ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ Χαλκίδος καταντίον. Δᾶτις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἀπέπλεε. τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τοῦτον Δῆλιοι οὐκ ἀπήγαγον, ἀλλὰ μιν δι' ἐτέων εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐκομίσαντο ἐπὶ Δῆλιον. Τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριῶν ἀνδραποδισμένους Δᾶτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης ὡς προσέσχον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην πλέοντες, ἀνίγαγον ἐς Σοῦσα· βασιλεὺς

119
Humane
treatment
of the Ere-

“and the barbarians, when in their course they had come off Phalerum with the fleet (for this was at that time the port of the Athenians), brought up off this point, and made sail back to Asia.” For the precise meaning of the word *ανακαχεῖν* see note on vii. 36.

²⁶⁷ Δᾶτις δὲ πορευόμενος. The account of the proceedings of the expedition on the Attic shore is exactly of such a kind as one might expect to receive from an Athenian attached to Miltiades's party forty or fifty years after they happened. The present anecdote is as obviously de-

rived from Delos. The account of the well at Ardericca again betrays the *ἔμπορος*, familiar with the commodities which he was accustomed to ship, and giving the account which he had received from the exporter of the way in which they were procured.

²⁶⁸ ἔπλεε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ νηὶ ἐς Δῆλον. See note 219 on § 97, above.

²⁶⁹ κατατίθεται. The manuscript S has, immediately after this word, the two, ἐς Δῆλιον, omitting those which appear in the interval in all the other MSS. See note 136 on i. 45.

δὲ Δαρείος, πρὶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἑρετρίας, ἐνείχεται trian prisoners by Darius. σφί δεινὸν χόλον, οἷα ἀρξάντων ἀδικίης προτέρων τῶν Ἑρετριέων· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ εἶδὲ σφεας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἑωυτὸν καὶ ὑποχειρίους ἑωυτῷ ὄντας, ἐποίησε κακὸν ἄλλο οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ σφεας τῆς Κισσίας χώρας κατοίκησε ἐν σταθμῷ ἑωυτοῦ τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Ἀρδέρικκα ²⁷⁰, They are settled at Ardericca, not far from Susa, and near to the pit which gives oil, salt, and asphalt. ἀπὸ μὲν Σούσων δέκα καὶ διηκοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχοντι, τессεράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ παρέχεται τριφασίας ἰδέας· καὶ γὰρ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἄλας καὶ ἔλαιον ἀρύσσονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἀντλέεται μὲν κηλωνήτῳ· ἀντὶ δὲ γαυλοῦ, ἥμισυ ἄσκοῦ οἱ προσδέδεται· ὑποτύψας ²⁷¹ δὲ τούτῳ ἀντλέει καὶ ἔπειτα ἐγγέει ἐς δεξαμενὴν· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἐς ἄλλο διαχεόμενον τρέπεται τριφασίας ὁδούς· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄσφαλτος καὶ οἱ ἄλες πῆγνυνται παραντίκα, τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον συνάγουσι ἐν ἀγγείοις, τὸ οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι ραδινάκην ²⁷². ἔστι δὲ μέλαν καὶ ὀδμὴν παρεχόμενον βαρέαν. ἐνθαῦτα τοὺς Ἑρετρίας κατοίκησε βασιλεὺς Δαρείος· οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν ²⁷³. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑρετριέας ἔσχε οὕτω.

²⁷⁰ τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Ἀρδέρικκα. Probably this name is a significant one, and given to several places. The village in the text is entirely different from the one mentioned in i. 185. According to STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 351) these Eretrians were settled among the people "formerly called Carduchi, and in his time Gordyæi," i. e. Kurds.

²⁷¹ ὑποτύψας. All the MSS and Gaisford have ὑποτύψας. But the word ὑποκύπτω (the reverse of ἀνακύπτω) seems especially applicable to the action denoted here and in ii. 136; iii. 130. The machine described in the text is one similar to that commonly employed in drawing water in Italy and the South of France at this day. The pail is attached to a long pole hung at the longest arm of a long lever, the short arm of which is so heavily weighted with stones, that the empty pail remains on a level with the mouth of the well. In order that water may be raised, the drawer lays hold of the pole, first pulling till the lever is horizontal,—which brings the pail to about the level of the water in the well—and then pushing the pole *by stooping*, he fills it with water. This part of the action is expressed by the word ὑποκύπτειν, and it is obviously exactly the same with that of a person sounding

a pool with a staff (κοιντὸς), or dipping down into a chest full of loose coins with a saucer.

RAWLINSON (*Journal of the Geogr. Soc.* ix. p. 92) imagines that the spot described by Herodotus is *Kir Ab* (the bitumen water) which is about twenty-eight miles north of *Dizfûl*, a point on the great military road into Media, lat. 32° 10', long. 48° 30'. He says that the liquid bitumen is collected at the present day in the way described by Herodotus;—but "the bitumen pits abound" in the locality in question, and the distance is too great for any site which can be assigned to Susa to allow identification with the φρέαρ in the text, if the writer be regarded as an eyewitness. See note 267, above.

²⁷² τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον συνάγουσι ἐν ἀγγείοις, τὸ οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι ραδινάκην. Several MSS have, instead of this sentence, τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι τοῦτο ραδινάκην, and two (b, c), τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον οἱ Πέρσαι καλέουσι ραδινάκην.

²⁷³ οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμέο εἶχον τὴν χώραν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν. This clause is omitted in one manuscript (F), and it can scarcely be of the time of Herodotus. Hardly a generation had passed from the time of the engagement at Marathon to his emigration to

120 *Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν οὕτω ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς, ἰμείροντο ὅμως θεήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ εἰς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθεήσαντο· μετὰ δὲ, αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.*

121 *Θῶμα δέ μοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὸν λόγον, Ἀλκμαιωνίδας ἄν κοτε ἀναδέξαι Πέρσῃσι ἐκ συνθήματος ἀσπίδα, βουλομένους ὑπὸ βαρβάροις τε εἶναι Ἀθηναίους καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππῖῃ²⁷⁴. οὔτινες μᾶλλον, ἢ ὁμοίως Καλλίῃ τῷ Φαινίππῳ, Ἰππονίκῳ δὲ πατρὶ, φαίνονται μισοτύραννοι ἔοντες. Καλλίης τε γὰρ μῦθος Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων ἐτόλμα, ὅκως Πεισίστρατος ἐκπέσοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ κηρυσσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνέεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ*

122 *ἔχθιστα εἰς αὐτὸν πάντα ἐμηχανᾶτο. Καλλίῳ δὲ τούτου²⁷⁵ ἄξιον πολλαχοῦ μνήμην εἶναι πάντα τινὰ ἔχειν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ προλεγεμένα, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄκρος ἐλευθερῶν τὴν πατρίδα· τοῦτο δὲ τὰ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἐποίησε, ἵππῳ νικήσας²⁷⁶ τεθρίππῳ δὲ δευτέρος γενόμενος, Πύθια δὲ πρότερον ἀνελόμενος, ἐφανερῶθη εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας πάντας μεγίστησι δαπάνησι· τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρας, εἰσάσας τρεῖς, οἷός τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐγένοντο γάμου ὥραιαι, ἔδωκε σφί δωρεὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην, ἐκείνησί τε ἐχαρίσατο· ἐκ γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐκάστη ἐθέλοι*

123 *ἄνδρα ἐωυτῇ ἐκλέξασθαι ἔδωκε τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. Καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ὁμοίως, ἢ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν τούτου, ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι²⁷⁷.*

Italy, and to notice the fact of a population not having forgotten their language in so short an interval would be absurd.

²⁷⁴ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰππῖῃ. Of course if the Alcmaeonids contemplated treachery, it would not have been under the idea of receiving Hippias back again; but to put themselves in the position of vassals of the Persian court and sovereigns of Athens through Persian influence. The writer of the paragraph (see note 277, below) quietly assumes the very point at issue.

²⁷⁵ Καλλίῳ δὲ τούτου, κ.τ.λ. The whole of this section is wanting in the manuscripts M, K, P, F, b. Gaisford includes it between brackets.

²⁷⁶ ἵππῳ νικήσας. This was, according to the SCHOLIAST ON ARISTOPHANES (*Nub.* 234), in the fifty-fourth Olympiad.

²⁷⁷ ἦσαν μισοτύραννοι. This is doubtless the light in which the Alcmaeonids wished to appear to their countrymen after the establishment of the democracy. See note 165 on v. 65. But the whole account which Herodotus gives of the early part of the tyranny of Pisistratus (see especially i. 61, 62) is quite at variance with this statement. The whole of the discussion (§§ 121—124) appears to me to proceed from a later hand than Herodotus; and to be of the nature of a note, drawn up by some person well acquainted with the family history of the Alcmaeonids. This may have been afterwards incorporated with the text, and perhaps not long after the age of Herodotus. But it would almost seem that PAUSANIAS (iii. 4. 6) must have used a copy of the work in

θῶμα ὦν μοι, καὶ οὐ προσίεμαι τὴν διαβολὴν, τούτους γε ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα οἵτινες ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς τυράννους²⁷⁸, ἐκ μηχανῆς τε τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα. καὶ οὕτω τὰς Ἀθήνας οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλευθερώσαντες πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ περ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξηγγρίωσαν²⁷⁹ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Πεισιστρατιδῶν Ἱππαρχον ἀποκτείναντες, οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἔπαυσαν τοὺς λοιποὺς τυραννεύοντας· Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι δὲ ἐμφανέως ἐλευθέρωσαν, εἰ δὴ οὗτοί γε ἀληθέως ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπείσαντες προσημαίνειν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται²⁸⁰. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ προεδίδουσιν τὴν πατρίδα. οὐ μὲν ὦν ἡσάν σφεν ἄλλοι δοκιμώτεροι ἔν γε Ἀθηναίοισι ἄνδρες, οὐδ' οὐ μᾶλλον ἐτετιμέατο. οὕτω οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει, ἀναδεχθῆναι ἕκ γε ἂν τούτων ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ. ἀνεδέχθη μὲν γὰρ ἀσπίς· καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλως εἰπεῖν· ἐγένετο γάρ· ὃς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν τούτων.

124

Οἱ δὲ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ἦσαν μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν λαμπροὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἀθήνησι· ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλκμαίονος, καὶ αὐτῆς Μεγακλέος, ἐγένοντο καὶ κάρτα λαμπροί. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμαίων ὁ Μεγακλέος τοῖσι ἐκ Σαρδίων Λυδοῖσι παρὰ Κροίσου ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι συμπρήκτωρ τε ἐγένετο καὶ συνελάμβανε προθύμως· καὶ μιν Κροῖσος πυθόμενος τῶν Λυδῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ χρηστήρια φοιτούντων ἐωυτὸν εὖ ποιεῖν, μεταπέμπεται ἐς Σάρδεις·

125

Family history of the Alcmaeonids.

which it did not occur. For the corruption of the Pythian priestess by the Alcmaeonids is here assumed as a point beyond dispute (ἐκ μηχανῆς τῆς τούτων ἐξέλιπον οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι τὴν τυραννίδα), and Pausanias, in reviewing the different causes assigned for the *mania* of Cleomenes, with a distinct reference to this book (§§ 75, seqq.) settles upon his tampering with the Pythian priestess as the real one, on the ground that Cleomenes was undoubtedly the only man who had ever ventured to corrupt an oracle. When Herodotus speaks of the transaction before, it is rather as a scandalous story (v. 63. 66) than as a likely matter, far less as one beyond all question.

τυράννους. This statement also is quite incompatible with the former account, but consistent with subsequent professions of the Alcmaeonids. See note 165 on v. 65.

²⁷⁹ ἐξηγγρίωσαν. See note 143 on v. 55.

²⁸⁰ ὥς μοι πρότερον δεδήλωται. The reference is to v. 63. But it will be seen that *there* Herodotus relates the matter as the *Athenian account* (ὥς ὦν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι), not as his own positive opinion; whereas the writer of *this* passage treats it as an acknowledged fact, so certain as to test other accounts by their consistency with it. The sentiment of approval too contrasts strongly with that expressed in the case of Cleomenes (above, § 84).

²⁷⁸ ἔφευγόν τε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τοὺς

ἀπικόμενον δὲ δωρέεται χρυσῷ τὸν ἂν δύνηται τῷ ἑωυτοῦ σώματι ἐξενείκασθαι ἐσάπαξ· ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμαίων πρὸς τὴν δωρεὴν ἐοῦσαν τοιαύτην τοιάδε ἐπιτηδεύσας προσέφερε· ἐνδὺς κιθῶνα μέγαν καὶ κόλπον πολὺν καταλιπόμενος τοῦ κιθῶνος, κοθόρνους τοὺς εὔρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἐόντας ὑποδησάμενος, ἥϊε ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν ἐς τὸν οἱ κατηγέοντο, ἐσπεσὼν δὲ ἐς σωρὸν ψήγματος, πρῶτα μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρειν οἱ κόθορνοι· μετὰ δὲ, τὸν κόλπον πάντα πλησάμενος χρυσοῦ, καὶ ἐς τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς διαπάσας τοῦ ψήγματος, καὶ ἄλλο λαβὼν ἐς τὸ στόμα, ἐξήϊε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν μόγισ τοὺς κοθόρνους, παντὶ δὲ τεῷ οἰκῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ· τοῦ τό τε στόμα ἐβέβυστο καὶ πάντα ἐξύγκωτο. ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως ἐσῆλθε· καὶ οἱ πάντα τε ἐκείνα διδοῖ, καὶ πρὸς, ἕτερα δωρέεται οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνων. οὕτω μὲν ἐπλούτησε ἡ οἰκίη αὕτη μεγάλως· καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμαίων οὗτος οὕτω τεθριπποτροφήσας, Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται²⁸¹.

126

Their wealth greatly increased by their connexion with

Μετὰ δὲ, γενεῇ δευτέρῃ ὕστερον, Κλεισθένης μιν ὁ Σικυῶνος τύραννος ἐξήειρε, ὥστε πολλῷ ὀνομαστοτέρην γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἢ πρότερον ἦν. Κλεισθένει γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνύμου²⁸² τοῦ Μύρωνος²⁸³ τοῦ Ἀνδρέω²⁸⁴ γίνεται θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀγα-

²⁸¹ Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀναιρέεται. The client of ISOCRATES (*De Bigis*, p. 351), himself an Alcmaeonid (see note 165 on v. 65), says that Alcmaeon was the first Athenian citizen who obtained a prize at Olympia with a pair (ζεύγει). And that only one Alcmaeonid had been an Olympian victor at the time of the battle of Marathon follows from the expression of PINDAR (*Pyth.* vii. 13): μία δ' ἐκπρεπὴς Διὸς Ὀλυμπίας. The word τεθριπποτροφήσας must therefore be taken in a general sense. See note 206 on v. 77.

²⁸² Κλεισθένει γὰρ τῷ Ἀριστωνύμου. The founder of the dynasty at Sicyon was Orthagoras (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. p. 1315; see note 169 on v. 67), and Clisthenes was one of his descendants; but it is not easy to say in exactly what relation he stood to him. If Orthagoras was the father of Andreas, it is strange that Herodotus should not have continued the pedigree up to him, supposing him to have followed the same accounts with Aristotle.

²⁸³ τοῦ Μύρωνος. From a notice in ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* v. p. 1316): μεταβάλλει καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα τυραννίς, (ὥσπερ ἡ

Σικυῶνος ἐκ τῆς Μύρωνος εἰς τὴν Κλεισθέ-
νους,) καὶ εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν, (ὥσπερ ἡ ἐν Χαλκίδι ἢ Ἀντιλέοντος,) καὶ εἰς δημοκρατίαν, (ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Γέλωνος ἐν Συρακούσαις,) καὶ εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν, (ὥσπερ ἡ Χαριλάου ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι, καὶ ἐν Καρχηδόνι), it is plain that a decided change took place in the constitution of Sicyon between the time of Myron and that of Clisthenes. Both were dynasts, but the form of their power was different. It seems not unlikely that the change consisted in the relative depression of the Dorian agriculturists and the elevation of the Achæan mercantile population. (See note 169 on v. 67.)

²⁸⁴ τοῦ Ἀνδρέω. This name, which is very rare in subsequent times, appears in the mythical history of the foundation of Orchomenus, where a son of the river Peneus (who formed a settlement, the vicinity of which was afterwards called Ἀνδρηλὶς γῆ) bears that name. (PAUSANIAS ix. 34, 6.) It seems not unreasonable to suppose from this that the name prevailed among the Orchomenians in later times. Perhaps therefore the An-

ρίστη. ταύτην ἠθέλησε, Ἑλλήνων πάντων ἐξευρών τὸν ἄριστον, *Clisthenes of Sicyon.* τούτῳ γυναῖκα προσθεῖναι. Ὀλυμπίων ὦν ἐόντων καὶ νικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τεθρίπῳ ὁ Κλεισθένης, κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο, ὅστις Ἑλλήνων ἐωυτὸν ἀξιοῖ Κλεισθένης γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι, ἥκειν ἐς ἐξηκοστήν ἡμέρην ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἐς Σικυῶνα, ὡς κυρώσοντας Κλεισθένης τὸν γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς ἀρξαμένου ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγκωμένοι, ἐφοίτεον μνηστήρες· τοῖσι Κλεισθένης καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαιστρην ποιησάμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἶχε. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰταλῆς 127 ἦλθε Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἱπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ List of the suitors. χλιδῆς εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀπῖκετο²⁸⁵. ἡ δὲ Σύβαρις ἥκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον μάλιστα καὶ Σιρίτης Δάμασος, Ἀμύριος²⁸⁶ τοῦ σοφοῦ

dreas of the text may have been a wealthy Orchomenian merchant, settled at Sicyon, in the same way in which Demaratus the Corinthian was settled at Tarquinii. It is conceivable that the splendour of Clisthenes's family may have been due mainly to the wealth acquired by the Orthagorid house through an alliance with this stranger, and this circumstance may account for the pedigree going up to Andreas and no farther. (See note 282, above.) It is to be remarked, that Sicyon was *not* one of the confederate cities which formed the Orchomenian commercial league meeting at Calauria, (see STRABO cited in note on viii. 41, οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροίῃνα,) and this, at first sight, may seem to render any alliance between a Sicyonian and an Orchomenian unlikely. But if Andreas was (like Demaratus) a political exile, exactly the course most likely for him to take would be to find refuge with a commercial rival. And here perhaps another clue may be found to the extreme hostility of his descendant Clisthenes to every thing Argive, about the cause of which Herodotus leaves us entirely in the dark (above, v. 67). Argos succeeded Nauplia as a member of the Calaurian Heptapolis, and in the time of Clisthenes must have been the most important of the seven confederates.

²⁸⁵ ὃς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀπῖκετο. Compare THUCYD. viii. 68: πλείστα εἰς ἀνὴρ δυνάμενος ὠφελεῖν. XENOPHON, *Anab.* i. 9. 22: δῶρα πλείστα μὲν, οἶμαι, εἰς γε ἀνὴρ ὦν ἐλάμβανε. *Æsch.* *Pers.* 327: εἰς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον ἐχθοῖς παρασχών. Translate: "who reached the highest pitch of luxury

of any individual." ARISTOTLE related that Smindyrides had a robe made of so gorgeous a character, that it attracted more admiration than any other object whatever that was exhibited at the panegyris of the Lacinian Here. The tradition ran that the elder Dionysius, afterwards obtaining possession of this garment, sold it to the Carthaginians for 120 talents. The name of Smindyrides in later times became the peg to hang all stories of inordinate luxury upon. He is made the hero of the well-known narrative of the crumpled rose-leaf by *ÆLIAN*. (*Var. Hist.* ix. 24.) On the occasion of his visit to Sicyon his suite consisted of a thousand persons, employed in catching fish or birds, or in dressing them. (*ATHENÆUS*, vi. p. 273.) *ÆLIAN* converts this into one thousand of each sort. (*Ib.* xii. 24.) One of the most genuine in appearance of the anecdotes of this celebrated Sybarite is that he declared that for the space of twenty years he had never seen the sun either rise or set. (*CHAMÆLEON* or *THEOPHRASTUS*, *ap. Athen.* l. c.)

²⁸⁶ Δάμασος, Ἀμύριος. This is the reading of Gaisford; but most of the MSS have Δάμας ὁ Σαμύριος. The form in the text however appears to be the true one from a proverb which obtained currency (μάλιστα Ἀμυρίς), applied to those whose sagacity is great, but who are so much a-head of the world as to be regarded as foolish by it. Amyris recognized the fulfilment of an oracle, 'that Sybaris would fall as soon as men should be treated with greater reverence than the gods.' A slave having committed some offence took re;

λεγομένου πάϊς· οὔτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰταλῆς ἦλθον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου, Ἀμφίμνηστος Ἐπιστρόφου Ἐπιδάμνιος· οὗτος δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. Αἰτωλὸς δὲ ἦλθε, Τιτόρμου τοῦ ὑπερφύντος τε Ἑλλήνας ἰσχύϊ καὶ φυγόντος ἀνθρώπους ἐς τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρας, τούτου τοῦ Τιτόρμου²⁸⁷ ἀδελφεὸς Μάλης· ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου, Φεῖδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου πάϊς Λεωκίδης, Φεῖδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα ποιήσαντος Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων, ὃς ἐξαναστήσας τοὺς Ἥλειων ἀγωνοθέτας αὐτὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε²⁸⁸. τούτου τε δὴ πάϊς, καὶ Ἀμλιαντος Λυκούργου, Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος· καὶ Ἀξὴν ἐκ Παίου πόλιος Λαφάνης, Εὐφορίωνος τοῦ δεξαμένου τε (ὡς λόγος ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ λέγεται) τοὺς Διοσκόρους οἰκίοισι²⁸⁹ καὶ

fuge in a temple, but his master caring nothing for this inflicted summary punishment on him therein. On this he fled to the tomb of his master's father, and this procured the remission of his offence. Amyris observing this, sold his landed property and left the country. (*Proverbia Diogeniana*, iii. 26.) Probably *Siris* was the place where he settled.

²⁸⁷ Τιτόρμου. Several MSS have Τι-
τέρμου. The later anecdotes of this giant make him a herdsman. *ÆLIAN* (*Var. Hist.* xii. 22) relates a contest between him and the celebrated Milo, similar in its character to that which the old ballads describe between Robin Hood and Little John. Milo rolls with difficulty an enormous stone; Titormus lifts it and carries it for a distance of eight fathoms. He catches a furious bull by the hoof (compare *THEOCRITUS*, iv. 35), and on another coming up to assist the first, he seizes it in the same way with his other hand. Milo allows himself to be fairly beaten.

²⁸⁸ Φεῖδωνος δὲ τοῦ τὰ μέτρα . . . τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε. This clause has been considered an interpolation, from the circumstance that it is a chronological impossibility to bring the Phidon, who expelled the Eleans from their presidency at the Olympic games, down to the time of a man whose father entertained the ambassadors of Croesus on the occasion recorded in i. 47 and vi. 125. The time of Phidon is securely ascertained by the fact that the Eleans refused to register the Olympiad in which the intrusion took place. This was the twenty-ninth (*STRABO*, viii. c. 3, p. 173 and 178), a time which also har-

monizes well with the genealogy attributed to Phidon, that makes him tenth from Temenus, and therefore about three centuries later than the time given to the Heraclide invasion. His son therefore could not have been the rival for the hand of Agariste with the father of the Clisthenes who 170 years after the date of Phidon's usurpation was in active public life at Athens. But it seems unwarranted to criticize the features of such a narrative on bare historical grounds. The whole account appears to be derived from the private traditions of one of the great Hellenic families which constituted a commercial aristocracy in the early times, until they at last received their death-blow by the revolution of Clisthenes and the circumstances springing out of the Persian invasion. (See note 176 on v. 68.) A greater objection than any derived from chronological inaccuracy seems to be that the introduction of an Argive suitor is out of keeping with the known antipathies of Clisthenes. (See v. 67.) All the other competitors are of the ancient ante-dorian blood. Without Leocedes too, they are twelve in number.

²⁸⁹ τοῦ δεξαμένου τὸν . . . Διοσκόρους οἰ-
κίοισι. A legend of these gods, wandering under the form of men and requesting hospitality, is found elsewhere. At Lacedæmon the house of Phormio was shown, where the Dioscuri were thus received. (*PAUSANIAS*, iii. 16. 3.) The story of Baucis and Philemon is another form of the same legend (*ΟΨΙΔ*, *Metamorph.* viii. 626, *seqq.*), in which Jupiter and Mercury take the place of the twins. In this shape

ἀπὸ τούτου ξεινοδοκέοντος πάντας ἀνθρώπους· καὶ Ἡλείος Ὀνομαστὸς Ἀγαίου· οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦλθον. ἐκ δὲ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκοντο Μεγακλῆς τε ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος τούτου τοῦ παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικομένου, καὶ ἄλλος Ἴπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου²⁹⁰, πλούτῳ καὶ εἶδεϊ προφέρων Ἀθηναίων. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐρετρίης, ἀνθεύσης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, Λυσανίης· οὗτος δὲ ἀπ' Εὐβοίης μῦνος. ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἦλθε τῶν Σκοπαδέων²⁹¹ Διακτορίδης Κρανώνιος· ἐκ δὲ Μολοσσῶν Ἀλκων· τοσοῦτοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ μνηστήρες. Ἀπικομένων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην, ὁ Κλεισθένης 128 πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πάτρας τε αὐτῶν ἀνεπύθετο καὶ γένος ἐκάστου· μετὰ δὲ, κατέχων ἐνιαυτὸν διεπειράτο αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίης καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, καὶ παιδευσίος τε καὶ τρόπου· καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἰὼν ἐς συνουσίην καὶ συνάπασιν, καὶ ἐς γυμνάσιά τε ἐξαγινέων ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν νεώτεροι, καὶ, τό γε μέγιστον, ἐν τῇ συνεστῇ διεπειράτο· ὅσον γὰρ κατεῖχε χρόνον αὐτοῦς, τοῦτον πάντα ἐποίεε καὶ ἅμα ἐξείνιζε μεγαλοπρεπέως. καὶ δὴ κου μάλιστα τῶν μνηστήρων ἡρέσκοντο οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον Ἴπποκλείδης ὁ Τισάνδρου καὶ κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην ἐκρίνετο, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἀνέκαθε²⁹² τοῖσι ἐν Κορίνθῳ Κυψελίδησι ἦν προσήκων. Ὡς 129 δὲ ἡ κυρίῃ ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμερέων τῆς τε κατακλίσιος τοῦ γάμου καὶ ἐκφάσιος αὐτοῦ Κλεισθέneos, τὸν κρίνει ἐκ πάντων, θύσας βοῦς ἐκατὸν ὁ Κλεισθένης εὐώχῃ αὐτοῦς τε τοὺς μνηστῆρας καὶ τοὺς Σικυωνίους πάντας· ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δέλπου ἐγένοντο, οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔρῳ εἶχον ἀμφί τε μουσικῇ καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον· προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος, κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους²⁹³ ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης, ἐκέλευε οἱ τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλῆσαι ἐμμέλειαν²⁹⁴. πειθομένου

Hippocles, the most accomplished of the suitors, throws away his own chance. Origin of the proverb οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ.

it was a current belief in Lycaonia in the first century of the Christian era (*Acts* xiv. 12). GRIMM (*Deutsche Mythologie*, xix.) points out the various forms which the same story took in the Scandinavian mythology, and the adaptation of these to several mediæval fictions. The legend was old in the time of Pindar (HYGINUS, *Poet. Astron.* c. 34), who, probably in his Dithyrambs, related a tale based upon it.

²⁹⁰ Ἴπποκλείδης Τισάνδρου. Both these names come into the pedigree of Miltiades's family (see above, note 84 on § 35), but a Miltiades is interposed be-

tween them.

²⁹¹ τῶν Σκοπαδέων. See Perizonius on ÆLIAN (*Var. Hist.* xii. 1).

²⁹² τὰ ἀνέκαθε. Gaisford, with all the MSS but one, has τὸ ἀνέκαθε. But the other phrase seems almost a technical one in Herodotus. See note 156 on v. 62.

²⁹³ κατέχων . . τοὺς ἄλλους. This phrase seems to express the entire superiority of Hippocles to the rest. He "had them in his hands." See note 55 on v. 21.

²⁹⁴ ἐμμέλειαν. This was the grave measure appropriate to *tragedy*. It seems not impossible that what Clisthenes had

δὲ τοῦ αὐλητέω, ὀρχήσατο· καί κως ἑωυτῷ μὲν ἀρεστῶς ὀρχέετο, ὁ δὲ Κλεισθένης ὀρέων ὅλον τὸ πρήγμα ὑπόπτει· μετὰ δὲ, ἐπισχὼν ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης χρόνον, ἐκέλευε τινα τράπεζαν ἐσενεῖκαι· ἐσελθούσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης, πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὀρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια· μετὰ δὲ, ἄλλα Ἀττικά· τὸ τρίτον δὲ, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε²⁹⁵. Κλεισθένης δὲ, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ὀρχομένου ἀποστνυγέων γαμβρὸν ἄν οἱ ἔτι γενέσθαι Ἴπποκλείδα, διὰ τὴν τε ὄρχησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναιδείην, κατεῖχε ἑωυτὸν οὐ βουλόμενος ἐκραγῆναι ἐς αὐτόν· ὥς δὲ εἶδε τοῖσι σκέλεσι χειρονομήσαντα, οὐκέτι κατέχειν δυνάμενος εἶπε· “ὦ παῖ Τισάνδρου, ἀπορχήσαό γε μὴν τὸν γάμον.” ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκλείδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· “οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ²⁹⁶.” ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο οὖνομάζεται. Κλεισθένης δὲ σιγὴν ποιησάμενος, ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον τάδε· “ἄνδρες παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστῆρες, ἐγὼ καὶ πάντας ὑμέας ἐπαινέω, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, εἰ οἶόν τε εἴη, χαριζομένην ἂν, μήτ' ἓνα ὑμέων ἐξαίρετον ἀποκρίνων μήτε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδοκιμάζων· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἶά τέ ἐστι μῆς πέρι παρθένου βουλευόμενα πᾶσι κατὰ νόον ποιέειν, τοῖσι μὲν ὑμέων ἀπελαυνομένοισι τοῦδε τοῦ γάμου τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκάστῳ δωρεὴν δίδωμι τῆς ἀξιώσιος εἵνεκα τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι, καὶ τῆς ἐξ οἴκου ἀποδημίας· τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος Μεγακλέϊ²⁹⁷ ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην, νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων·” φαμένου δὲ ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος, ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένει.

130

Agariste is given to *Megacles*, the son of Alcmaeon, and the marriage takes place according to the Athenian rites.

131

Of this Agariste was born Clisthenes, the great reformer of the Athenian polity,

Ἀμφὶ μὲν κρίσιος τῶν μνηστήρων τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτω Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι ἐβώσθησαν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τούτων δὲ συνοικησάντων, γίνεται Κλεισθένης τε ὁ τὰς φυλὰς καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίην Ἀθηναίοισι καταστήσας, ἔχων τὸ οὖνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ μητροπάτορος τοῦ Σικωνίου· οὗτός τε δὴ γίνεται Μεγακλέϊ, καὶ Ἴπποκράτης.

carried out with regard to the religious worship of Sicyon had something to do with his uneasy feelings on seeing Hippocles commence his performance. He had severed the ritual of Adrastus into two parts, and appropriated the least important—the choruses—to Dionysus; and it would seem that this was the only portion which the devotees of Adrastus could accept. (See v. 67, and note 172.) Hippocles therefore by what he did, even at the first, identified himself in a manner

with that class of Clisthenes's subjects for which he had the greatest dislike.

²⁹⁵ ἐχειρονόμησε. See note 351 on ii. 121.

²⁹⁶ οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ. The proper application of the proverb is to persons so light-hearted, or careless, as to let no misfortune affect them even for a minute.

²⁹⁷ τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος Μεγακλέϊ. The manuscripts M, P, K, F have merely Μεγακλέϊ δέ.

ἐκ δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος, Μεγακλῆς τε ἄλλος, καὶ Ἀγαρίστη ἄλλη, whose niece (also called Agarriste) was the mother of Pericles, by Xanthippus, son of Arifhron.

ἀπὸ τῆς Κλεισθέneos Ἀγαρίστης ἔχουσα τὸ οὐνομα· ἡ συνοικήσασί τε Ξανθίππῳ τῷ Ἀρίφρονος καὶ ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα εἶδε ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ· ἐδόκεε δὲ λέοντα τεκεῖν· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τίκτει Περι- κλέα Ξανθίππῳ.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρῶμα γενόμενον, Μιλτιάδης καὶ πρό- τερον εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοισι τότε μᾶλλον αὔξετο^a αἰτήσας δὲ νέας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ στρατιήν τε καὶ χρήματα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οὐ φράσας σφί ἐπ' ἣν ἐπιστρατεύεται χώρην, ἀλλὰ φὰς αὐτοὺς καταπλουτιεῖν ἣν οἱ ἔπωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ χώρην τοιαύτην δὴ τινα ἄξειν ὅθεν χρυσὸν εὐπετέως ἄφθονον οἴσονται· λέγων τοιαῦτα, αἵτεε τὰς νέας· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπαρθέντες παρέδοσαν.

Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Μιλτιάδης τὴν στρατιήν ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Πάρον, 132
πρόφασιν ἔχων ὡς οἱ Πάριοι ὑπῆρξαν πρότεροι στρατευόμενοι τριήρεϊ ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. (τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρόσχημα λόγου ἦν· ἀτὰρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοις διὰ Λυσα- γόρεα τὸν Τισίεω, ἐόντα γένος Πάριον, διαβαλόντα μιν πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσῃν²⁹³.) ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν ἔπλεε ὁ Μιλτιάδης τῇ στρατῇ ἐπολιόρκεε Παρίους, κατειλημένους ἐντὸς τείχεος· καὶ ἐσπέμπων κήρυκα αἵτεε ἑκατὸν τάλαντα, φὰς, ἣν μὴ οἱ δῶσι, οὐκ ἀπαναστήσειν τὴν στρατιήν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλῃ σφέας· οἱ δὲ Πάριοι ὅκως μὲν τι δώσουσι Μιλτιάδῃ ἀργυρίου οὐδὲ διανοεῦντο· οἱ δὲ 133
ὅκως διαφυλάξουσιν τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο ἐμχανῶντο, ἀλλὰ τε ἐπι-

The influ-
ence of Mil-
tiades is
much in-
creased by
the success
at Mara-
thon.

He is sent
on a roving
commission
with seventy
ships, with
which he
attacks
Paros

unsucces-
fully.

^a ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. p. 1304) speaks of the effect of the battle of Marathon as having been to raise the influence of the court of Areopagus, and increase the aristocratic character of the Athenian government, while, on the other hand, the feats of the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος at Salamis democratised it. The inhabitants of the Piræus were, in his time, more democratically inclined than those of the city. (*Ib.* v. p. 1303.)

²⁹³ πρὸς Ὑδάρνεα τὸν Πέρσῃν. A Hydarnes is mentioned in the narrative given below (vii. 135) as having the same command on the coast of Asia Minor, which above (v. 25) is said to have been entrusted to Otanes. But Otanes does not appear to have been superseded until just before the first expedition of Mardonius,—and

then, apparently, by Mardonius absorbing his command and also that of others in the higher powers which he had received. See vi. 43. A year before this Miltiades had left the Chersonese; so that the calumny in question must have taken place at an earlier period. But Otanes was appointed immediately after Darius's return from Scythia, before he left Sardis (v. 25). If therefore the stories belong to the same cycle of accounts, we must suppose Hydarnes about the person of Darius before being appointed to his command, and in this capacity to have been influenced by Lysagoras. A Hydarnes was one of the seven conspirators (iii. 70); but if he is the individual here meant, it is strange that the circumstance should not be mentioned.

134

The Parian
account of
the misfor-
tune which
befel him.

φραζόμενοι καὶ τῇ μάλιστα ἔσκε ἐκάστοτε ἐπίμαχον τοῦ τείχεος, τοῦτο ἅμα νυκτὶ ἐξήρητο διπλήσιον τοῦ ἀρχαίου. Ἐς μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες λέγουσι· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτοὶ Πάριοι γενέσθαι ὧδε λέγουσι· Μιλτιάδῃ ἀπορέοντι ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα, ἐοῦσαν μὲν Παρίην γένος, οὖνομα δέ οἱ εἶναι Τιμοῦν· εἶναι δὲ ὑποζάκορον τῶν χθονίων θεῶν· ταύτην δὲ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς ὄψιν Μιλτιάδεω συμβουλευσαί οἱ, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται Πάρον ἐλεῖν, τὰ ἂν αὐτῇ ὑποθῆται ταῦτα ποιεῖν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν μὲν ὑποθέσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐόντα τὸ ἔρκος θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος ὑπερθορέειν, οὐ δυνάμενον τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι· ὑπερθορόντα δὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸ μέγαρον ὃ τι δὴ ποιήσουνα ἐντὸς, εἴτε κινήσουντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων· εἴτε ὃ τι δήποτε πρήξουνα· πρὸς τῇσι θύρῃσι τε γενέσθαι, καὶ πρόκατε²⁹⁹ φρίκης αὐτὸν ὑπελθούσης, ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἵεσθαι· καταθρώσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἵμασιν τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ

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γόνυ προσπταῖσαι λέγουσι. Μιλτιάδης μὲν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέπλεε ὀπίσω, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἐξ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ὥς ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμῷ Μιλτιάδῃ κατηγήσατο³⁰⁰, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς, ὥς σφεας ἡσυχίᾳ τῆς πολιορκίας ἔσχε· ἔπεμπον δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρήσονται τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν ὥς ἐξηγησαμένην τοῖσι ἐχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν, καὶ τὰ ἐς ἔρσενά γόνον ἄρρητα ἱρὰ ἐκφήνασαν³⁰¹ Μιλτιάδῃ· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φάσα, οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίην τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εἶ, φανῆναί οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα· Παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσαντα ἔσχον ἐν στόμασι οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος³⁰². ὃς

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On his re-
turn to

²⁹⁹ πρόκατε. This form of πρόκα is found four times in Herodotus. See note 392 on i. 111.

³⁰⁰ κατηγήσατο. See note 161 on ii. 49, and that on vii. 183.

³⁰¹ ἐκφήνασαν, "as having exhibited." The difference between the office of the ἐξηγῆτης and the ἱεροφάντης is well shown by this sentence. Timo was supposed to

have "instructed Miltiades what course to pursue" (ἐξηγήσασθαι) in order to capture Paros, but to have "exhibited" (ἐκφήναι) to him the sacred symbols, which no male might behold. See note on 141 on ii. 49 (with which compare PLATO, *Legg.* xii. § 9).

³⁰² Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος. See note 263 on § 115, above.

θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν^a ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθη-
ναίων ἀπάτης εἵνεκεν Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπε-
λογέετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ· προκειμένου
δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπολογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν
Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμνημένοι καὶ τὴν Δῆμνον αἵρε-
σιν³⁰³, ὡς ἐλὼν Δῆμνόν τε καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρ-
έδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν
ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου^a, ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην πεντή-
κοντα ταλάντοισι, Μιλτιάδης μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα σφακελίσαντός τε
τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος τελευτᾷ, τὰ δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα
ἐξέτισε ὁ πᾶς αὐτοῦ Κίμων.

Athens his
enemies en-
deavour to
ruin him,
and partially
succeed.

Δῆμνον δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος ὠδε ἔσχε· Πελασγοί, ἐπεὶ τε 137
ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ὦν δὴ δικαίως
εἴτε ἀδίκως· (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι πλὴν τὰ λεγόμενα) [ὅτι
Ἑκαταῖος³⁰⁴ μὲν ὁ Ἡγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι λέγων
ἀδίκως· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν χώραν, τὴν σφισι
αὐτοῖσι³⁰⁵ ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμησσὸν εἶδον ἔδωσαν οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ

Circum-
stances un-
der which
Miltiades
obtained
possession
of Lemnos.

^a ὑπαγαγὼν. The MSS vary between this and the simple form. The latter is found without any variation in § 104: ὑπὸ δικάστηριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, and the former in § 82: νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ὑπ-
ῆγον οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους.

³⁰³ τὴν Δῆμνον αἵρεσιν. These words in the accusative case, coupled (as they conceived) with a genitive, τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μ., have caused some discussion among the commentators, which perhaps was aided by the injudicious punctuation. But there is no difficulty at all in the passage if a comma only be placed after αἵρε-
σιν. Translate: "His friends made a defence for him, in which they both frequently introduced a reference to the battle at Marathon, and spoke of the capture of Lemnos, how that he took Lemnos, and after punishing the Pelasgians, made the island over to the Athenians." Τὴν Δῆμνον αἵρεσιν is what has sometimes been called the *accusativus de quo*. The friends of Miltiades did not make that topic the staple of their argument, as they did the battle of Marathon. If they had, Herodotus would have written τῆς Δῆμνον αἰρέσεως. But they gave a turn to the fact of his having captured Lemnos, by

representing it as a feat of vengeance for offences committed against the Athenians long before,—ὡς ἐλὼν, κ.τ.λ. See note 315 on § 140, below.

^a If PLATO may be trusted, his escape was a very narrow one. Μιλτιάδην δὲ τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν πρύτανιν, ἐνέπεσεν ἄν. (*Gorgias*, § 153.)

³⁰⁴ ὅτι Ἑκαταῖος μὲν, κ.τ.λ. I have included the remainder of this section between brackets, not from any notion of its being spurious, but because it seems undoubtedly to be of the nature of a *note*, although not improbably from the hand of the author himself.

³⁰⁵ σφισι αὐτοῖσι. It has been proposed to erase αὐτοῖσι, or to read αὐτοί, referring it to the Athenians. But it is to be observed that here a statement is being copied from Hecataeus's work; and if Hecataeus gave the account as the Pelasgian one, making *them* tell the story (by introducing it with some such phrase as ὡς δὲ Δῆμνιοι λέγουσι), σφισιν αὐτοῖσι, "themselves," would be the proper expression to use. The same explanation will account for the use of αὐτοῖς below, i. e. "the Pelasgians."

τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτε ἐληλαμένον· ταύτην ὡς ἰδεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξεργασμένην εἶδ, τὴν πρότερον εἶναι³⁰⁶ κακὴν τε καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίην, λαβεῖν φθόνον τε καὶ ἥμερον τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὕτω ἐξελαύνειν αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην πρόφασιν προῖσχομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, δικαίως ἐξελάσαι· κατοικημένους γὰρ τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμησῶ, ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμεωμένους ἀδικεῖν τάδε· φοιτᾶν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὰς σφετέρας θυγατέρας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας³⁰⁷ ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον³⁰⁸. (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι "Ἑλλησι οἰκέτας") ὅκως δὲ ἔλθοιεν αὐται, τοὺς Πελασγοὺς ὑπὸ ὕβριός τε καὶ ὀλιγωρίας βιάσθαι σφεας· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σφίσι οὐκ ἀποχρᾶν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τέλος καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἐπιχειρήσειν φανῆναι ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ· ἐωυτοὺς δὲ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτῳ ἐκείνων ἄνδρας ἀμείνοντας, ὅσῳ παρεὼν αὐτοῖσι ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς Πελασγοὺς (ἐπεὶ σφεας ἔλαβον ἐπιβουλεύοντας) οὐκ ἐθέλησαι, ἀλλὰ σφι προειπεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξιέναι· τοὺς δὲ οὕτω δὴ ἐκχωρήσαντας, ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον³⁰⁹. ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ Ἐκαταῖος ἔλεξε, ταῦτα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι.] Οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι Λῆμνον τότε νεμόμενοι, καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι, εἶ τε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς Ἀθηναίων ὀρτὰς, πεντηκοντέρους στησάμενοι ἐλόχησαν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν Βραυρῶνι ἀγούσας ὀρτὴν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναικας· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀρπάσαντες τουτέων πολλὰς οἴχοντο ἀποπλέοντες· καὶ σφεας ἐς Λῆμνον ἀγαγόντες παλλακὰς εἶχον· ὥς δὲ τέκνων αὐται αἱ γυναῖκες ὑπεπλήσθησαν, γλῶσσάν τε τὴν

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³⁰⁶ τὴν πρότερον εἶναι. This expression has caused some difficulty to the commentators from their not remarking that τὴν is the relative pronoun, not the article.

³⁰⁷ One manuscript (S) omits the words καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, and Schäfer and Bekker not only omit them, but the particle τε which precedes them. But there seems no sufficient reason for this proceeding. No doubt the practice in antiquity was for the women of the family to be ὕδροφόροι. Here however the additional words do not oppose this fact. Translate: "Their daughters with the children used to go after water." That Herodotus considered the daughters as the important feature in

the story is evident from the gender of σφετέρας, and of αὐται two lines below.

³⁰⁸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐννεάκρουνον. THUCYDIDES speaks of this spring, which was called *Callirhoe* originally, as being in the oldest part of the city with the exception of the acropolis (ii. 15). It is to be looked for under the south-eastern part of the hill. It was beautified by the Pisistratids, and from its separation into nine outlets got the name of Enneacrunus.

³⁰⁹ καὶ δὴ καὶ Λῆμνον. From Lemnos (according to the tradition followed in iv. 145) they expelled the grandchildren of the Argonauts, who thereupon went as suppliants to Taygetum.

Ἀττικὴν καὶ τρόπους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐδίδασκον τοὺς παῖδας· οἱ δὲ οὔτε συμμίσγεσθαι τοῖσι ἐκ τῶν Πελασγίδων γυναικῶν παισὶ ᾗθελον, εἴ τε τύπτοιτό τις αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τινός, ἐβοήθειν τε πάντες καὶ ἐτιμώρεον ἀλλήλοισιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄρχειν τε τῶν παίδων οἱ παῖδες ἐδικαίουν, καὶ πολλὸν ἐπεκράτεον· μαθόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἑωυτοῖσι λόγους ἐδίδοσαν· καὶ σφίσι βουλευομένοισι δεινὸν τι ἐσέδυνε, εἰ δὴ διαγινώσκοιεν σφίσι τε βοηθέειν οἱ παῖδες πρὸς τῶν κουριδιέων γυναικῶν³¹⁰ τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ τούτων αὐτίκα ἄρχειν πειρώατο, τί δὴ ἀνδρωθέντες δῆθεν ποιήσουσι; ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοξέ σφι κτείνειν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀττικέων γυναικῶν· ποιέουσι δὴ ταῦτα, προσαπολλύουσι δὲ σφῶν καὶ τὰς μητέρας. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου³¹¹ καὶ τοῦ προτέρου τούτων τὸ ἐργάσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τοὺς ἅμα Θόαντι ἄνδρας σφετέρους ἀποκτείνειν, νενόμισται ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ σχέτλια ἔργα πάντα Λήμνια καλέεσθαι. Ἀποκτείνεισι δὲ τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι τοὺς σφετέρους παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, οὔτε γῆ καρπὸν ἔφερε οὔτε γυναῖκές τε καὶ ποῖμναι ὁμοίως ἔτικτον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ· πιεζόμενοι δὲ λιμῷ τε καὶ ἀπαιδίῃ, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον λύσιν τινὰ αἰτησόμενοι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν· ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφέας ἐκέλευε Ἀθηναίοισι δίκας διδόναι ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δικάσωσιν· ἡλθόν τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Πελασγοὶ, καὶ δίκας ἐπαγγέλλοντο βουλόμενοι διδόναι παντὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ κλίνην στρώσαντες ὡς εἶχον κάλλιστα, καὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιπλήν ἁγαθῶν πάντων παραθέντες, ἐκέλευον τοὺς Πελασγοὺς τὴν χώραν σφίσι παραδιδόναι οὕτω ἔχουσιν· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπαν· “ἐπεὰν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ αὐτημερὸν νηὺς ἐξανύσῃ ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, τότε παραδώσομεν” τοῦτο εἶπαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τοῦτο εἶναι ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ πρὸς νότον κέεται πολλὸν τῆς Λήμνου. τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα· ἔτεσι δὲ κάρτα πολλοῖσι

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³¹⁰ κουριδιέων γυναικῶν. See note 463 on i. 135.

³¹¹ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου. It is not difficult to see that Herodotus is here following a popular Attic tradition. The early pride of the children is a feature showing the Athenian origin of the legend. For another tradition relative to the Pelasgian

neighbours of the Athenians, see note 150 on ii. 51. Another origin still may be assigned to the proverb. *Lemnos* was a name of the μεγάλη θεός, and virgins were habitually sacrificed to her. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.* Λήμνος, apparently following Hecataeus.)

ὑστερον τούτων³¹², ὡς ἡ Χερσώνησος ἡ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι³¹³, Μιλτιάδης ὁ Κίμωνος, ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων κατ-εστηκότων νηὶ κατανύσας ἐξ Ἑλαιούντος τοῦ ἐν Χερσονήσῳ ἐς Ἀἴμνον, προηγόρευε ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς νήσου τοῖσι Πελασγοῖσι, ἀναμυμνήσκων σφέας τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ οὐδαμὰ ἥλπισαν σφίσι οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐπιτελέεσθαι. Ἡφαιστιέες³¹⁴ μὲν νυν ἐπέιθοντο· Μυριναῖοι δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τὴν Χερσώνησον Ἀττικὴν ἐπολιορκέοντο, ἐς ὃ καὶ αὐτοὶ παρέστησαν· οὕτω δὲ τὴν Ἀἴμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης³¹⁵.

³¹² ἔτεσι κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὑστερον τούτων. The outrage upon the Athenian women was conceived to have taken place in the third generation after the Argonautic expedition. (See the note 309 on § 137.) Miltiades's justification of an act of violence by the plea of a mythical event supposed to have taken place centuries before, is quite in keeping with the feeling of pagan antiquity to its very close. TACITUS makes the Asiatic cities, when pleading for certain privileges before the Roman senate, urge mythical tales of their origin as an argument. The Ætolians too were said to have obtained the privilege of self-government from the Romans, on the ground that their ancestors, alone of all the Greeks, had abstained from joining the expedition against Troy. (STRABO, x. p. 348.) But the mediæval history of England furnishes a perfectly parallel case. "In a dispute which took place during the reign of Edward I. between England and Scotland, the descent of the kings of England from *Brute the Trojan* was solemnly embodied in a document put forth to sustain the rights of the crown of England, as an argument bearing on the case then in discussion, and it passed without attack from the opposing party." (GROTE, *History of Greece*, i. p. 639.)

³¹³ ὡς ἡ Χερσώνησος . . ἐγένετο ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοισι. This is the form under which Athenian vanity, after the complete establishment of the popular government, was disposed to represent the dynasty of Miltiades. Compare the account (probably from family tradition) which Herodotus gives above, § 39. A precisely similar perversion of historical truth appears in the case of Sigeum. See note 271 on v. 94, and 276 on v. 95.

³¹⁴ Ἡφαιστιέες. See note 372 on iv. 145.

³¹⁵ οὕτω δὲ τὴν Ἀἴμνον ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Μιλτιάδης. A curious passage is preserved in STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*sub* v. Ἡφαιστία) which throws remarkable light on this transaction. CHARAX in his *Chronica* related the capture of the Myrænæans by Miltiades, and added: τῶν δ' Ἡφαιστιέων τύραννος ὢν φοβηθεὶς τὴν δύναμιν ἔφη χαρίζομενος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις φίλοις οὐσιν ἐμπεδοῦν τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν, καὶ ἀμαχεὶ παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν. Valcknaer supposes that in the word ὢν exist the relics of Ἑρμῶν (of whom it is related that the expression Ἑρμῶνεις χάρις became a proverb from the circumstance that he βασιλεῦων τῶν Πελασγῶν ἐξέστη τῆς χώρας, τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ Δαρείου τὴν δύναμιν φοβηθεὶς, προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἐκὼν διδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν χάριν. ZENOBI, *Prov. Cent.* iii. 85). But it is quite a gratuitous assumption that Hermon was tyrant of Pelasgians in *Lemnos*. He might have been so of those in Imbros (see v. 26), or those in Scylace or Placie, or several other places in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. But as applied to Miltiades, the matter admits of a very plausible solution. When the revolt against Darius stimulated by Aristagoras broke out, Lemnos was under Persian rule, and Lycaretus, brother of Mæandrius, satrap there (v. 27). The Ionians having for the moment command of the seas (v. 103), of course cut off all communication between Lemnos and Imbros and the main, and this gave an excellent opportunity to Miltiades (of which it can hardly be doubted he took advantage) to pounce upon the island from his eyrie in the Chersonese. The Lemnians, having no common interest with

the Ionians, would find no sympathy from the allies, and Miltiades would be enabled to secure his prize as the price of his adhesion to the revolution. When the overwhelming Persian force at last obliged him to take refuge in Athens, the jealousy of the Alcmaeonids would be excited by his presence, and they would endeavour to fix a charge upon him of having played the dynast in the Chersonese (§ 104), a charge which the contrast between Lemnos and the Ionian cities, whose tyrants were expelled (v. 37), would be a most powerful argument to confirm. But his pre-

sence of mind did not fail him. He admitted the fact of his being dynast over the Hephæstians, but pleaded that this *δύναμις* (an euphemism for *δυναστεία*) was what clinched (*ἐμπεδοῦν*) the surrender of the Pelasgians. *He* was only the instrument of fulfilling the omen! Lemnos *belonged* to the Athenians! Such a *coup* as this would naturally lead not only to his acquittal, but his immediate election as *στρατηγός*. (See note 233 on § 104.) Hermon was less fortunate or less shrewd.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἙΚΤΗ.

EXCURSUS ON VI. 102.

Καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεύσαι καὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἑρετρίας, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγγέτο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτῳ.

There are several points connected with the account of the battle of Marathon which are very difficult to explain. COLONEL LEAKE has employed a chapter of the Appendix to his work on *Athens and the Demi of Attica* in the examination of them, but has not, in my opinion, altogether cleared up the subject.

One difficulty, perhaps the greatest of all, arises from the circumstance that although Hippias, who acted as guide to the invading army, is expressly stated to have selected Marathon as the point for debarkation, partly from its adaptation to the employment of cavalry,—an arm in which the Persians were notoriously superior,—no mention of the use of cavalry appears in the account of the engagement. And that, from some cause or other, the invaders were not able to avail themselves of the advantage they possessed in this respect, may be inferred from the proverbial expression *χωρὶς ἱππέως* ("the cavalry are away"), which, according to SUIDAS (*sub v.*), arose from the very fact of their absence at the time of the engagement, and of the advantage which the Athenians derived from the knowledge of that circumstance.

Colonel Leake accounts for this, as well as for some other features in the narrative of Herodotus, by imputing to the Persian commanders an amount of imbecility which nothing but the strongest

direct testimony would warrant. He supposes that on landing their cavalry, and finding that there was "insufficient space for them in the plain of Marathon within the marshes, they were placed in some neighbouring plain, without any means of passing either those barriers or the mountains; and that on the day of action they were not even within sight of it." He also remarks it as a very difficult thing to explain, why the Persians should have remained inactive during the nine complete days which elapsed between the moment when the Athenians arrived in the presence of the enemy and the time of the battle. "It is even difficult to conceive (he says) how it happened that with such numbers as ancient authors have ascribed to them, and straitened for room as they must have been in the plain of Marathon, they did not spread on every side, until they had gradually occupied all the hills around the plain, had ascertained the weakness of their adversaries, and had found the means of surrounding and attacking them on the flanks and rear. But it is clear from Herodotus that no such consequences took place; that the invaders did not even venture to penetrate into the valley of Marathóna, which was open to them; but that they remained irresolute in their maritime position until the Athenians attacked them."

That the Persians expected to fight almost immediately upon their landing seems likely from the part taken by Hippias on that occasion. He himself at once drew up the troops on the debarkation being effected,—and so little did he appear to consider success certain, that he prudently got the ships afloat (probably by carrying a hawse off) as soon as ever they touched the beach (*καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὥρμιζε οὕτως*, § 107). These provisions indicate a cautious temper rather than an irresolute one. Hippias, if he expected to be attacked while the debarkation was going on, took the most judicious measures to defend himself. The bowmen from the ships, they riding in just enough water to float them, could have effectually covered the troops while forming on the beach, and, in the event of their being driven back by the Greeks, would have very much facilitated their re-embarkation. That in fact they did this on the day of the engagement is very likely, from the circumstance, that in spite of the asserted panic-flight of the Persians, the victors succeeded in capturing only seven vessels.

Now, as Herodotus goes into these details of the mode of debark-

ation, it is remarkable that he should say nothing of the landing of the horses,—an extremely difficult operation at all times in the face of an enemy,—and an especially interesting one on this occasion, as the adaptation of the plain for cavalry is explicitly stated to be Hippias's motive for selecting the site he did. I believe the real reason of this omission is, that in fact no horses in any numbers were yet landed. They *had been* debarked at Eretria, as Herodotus mentions (§ 101), little more than a week before, and there, I conceive, they still remained. There was no difficulty found in landing them *there*; for the power of the Eretrians was, at least in their own opinion, so inferior to that of the Persians, that the former had no thoughts of resisting in any other way than by shutting themselves up within their own walls¹ (§ 101).

But now the question occurs, why should not the cavalry have been carried at once to Marathon? They were not so, I conceive, because of the much greater difficulty of landing them in the face of an opposing force such as Hippias's proceeding shows him to have anticipated. His plan apparently was in the first instance to form a *lodgment* on the coast, by means of which he might cover the landing of the cavalry, without fear of an attack during the operation. This preliminary step having been effected, intelligence could easily be sent to Eubœa, and the horses transported from the good quarters in which they had been left in the country of the Hippobotæ, to the barren hills of Attica, exactly at the time when their services would be required. If, instead of maintaining their important position at the temple of Heracles, the Athenians had retreated upon Athens, Hippias would doubtless have done as his father did under similar circumstances forty-seven years before; he would himself have occupied the position evacuated by them. He would then have sent for his cavalry; and on their arrival have moved up the valley and entered the plain of Athens. But the position of the Greeks seems to have been so skilfully selected as to present an almost impregnable barrier to the invaders, so long as there remained resolution to maintain it. The plain of Marathon is enclosed by the heights of

¹ Perhaps it is to this circumstance the taunt of Themistocles alludes (PLUTARCH. *Themist.* § 11): τοῦ δ' Ἐρετριέως πειρωμένου λέγειν τι πρὸς αὐτὸν, "ἦ γὰρ, ἔφη, καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου τίς ἐστὶ λόγος, οἱ καθάπερ αἱ τευθίδες μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δὲ οὐκ ἔχετε;"

Diacria and Brilessus, the roots of which extend to the sea, forming respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the bay. Towards the interior the plain branches off into two valleys, flanked and separated from one another by mountains inaccessible to cavalry, and in which the positions become stronger at every step, until they meet in one point at the modern *Stamáta*, near the upper part of the plain of Athens. In the southernmost of these two valleys is a small village, called at the present day *Vraná*, which Colonel Leake, on apparently good grounds, identifies with the site of the ancient Marathon. About a mile nearer the sea this valley debouches into the plain of Marathon, and here Leake has seen reason to fix the site of the Heracleum in the precinct of which the Athenians were encamped. Their right rested upon the hill of *Argalíki* (a part of Brilessus), and their left was protected by Mount *Kotróni*, an insulated hill of no great height, but extremely rugged, which separates the two valleys above mentioned. Thus posted, the army of Miltiades effectually stopped all access to the plain of Athens by the nearest road, which ran through *Vraná* and *Stamáta*. But their position appears to have been taken up not merely with this view, but also for the purpose of defending another means of access to the city. The roots of Brilessus which form the southern boundary of Marathon fall so gradually as to present no very defensible impediment to the communication between the plain of Marathon and the plain of Mesogæa, and Athens might be reached by a road over these, passing through Gargettus and Pallene. (In the view of many this is the road by which Pisistratus marched upon Athens from Marathon.) But a glance at the map shows that while the Athenian force was posted at the Heracleum, no body of troops could move by this road without exposing their *right* flank and rear to them. And although the roots of Brilessus are not so steep as to present an inaccessible barrier, they are at this time, and doubtless were at the time of the engagement, covered with low pine-trees and brushwood; and the road itself, at its debouchment from the plain, not a mile and a half to the south of the Heracleum, passes between the mountains and a marsh. With an army so posted as that of the Athenian general, a few judiciously placed abatis, formed of trees cut down and laid with their heads towards the enemy, might be converted into a quite sufficient obstacle to prevent his march by this road in the presence of an enemy

on the vulnerable flank. And this is perhaps the operation which is obscurely indicated in the account of CORNELIUS NEPOS², and alluded to by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA³.

Under these circumstances it is perhaps more a matter of wonder that the Greeks should have assumed the offensive, as they at last did, than that the Persians should not have done so at an earlier period. Both of the proceedings, however, seem to me to admit of an explanation from the fact which Miltiades pressed upon the consideration of the polemarch Callimachus, in order to bring him over to his own view⁴. A strong Pisistratid faction still existed in Attica, and the establishment of a formidable Persian army in a corner of the territory would naturally, so soon as it was generally known, become the signal for these to show themselves in the most useful way possible under such circumstances, viz. by assembling a force to co-operate with the invading army. Now, I have above⁵ endeavoured to show that the interests of the Pisistratids were especially strong in that part of Mesogæa which lay on the eastern side of Hymettus, and to explain, from that consideration, the singular account which Herodotus gives of the details of the battle at Pallene, which restored Pisistratus to his throne after his second exile. Hippias, no doubt well recollecting the success of his father's plan of operations adopted on the former occasion, pursues exactly the same course. Content with establishing himself in force on the bay of Marathon, he waits for a demonstration on the part of his friends in Attica of sufficient importance to menace the communication of Miltiades with the city. Had this taken place, and the position which kept him in

² Ejus auctoritate impulsu Athenienses copias ex urbe eduxerunt, locoque idoneo castra fecerunt: deinde *postero die* sub montis radicibus acie e regione instructâ, *novâ arte*, vi summâ prælium commiserunt, namque arbores multis locis erant raræ. hoc consilio, ut et montium tegerentur altitudine, et *arborum tractu* equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. (*Miltiades*, § 5.) In the place of *raræ*, which has been thought corrupt, Van Staueren proposes to read *strate* or *satae*. But the expression seems to mean "in patches," which gives a sufficient sense; although it does not clear up the nature of the use made of the trees.

³ ἦγαγε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νύκτωρ δι' ἀνοδίας βαδίσας καὶ πλανήσας τοὺς τηροῦντας αὐτὸν τῶν βαρβάρων . . . καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων προκαταλαβόμενος ἐφύλαττεν, διὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἔχειν τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. (*Stromata*, i. § 162.)

⁴ ἦν μὲν νυν μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσιν μεγάλην ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασείσειν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα, ὥστε μηδίσαι (§ 109).

⁵ See note 194 on i. 59; 201 on i. 60; 210, 211 on i. 62.

check been abandoned, the cavalry would at once have been brought from Eubœa, and would have destroyed the Athenian army upon overtaking it either in the plain of Athens, or that of Mesogæa.

Herodotus, by the way in which he describes the difference of opinion among the ten generals, namely, that it was a simple question whether they should engage the enemy or not, leaves the reader strangely puzzled to account for the conduct of Miltiades, who, although four of his nine colleagues⁶ resigned their command to him, and although he had won over the polemarch to his side by strongly representing the necessity of striking a blow before any internal rottenness should disclose itself, yet delayed to engage until the fifth day after he had the power of doing so. To account for this by supposing that he waited for his own regular turn, in order to prevent the possibility of any rival claim to the credit of a victory which he foresaw would follow, appears to me a notion which could never have arisen before the event. But if the real alternative at issue with the Athenian generals was, not whether they should provoke the invaders to fight or retain their position of defence; but, whether they should persist at any cost in holding their strong position, or fall back on the city⁷, the conduct of Miltiades becomes quite intelligible. We may suppose him each day drawing out his force in front of his lines, and thus stopping all access to the interior by the southern road, as well as by that up the valley. The invaders in their turn forming a longer line by means of their superior numbers, keep him effectually in check (as they conceive), he not being able to move forward to attack them without being outflanked. But the experience of four days convincing him that they, on these grounds, expect nothing less than an attack by him; on the fifth he attempts to strike, and succeeds in striking, a fatal blow, by suddenly extending his line (at the price of weakening his centre), and rapidly attacking the enemy before they have time to make a counter movement. The

⁶ Not *all*, as MR. GROTE assumes. Herodotus says it was those who voted with him for fighting (τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν).

⁷ This very question perhaps lies at the bottom of NEPOS's statement of the matter. "Inter quos (scil. decem prætores) magna fuit contentio, utrum *mænibus* se defenderent, an *obviam irent hostibus* acieque decernerent." The writer apparently supposes the council of war to be held at Athens, but has no definite notion on the subject of the locality. (*Miltiades*, § 4.)

flower of the invading army—the Persians and Sacans, who were posted in the centre—broke that part of the Athenian line which was opposed to them; but these had a strong position to fall back upon, whereas the wings of the enemy were totally ruined and overwhelmed in the marshes, into which they rushed headlong in the *panic* of the moment⁸.

At this stage of the proceeding Herodotus's description offers another difficulty. According to him the two victorious wings of the Athenians *united*, and, without pursuing that portion of the invading army which had given way, turned at once upon the Persians and Sacans, who had pursued their own centre quite into the interior (ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν). However little this expression be strained, we cannot take it to mean less than that the pursuit had extended considerably up one or both of the two narrow valleys which converge at Stamáta; so that when the new attack was made upon them the Persian centre must in a manner have been caught in a trap, with the victorious Athenians and Platæans between them and their ships. To reach these they must in fact have forced their way *through* their new opponents,—a work doubtless of difficulty, but not impossible for highly disciplined troops; especially as their opponents, after all their success against the wings, might think it much more expedient to harass a retreating enemy than to force him to desperation. The whole number of ships captured in the re-embarkation is only seven, little more than the hundredth part of the fleet, and the whole loss of men but 6400,—an utterly inconceivable result, if we are to suppose (what Herodotus's description would imply) at least twenty times that number flying in confusion before a victorious enemy, and re-embarking on a line of coast of not more than two miles in length⁹.

⁸ In the painted portico at Athens the destruction of the invaders in this way formed a prominent feature. They were depicted *φεύγοντες καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔλος ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους*. (PAUSANIAS, i. 15. 3.) Here was doubtless the good service rendered to the Athenians by the god Pan, the nature of which is not stated by Herodotus, although he speaks of the reward which was rendered for it (§ 105). But afterwards, when Marathon had become to the Athenians very much what Agincourt became to the English, a discreet silence as to the marshes seems to have been observed; and there is nothing in Herodotus's narrative even to indicate the nature of the locality, although it is so conspicuous as at once to attract the attention of a traveller.

⁹ Sir Arthur Wellesley consumed the greater part of three days in landing 13,000 British troops, under the most favourable circumstances, in the Mondego river on August 1—3, 1808. Of the operation he himself says, "The landing is accompanied

The design which is attributed to the Persians of surprising Athens, before the return of the army which had just foiled them in the plain of Marathon, is another feature in the narrative of Herodotus which harmonizes well with the view that the Persians and Sacans retreated in comparatively good order, and for the most part got safe on board their vessels; but it combines very ill with the notion that they had saved themselves in a precipitate flight. Such a scheme could never occur to a commander whose whole force had been routed, and demoralized to the extent which a complete defeat implies.

But although, in my opinion, the description given by Herodotus of this celebrated action cannot possibly be received as an accurate account of its real circumstances, it appears to be a most faithful reflection of the opinions which in his time currently prevailed upon the subject at Athens. It is in all ages the habit of the vulgar to regard great military successes as the result of merely superior prowess; consequently popular tradition rapidly drops all those particulars of a battle which evince strategic genius, and substitutes for them exaggerated accounts of personal bravery. Few Englishmen can endure to acknowledge the share which the Prussians had in the complete victory at Waterloo; although the nature of the ground alone proves conclusively to the eye even of a civilian, that their co-operation must have entered into the original design of the illustrious commander of the British. There can be no wonder therefore if the consummate skill of Miltiades in seizing the only conditions under which victory could be hoped for, soon became a less satisfactory way of accounting for his success, than the principle that one Athenian was a match for ten, twenty, or even sixty Persians; and if the story of the action soon took a corresponding shape¹⁰.

One other circumstance may be pointed out confirmatory of the above remarks. PAUSANIAS, when he visited the field of Marathon, seems to have been puzzled to account for the circumstance, that

with some difficulties even here, and would be quite impossible if we had not the cordial assistance of the country, notwithstanding the zeal and abilities of the officers of the navy." GURWOOD (*Selections from Dispatches*, No. 233).

¹⁰ The jealousy which would have been excited by the truer view of the matter may be guessed from the story told by PLUTARCH (*Cimon*, § 8). The sentiment of Sochares of Decelea: ὅταν μόνος ἀγωνισάμενος, ᾧ Μιλτιάδῃ, νικήσῃς τοὺς βαρβάρους, τότε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι μόνος ἀξίον, was doubtless shared by all the ἄνδρες Μαραθωνομάχαι.

although the barrows which respectively covered the Athenians, the Plataeans, and the slaves who fell in the action, were conspicuous objects, there was no indication of where the Persians were buried. That the corpses were covered with earth he makes no doubt: common humanity would prevent their being left exposed. The solution of the difficulty with which he contents himself at last is, that they were buried here and there as they fell ¹¹. But, as a mere question of labour, it is obvious that the digging a single pit requires far less time than a multitude of separate graves. The fact apparently is, that the loss of the Persians consisted almost entirely ¹² of the fugitives who perished in the marshes, for whom therefore no grave was requisite.

¹¹ i. 32. 5.

¹² This is, in fact, stated by PAUSANIAS as a current belief (i. 32. 7).

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἙΒΔΟΜΗ.

ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.

ἘΠΕΙ δὲ ἀγγελίῃ¹ ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι 1
γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν
μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον² τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις
ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίηε³ καὶ μᾶλλον
ῥηρητο στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγ-
γέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλεις, ἐτοιμάζειν στρατὸν,
πολλῶ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρῆχον, καὶ νέας
τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα· τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων,
ἡ Ἀσίῃ ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγόμενων τε τῶν ἀρίστων
ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων⁴, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων.

The news of the battle of Marathon irritates Darius, and he orders preparations to be made for a fresh attempt. These last for three years, and in the fourth Egypt revolts.

¹ ἀγγελίῃ. Gaisford, with several MSS, has ἡ ἀγγελίῃ. But the use of the words τὸν Ὑστάσπεος in the next line, as well as the statement of Darius's irritation at the invasion of Sardis in such general terms, seem to indicate that here we have the beginning of what, in its first draft at any rate, was an independent history. And the manuscripts S, F, c, and d all omit the article. In fact the whole of the work of Herodotus up to this point may almost be regarded as a mere introduction for the more complete understanding of what follows. See note on § 173, below.

² κεχαραγμένον. HESYCHIUS explains this word by ἄργισμένον. EURIPIDES (*Med.* 156) has κείνῳ τὸδε μὴ χαράσσειν.

The idea seems to be that of a person on whom a strong impression has been made which cannot easily be got rid of. Hence in philosophical language the word χαρακτῆρ is used for that which defines the εἶδος.

³ πολλῶ δεινότερα ἐποίηε, "came to take it much worse." The difference between δεινὸν ἡγεῖσθαι and δεινὸν ποιεῖν is that between a man who at once conceives a feeling of irritation, and one who, by brooding over the matter of wrong, aggravates and exaggerates the instinctive resentment.

⁴ τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων, "the choicest troops, as it was against Hellas that they were to act."

2
The question of the next heir to the empire is discussed at court,

τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει⁵ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὑπὸ Καμβύσειω δουλωθέντες, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι. Στελλομένον δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας· ὡς δεῖ μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον⁶, οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι ἦσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖω καὶ πρότερον ἢ βασιλεύσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες, ἐκ τῆς προτέρης γυναικὸς Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς, καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἐξ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου ἕτεροι τέσσερες· τῶν μὲν δὴ προτέρων ἐπρέσβευε Ἀρταβαζάνης⁷, τῶν δὲ ἐπιγενομένων Ξέρξης· εἰόντες δὲ μητρὸς οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς, ἐστασίαζον· ὁ μὲν Ἀρταβαζάνης, κατότι πρεσβυτάτος τε εἶη παντὸς τοῦ γόνου καὶ ὅτι νομιζόμενα εἶη πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν πρεσβυτάτον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν· Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς Ἀτόσσης τε παῖς εἶη τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς καὶ ὅτι Κύρος εἶη ὁ κτησάμενος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι τὴν ἐλευθερίην. Δαρείου δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνυμένου κω γνώμην, ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τὸντὸ τούτοισι καὶ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος ἀναβεβηκὼς⁸ ἐς Σούσα, ἐστερημένος τε τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληΐης καὶ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἐωυτῷ⁹ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος· οὗτος ὠνήρ πυχθόμενος τῶν Δαρείου παίδων τὴν διαφορὴν, ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἡ φάτις

3
and by the shrewdness of Demaratus, and the influence of Atossa, set-

⁵ τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει. CLINTON (*F. H. a.* 486) makes this the fourth year, *not* reckoning the one in which the battle of Marathon took place; but it does not seem necessary to suppose this from what Herodotus says, and such a sense is contrary to the ordinary usage of the writer. In another passage, where he wishes to state that years were *completed*, he adds the word *πλήρεια* (§ 20, below). The battle of Marathon took place in the month of September, 490 B.C., and if we suppose the revolt of Egypt to have taken place during the time of the inundation—which would be the most favourable opportunity for a rebellion—in B.C. 487, the intelligence would probably not arrive at the head-quarters of the army in Asia Minor till after the expiration of the season for military operations in the same year. This arrangement of events seems more consistent with Herodotus's expressions than the equally hypothetical one of Clinton, who supposes the revolt to have taken place a year later; and it will be seen below (see note in § 7) to aid in reconciling the statements of Herodo-

tus with that of THUCYDIDES (i. 18), who puts the great expedition against Hellas *in the tenth year* after the battle of Marathon.

⁶ κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον. In accordance with this custom Cyrus is represented as naming Cambyses as his successor, previously to his expedition against the Massagetæ (i. 208).

⁷ Ἀρταβαζάνης. PLUTARCH (*De Fraternali Amore*, § 18) gives different particulars of the disputed succession. According to him Darius died without determining the matter, and Xerxes, in the absence of Ariamenes (whom, and not Artabazanes, he makes the eldest son), assumed the sovereignty. The two brothers referred their claims to the decision of their uncle Artabanus, and continued perfect friends. It is apparently the account of Plutarch to which JULIAN refers (*Orat.* i. p. 33), and certainly JUSTIN (ii. 10) draws from the same source.

⁸ ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τὸντὸ . . ἀναβεβηκὼς. See vi. 70, above.

⁹ φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἐωυτῷ. See vi. 70.

μιν ἔχει ¹⁰, Ξέρξη συνεβούλευε λέγειν πρὸς τοῖσι ἔλεγε ἔπεσι, ὡς ^{tled in favour of Xerxes.}
 αὐτὸς μὲν γένοιτο Δαρείῳ ἤδη βασιλεύοντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὸ Περσέων
 κράτος· Ἀρταβαζάνης δὲ ἔτι ἰδιώτῃ ἐόντι Δαρείῳ ¹¹. οὐκὼν οὐτ'
 οἰκὸς εἴη οὔτε δίκαιον ἄλλον τινὰ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν πρὸ ἑωυτοῦ· ἐπεὶ
 γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἔφη ὁ Δημάρετος ὑποτιθέμενος, οὕτω νομίζεσθαι,
 ἣν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι·
 ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψιλόγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἑκδεξιν
 τῆς βασιληΐης γίνεσθαι. χρησαμένου δὲ Ξέρξεω τῇ Δημαρήτου
 ὑποθήκῃ, γνοὺς ὁ Δαρείος ¹² ὡς λέγοι δίκαια, βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε.
 δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεύσαι ἂν Ξέρξης·
 ἢ γὰρ Ἀτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.

Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρείος Ξέρξεα, ὄρμητο στρα- 4
 τεύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ In the fifth year Darius dies, having reigned thirty-six years.
 ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ¹³ παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείον βασι-
 λεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ¹⁴, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ
 ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμω-
 ρήσασθαι· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου, ἡ βασιληΐη ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν
 παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξεα.

Ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν 5
 κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς Xerxes at first was not desirous to invade Hel-
 ἄγερσιν· παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων las, but was urged to it
 Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύνεω ¹⁵, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξη μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ

¹⁰ ὡς ἡ φάτις μιν ἔχει. So viii. 94: τοῦτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει. In ix. 84 the expression is varied: ἔχει δὲ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης.

¹¹ ἔτι ἰδιώτῃ ἐόντι Δαρείῳ. It appears from iii. 70 that at the time of the conspiracy against the Magians, Darius's father was still alive.

¹² γνοὺς ὁ Δαρείος. Another account made the matter settled after Darius's death. See note 7, above.

¹³ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει. This would probably be in the early spring of 486 B.C., not in 485 B.C., as CLINTON puts it. See note 5, above.

¹⁴ τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα. This is the reading of the great majority of the MSS. Gaisford adopts the variation of two, which put the word ἔτεα after τριήκοντα.

At the time of Cyrus's death Darius is represented as being about twenty years

old (i. 209). The reign of Cambyses occupies seven years and five months (iii. 66), and the usurpation of the Magians seven months more (iii. 67, 8). Assuming, therefore, the identity of the sources from which these accounts proceed, Darius was in them considered to be sixty-four years old at the time of his death. See however note 308 on ii. 110. CTESIUS makes Darius reign thirty-one years, and die at the age of seventy-two.

¹⁵ Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γωβρύνεω. It seems remarkable at first sight that a member of Gobryas's family, which had contested the succession with Xerxes, should be of all Persians the highest in his confidence. But it is not impossible that Artazostra, the wife of Mardonius (vi. 43), was the daughter of Atossa, and if so, his connexion with Xerxes would be a closer one than with Artabazanes. It is also probable that the daughter of Gobryas, whom Da-

by Mardonius,

ἀδελφεῖς πάϊς, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων “δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ ἤδη κακὰ Πέρσας, μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐποίησαν ἄλλα τὸ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τάπερ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχη πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸς καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρατεύεσθαι.” οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦ δὲ λόγου ¹⁶ παρενθήκην ποιέεσκετο τήνδε, ὡς ἡ Εὐρώπη περικαλλὴς χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμέρα, ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρην, βασιλείῃ τε μούνῳ θινῶν

6 ἀξίῃ ἐκτῆσθαι. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε ¹⁷, οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητὴς ἔων καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἶναι· χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατό ¹⁸ τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε Ξέρξεα, ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα· συνέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ σύμματα γενόμενα ἐς τὸ πείθεσθαι Ξέρξεα· τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλίας παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων ¹⁹ ἀπιγμένοι ἄγγελοι

the Aleuadae of Thessaly, and the Pisistratids, with the aid of the prophet

rius married when a private individual, was not by the same mother as Mardonius. She had borne three children to Darius before he became king, whereas Mardonius was a young man just married twenty-six years afterwards (vi. 43). It is not likely therefore that there was less than eighteen or twenty years' difference between their ages, which in the east would be almost conclusive against their having the same mother. But above all it would seem (see notes 105 on vi. 43, and 213 on vi. 94) that Mardonius and Artaphernes represented different schools of policy, and that the late unsuccessful attempt at Marathon issued in a restoration of Mardonius's influence,—which had been damaged by his own partial, though not complete, failure in Thrace (vi. 45). It will be observed that the plan of both his campaigns contemplated the extension of operations along the line of posts established by Megabazus (see note 111 on vi. 44), whereas Datis and Artaphernes followed out the sketch of Aristagoras (see note 226 on vi. 99).

¹⁶ τοῦ δὲ λόγου. The MSS vary between this reading, τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου, τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ λόγου, and τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, which last is adopted by Gaisford.

¹⁷ ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Gaisford, with several MSS, has ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγε.

¹⁸ χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατο. ÆSCHYLUS makes Atossa, the mother of Xerxes, represent her son as having been influenced

by the solicitations of evil advisers to make war upon Hellas:

ταῦτα τοῖς κακοῖς ὁμίλῳ ἀνδράσιν διδάσκειται
 θούριος Ξέρξης· λέγονσι δ' ὡς σὺ μὲν μέγαν τέκνοισ
 πλοῦτον ἐκτήσω ξὺν αἰχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀνανδρίας ὕπο
 ἔνδον αἰχμάξειν, πατρῶν δ' ὄλβον οὐδὲν αὐξάνειν.
 τοιάδ' ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἀνείδη πολλάκις κλύων κακῶν,
 τήνδ' ἐβούλευσεν κέλευθον καὶ στρατεύμ' ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα. (Pers. 753—8.)

CTESIAS couples an *Artapanus* with Mardonius as the principal agents in this unfortunate policy (*ap. Photium*, p. 38). But even if this is the same name as Artabanus, it is not intended for the uncle of Xerxes, whom Herodotus represents as taking an entirely contrary view of the matter, but for a son of one Artasyras, by whose aid the Magian succeeded to the throne, and by whose treachery Darius and the other conspirators were subsequently assisted.

¹⁹ παρὰ τῶν Ἀλευαδέων. The Aleuadae were a distinguished house at Larissa in Thessaly; and it is a boast of Gorgias that he was the instructor of some of its principal members. (PLATO, *Menon*, § 1.) They were probably anxious to occupy the same position in Thessaly which Histieus had done at Miletus. Philip of Macedonia

ἐπεκαλέοντο βασιλέα, πᾶσαν προθυμίην παρεχόμενοι, ἐπὶ τὴν *Onomacritus*.
 Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλῆς βασιλεῖς ²⁰.
 τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδῶν οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν
 λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ²¹ καὶ δὴ τι πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι
 πλέον προσορέγοντό οἱ ²², ἔχοντες Ὀνομάκριτον, ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον,
 χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου. ἀναβε-
 βήκεσαν γὰρ τὴν ἔχθρην προκαταλυσάμενοι· ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ
 Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπ’
 αὐτοφῶρῳ ἁλὺς ὑπὸ Δάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέως ἐμποιῶν ἐς τὰ Μου-
 σαίου ²³ χρησμὸν, ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Δήμνου ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανιζοῖατο
 κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ²⁴. διὸ ἐξήλασέ μιν ὁ Ἰππαρχος, πρότερον
 χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ συναναβὰς, ὅπως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς
 ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως, λεγόντων τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ
 σεμνοὺς λόγους, κατέλεγε τῶν χρησμῶν· εἰ μὲν τι ἐνέοι σφάλμα
 φέρον τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔλεγε οὐδέν· ὁ δὲ τὰ εὐτυχέστατα

subsequently made use of one of them, by name Simus, for furthering his plans. (HARPOCRATION, v. τετραρχία.) Those who came to Susa appear to have been three in number (ix. 58), and to have put themselves forward as the representatives of the whole of their countrymen (vii. 130). Their proceeding was attributed by CRITIAS to their excessive luxury and taste for expense, which made the habits of the Persian court an object of desire to them,—and probably rendered supplies from thence necessary (*ap. Athenæum*, xii. p. 527).

²⁰ οἱ δὲ Ἀλευάδαι οὗτοι ἦσαν Θεσσαλῆς βασιλεῖς. These words exist in all the MSS, but from a comparison of vii. 130 it seems not unlikely that they are a marginal note which has crept into the text.

²¹ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐχόμενοι τῶν καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι. It seems far from unlikely that the Thessalian cavalry which assisted the Pisistratids against the Lacedæmonian interference related above (v. 63, 64), was a force consisting of clansmen of the Aleuadae. Compare the relations into which Pisistratus entered with Lygdamis (note 214 on i. 64). The names of the exiles (who were three in number) are given below (ix. 58). Gorgias the rhetorician boasted that among his pupils at Larissa he had Ἀλευαδῶν τοὺς πρώτους (PLATO, *Menon*. § 1), and the same family had the reputation of having secured the

success of Philip of Macedonia in their own country. (DEMOSTHENES, *ap. Harpocration*. v. τετραρχία.)

²² προσορέγοντό οἱ, “plied him.” This is the interpretation of Schweighäuser, and it seems a probable one, although there is no confirmation of it to be found elsewhere. Schweighäuser considers the expression προσεφέρετο to imply the same kind of solicitation, only pursued with less ardour.

²³ ἐμποιῶν ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου. Onomacritus had also the reputation of interpolating the line: εἰδῶλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μετ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, after xi. 601 of the *Odyssey*. (See FORSON on *Eurip. Orest.* 5.) This interpolation, by whomsoever effected, was obviously imagined for the purpose of reconciling the notice of Heracles in Hades with the received tradition which regarded him as one of the tenants of Olympus. See note 339 on ii. 120. It is the more curious as the whole passage, xi. 562—626, is obviously much more recent than the context. For the importance attached to the possession of oracles, see note 238 on v. 90.

²⁴ κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης. In subsequent writers the accusative case would be more usual; but the genitive appears in a similar case, below, § 235: κέρδος μέζον εἶναι Σπαρτιήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι ἢ ὑπερέχειν.

ἐκλεγόμενος, ἔλεγε τὸν τε Ἑλλήσποντον, ὡς ζευχθῆναι χρεὸν εἴη ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Πέρσῃ, τὴν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος. οὗτός τε δὴ χρησμοδέων προσεφέρετο, καὶ οἱ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι καὶ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι γνώμας ἀποδεικνύμενοι.

7

In the year after his father's death he reduces Egypt, and makes his brother Achæmenes lord-lieu-

8

tenant. He then convokes an assembly of the Per-

᾽Ως δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη Ξέρξης στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνθαῦτα δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει²⁵ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου, πρῶτα στρατιήν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας. τούτους μὲν νυν καταστρεψάμενος, καὶ Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν πολλὸν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας ἡ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἦν, ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένει, ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείου δὲ παιδί. Ἀχαιμένεα²⁶ μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα²⁷ ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρωσ ὁ Ψαμμιτίχου, ἀνὴρ Αἰβυς. Ξέρξης δὲ μετὰ Αἰγύπτου ἄλῳσιν, ὡς ἔμελλε εἰς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι²⁸ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, σύλλογον ἐπικλητὸν²⁹ Περσέων τῶν ἀρίστων ἐποιέετο, ἵνα γνώμας τε πύθηται σφέων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν

²⁵ δευτέρῳ ἔτει, "in the second year." Much difficulty will follow if we suppose this "second year" to begin twelve months after the death of Darius; for then it will be necessary to bring the commencement of the movements of the grand army of Xerxes (§ 20, below) into the *eleventh* year after the battle of Marathon, reckoning both extremes. But I apprehend that the expedition against Egypt really took place in "the second year" of the reign of Xerxes, which would be regarded as commencing on the first of Thoth preceding the actual decease of his father. HALE (quoted by Clinton, *Appendix to Vol. ii. p. 247*) gives the rule that appears to have prevailed in the Astronomical Canon, which reckoned from the epoch of Nabonassar, and which probably represents the practice of the Persian court. It is "that each king's reign begins at the *Thoth* (or Egyptian new year's day) before his accession, and all the odd months of his last year are included in the first year of his successor." Now if we suppose (consistently with the notes 5 and 13 on §§ 1. 4) that Darius died in the spring of 486 B.C., the reign of Xerxes would be reckoned from the preceding Thoth, *i. e.* from the twenty-second of December, 487 B.C. His second year then would commence in the same month of 486; and if Egypt was rapidly conquered, its subjugation would doubtless be completed before the commencement of the inundation in 485 B.C. Four *full* years

from this time (§ 20) would bring it to the middle of the season for military operations in 481, leaving time for the assembling of the grand army in the neighbourhood of Sardis before the winter set in. This arrangement brings Herodotus into perfect harmony with the statement of THUCYDIDES: δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν [τὴν ἐν Μαρθῶνι μάχην] αὐτὸς ὁ ἄρβαρος τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος ἦλθε (i. 18), and involves nothing arbitrary except the supposition that the death of Darius was regarded by Herodotus as synchronizing with the *conventional accession* of Xerxes. There is no occasion either to take Thucydides to mean ten complete years, as Clinton does, or to change δεκάτῳ into ἐνδεκάτῳ in his text, as others have proposed. The difficulty has arisen from the tacit assumption that Herodotus reckons, as a modern would do, *from a fixed epoch*, instead of simply referring one event to another before it, as a logographer naturally would.

²⁶ Ἀχαιμένεα. See note on vii. 97.

²⁷ χρόνῳ μετέπειτα. About the year 460 B.C. See the notes 39 and 40 on iii. 12.

²⁸ εἰς χεῖρας ἄξεσθαι. See note 434 on i. 126.

²⁹ σύλλογον ἐπικλητὸν. The epithet seems to indicate that the members of the council were specially cited, as might be expected if they were only the chief of the nobles of the empire.

πάσι εἶπη τὰ θέλει· ὥς δὲ συνελέχθησαν, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε³⁰. sian nota-
bles.
His speech,
 “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὐτ’ αὐτὸς κατηγήσομαι νόμον τόνδε ἐν ὑμῖν
 τιθεῖς, παραδεξάμενός τε αὐτῷ χρήσομαι· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνο-
 μαι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οὐδαμὰ κω ἡτρεμήσαμεν, ἐπεὶ τε³¹ παρ-
 ελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε παρὰ Μήδων Κύρου κατελόντος
 Ἀστυάγεα· ἀλλὰ θεὸς τε οὕτω ἄγει³², καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πολλὰ
 ἐπέπουσι συμφέρεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον. τὰ μὲν νυν Κῦρός τε καὶ
 Καμβύσης πατήρ τε ἐμὸς Δαρεῖος κατεργάσαντο καὶ προσεκτί-
 σαντο ἔθνεα, ἐπισταμένοισι εὖ οὐκ ἂν τις λέγοι· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε
 παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον, τοῦτο ἐφροντίζον, ὅπως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν
 πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε, μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτῆσομαι
 δύναμιν Πέρσησι. φροντίζων δὲ εὕρισκω ἅμα μὲν κῦδος ἡμῖν τε
 προσγιγνόμενον, χώρην τε τῆς νῦν ἐκτίμεθα οὐκ ἐλάσσονα οὐδὲ
 φλαυροτέρην, παμφορωτέρην τε, ἅμα δὲ τιμωρίην τε καὶ τίσιν
 γινομένην· διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν
 ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν. μέλλω, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἐλάν στρα-
 τὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἵνα Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσο-
 μαι ὅσα δὴ πεποιήκασι Πέρσας τε καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν. ὠράτε
 μὲν νυν καὶ Δαρεῖον ἰθύνοντα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τού-
 τους· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετό οἱ τιμωρήσασθαι·
 ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων οὐ πρότερον παύ-
 σομαι πρὶν ἢ ἔλω³³ τε καὶ πυρώσω³⁴ τὰς Ἀθήνας· οἳ γε ἐμὲ καὶ
 πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικα ποιεῦντες. πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Σάρδεις
 ἐλθόντες ἅμα Ἀρισταγόρῃ, (τῷ Μιλησίῳ, δούλῳ δὲ ἡμετέρῳ,) ἀπι-
 κόμενοι ἐνέπρησαν τά τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά³⁵. δεύτερα δὲ ἡμέας οἶα

³⁰ ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. The whole of the following speech is quoted by DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS in the treatise in which he compares the relative merits of Herodotus and Thucydides, as an example of the medium between the severe and the florid styles. For such a purpose it was natural that he should, as he does, convert it into the common dialect of his time. There are also some other slight variations.

³¹ ἐπεὶ τε. DIONYSIUS has ἐξ οὗ.

³² ἄγει. DIONYSIUS has ἐνάγει.

³³ οὐ πρότερον παύσομαι πρὶν ἢ ἔλω. See note 323 on v. 118.

³⁴ πυρώσω. The use of this word by Herodotus (here and in viii. 102) in the

place of the more usual πρήσω, is remarked by EUSTATHIUS, who observes that SOPHOCLES also has done the same thing: ἀμφικίονας ναοὺς πυρώσων ἦλθεν. (*Antig.* 290.)

³⁵ τὰ τε ἄλσεα καὶ τὰ ἱρά. The simplicity of the Ormuzd worship must have been out of fashion at the Medo-Persian court, if Xerxes really took an interest in vindicating the sanctity of the Sardian goddess *Cybele*, for whose nature see note on v. 102. This indeed is only what was to be expected from the policy of Darius as represented by Herodotus. (See *Excursus* on iii. 74, pp. 434, 5.) At the same time, the whole speech is obviously of Hellenic manufacture.

ἔρξαν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἀποβάντας, ὅτε Δαίτις τε καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης³⁶ ἐστρατήγεον, τὰ ἐπίστασθέ κου πάντες· τούτων μέντοι εἵνεκα ἀνάρτημαι³⁷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι· ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοσάδε ἀνενρίσκω λογιζόμενος, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι πλησιοχώρους καταστρεψόμεθα, οἱ Πέλοπος τοῦ Φρυγὸς νέμονται χώρην· γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμοιόρουσαν· οὐ γὰρ διὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ὁ ἥλιος ὁμοιόρου ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ, ἀλλὰ σφεας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώρην θήσω, διὰ πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχειν· οὔτε τινὰ πόλιν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπων ὑπολείπεσθαι τὸ ἡμῖν οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐλθεῖν ἐς μάχην, τούτων τῶν κατέλεξα ὑπεξαριρημένων· οὕτω οἳ τε ἡμῖν αἵτιοι ἔξουσι δούλιον ζυγόν, οἳ τε ἀναίτιοι. ὑμεῖς δ' ἂν μοι τάδε ποιέοντες χαρίζοισθε· ἐπεὰν ὑμῖν σημῆνω τὸν χρόνον ἐς τὸν ἥκειν δεῦ, προθύμως πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρήσει παρεῖναι ὅς ἂν δὲ ἔχων ἤκη παρεσκευασμένον στρατὸν κάλλιστα, δώσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμιώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρῳ³⁸. ποιητέα μὲν νυν ταῦτά ἐστι οὕτω· ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἰδιοβουλεύειν ὑμῖν δοκέω, τίθημι τὸ πρῆγμα ἐς μέσον, γνώμην κελεύων ὑμέων τὸν βουλούμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι.” ταῦτα εἶπας
9 ἐπαύετο.

in which he announces his purpose to conquer Hellas, and desires their zealous co-operation.

Mardonius applauds his views.

Μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· “ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ μόνον εἰς τῶν γενομένων Περσέων ἄριστος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων· ὅς τά τε ἄλλα λέγων ἐπῆκεο ἄριστα καὶ ἀληθέστατα, καὶ Ἰωνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένους οὐκ ἐάσεις καταγελάσαι ἡμῖν, ἔοντας ἀναξίους· καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας³⁹ μὲν καὶ Ἰνδοὺς⁴⁰ καὶ Αἰθιοπίας⁴¹ τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ

³⁶ Ἀρταφέρνης. The manuscripts K, V, F have Ἀρταφρένης.

³⁷ ἀνάρτημαι. This word seems used in a sort of technical sense, to express the bounden duty of a liege lord to avenge his vassals. (See notes 313 and 315 on i. 90.)

³⁸ ἐν ἡμετέρῳ. See note 123 on i. 36. DIONYSIUS quotes this passage: δώσω αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἥδη τιμιωτάτην ἣ νομίζεται ἐν ἡμετέρῳ, which Valcknaer considers to be a corruption from δωρεὰν ἣ δὴ τιμιωτάτη νομίζεται ἐν ἡμετέρῳ.

³⁹ Σάκας. No victory of the Persians over the Scythians is to be found mentioned in Herodotus; and even court flat-

tery would hardly venture upon such a description of the unhappy campaign related in the Fourth Book. But here doubtless is a trace of another and totally different tradition from that mainly followed by Herodotus, one in accordance with the Behistun Inscription. See note 2 on iv. 1.

⁴⁰ Ἰνδοὺς. These are said to have been subdued by Darius, by taking advantage of the information he obtained from Scylax of Caryanda (iv. 44). But his power must have been very limited indeed. See note 293 on iii. 101.

⁴¹ Αἰθιοπας. It is not necessary to sup-

καὶ μεγάλα, ἀδίκησαντα Πέρσας οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, "Ελληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης, οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα· τί δείσαντες; κοίην πλήθεος συστροφὴν, κοίην δὲ χρημάτων δύναμιν; τῶν ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην⁴², ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐοῦσαν ἀσθενέα· ἔχομεν δὲ αὐτῶν παῖδας καταστρεψάμενοι τούτους, οἳ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ κατοικημένοι, "Ιωνές τε καὶ Αἰολεές καὶ Δωριεές καλέονται. ἐπειρήθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη ἐπελαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους, ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ κελευσθείς· καὶ μοι μέχρι Μακεδονίης ἐλάσαντι, καὶ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπόντι ἐς αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπικέσθαι, οὐδεὶς ἀντιώθη ἐς μάχην. καίτοι γε ἐώθασι "Ελληνες, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ἀβουλότατα πολέμους ἵστασθαι, ὑπὸ τε ἀγνωμοσύνης καὶ σκαϊότητος· ἐπεὰν γὰρ⁴³ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προεῖπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται ὥστε σὺν κακῷ μεγάλῳ οἱ νικῶντες ἀπαλλάσσονται· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσσωμένων οὐδὲ λέγω ἀρχὴν, ἐξώλεες γὰρ δὴ γίνονται τοὺς χρῆν, ἐόντας ὁμογλώσσους, κήρυξί τε διαχρεωμένους καὶ ἀγγέλοισι καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς⁴⁴, καὶ παντὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μάχησι· εἰ δὲ πάντως ἔδεε πολεμείην πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξευρίσκειν χρῆν τῇ ἐκάτεροί εἰσι δυσχειρωτότατοι, καὶ ταύτῃ πειρᾶν· τρόπῳ τοίνυν οὐ χρηστῷ "Ελληνες διαχρεώμενοι, ἐμέο ἐλάσαντος μέχρι Μακεδονίης γῆς, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς τοῦτου λόγον ὥστε μάχεσθαι, σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τις⁴⁵, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀντιώσεσθαι πόλεμον προσφέρων, ἄγοντι καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας⁴⁶; ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο θράσους⁴⁷ ἀνῆκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐγὼ γε ψευσθείην γνώμη, καὶ

pose that the miscarriage of Cambyses (iii. 25, 26) was represented at court as a conquest. It will be remembered that the term Αἰθίοψ denoted an Asiatic black as well as an African. (See §§ 69, 70, below.) Besides, a portion of the African Ethiopians submitted (iii. 97).

⁴² ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν τὴν μάχην. See note 268 on i. 77.

⁴³ ἐπεὰν γάρ. The manuscripts S, V omit the latter word.

⁴⁴ καταλαμβάνειν τὰς διαφορὰς, "to quash their differences." Compare iii. 128: κατέλαβε ἐρίζοντας, and see note 130 on i. 45, and note 55 on v. 21.

⁴⁵ σοὶ δὲ δὴ μέλλει τις. The pronoun

σοὶ is emphatic, and opposed to ἐμέο which has just preceded. "When I marched as far as Macedonia, the Greeks never came to a question of meeting me in fair fight, and when it comes to you (δὴ), Sire, is any one likely to meet you with offer of battle?" See the note 424 on iii. 155.

⁴⁶ πλῆθος τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ νέας τὰς ἀπάσας. The force of the articles is to be observed. Mardonius speaks as to persons cognizant of the available resources of the empire, "the Asiatic levies and the whole of the navy."

⁴⁷ θράσους. The manuscripts S, V have θάρσους.

ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαρθέντες ἀβουλήν ἔλθοιεν ἡμῖν ἐς μάχην, μάθοιεν ἂν ὥς εἶμεν ἀνθρώπων ἄριστοι τὰ πολεμῆϊα. ἔστω δ' ὦν μηδὲν ἀπείρητον· αὐτόματον γὰρ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πείρης πάντα ἀνθρώποισι φιλέει γίνεσθαι." Μαρδόνιος μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξεω γνώμην⁴⁸, ἐπέπαυτο.

10

Artabanus takes the other side of the question.

Σιωπῶντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων καὶ οὐ τολμώντων γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξη, τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν⁴⁹, ἔλεγε τάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ λεχθισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλησι, οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἰρεόμενον ἐλέσθαι ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρῆσθαι· λεχθισέων δὲ, ἔστι· ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἀκήρατον αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ, Δαρείῳ, ἡγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμῶτι γῆς ἄστει νέμοντας· ὁ δὲ ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι, ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπέιθετο στρατευσάμενός τε πολλούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε· σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας⁵⁰ ἢ Σκύθας· οἱ κατὰ θάλασσαν τε ἄριστοι⁵¹ καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινὸν, ἐμέ σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν· ζεύξας φῆς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλαῖν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε ἥτοι κατὰ γῆν ἢ καὶ κατὰ

⁴⁸ τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξεω γνώμην, "after so far smoothing down [the objections to] the opinion of Xerxes." The metaphor seems to be taken from the act of a carpenter, who smooths a piece of wood so that no knot or obstacle causing friction can be found. The Latin proverb, "nodum in scirpo querere," rests on a similar idea. The simple form *λεαίνω* is used below (viii. 142).

⁴⁹ τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν. The weight of Artabanus at the Persian court appears, independently of his relationship to the sovereign, from the advice which he ventures to give to Darius (iv. 83) when meditating his expedition against the Scythians. The traditions followed by Ctesias, (or whoever is the authority for Plutarch's story quoted in the note 7 on § 2, above,) seem to represent him in the same light with those adopted by Herodotus, as en-

joying a high repute for wisdom and moderation.

⁵⁰ πολλὸν ἀμείνονας. S and V have πολλὸν ἔτι ἀμείνονας.

⁵¹ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἄριστοι. The anachronism of attributing power at sea to the Athenians of this time shows the origin of the speech here put into the mouth of Artabanus. His brother Artaphernes is made to take a very different and a juster view of the matter. (See note 193 on v. 73.) The encomium passed upon the Greeks, especially the Athenians, towards the end of the speech, as also the common places of ethical philosophy which appear in it, would lead one to refer it to the same class of compositions as the address of Solon to Cræsus (i. 32, 33), and the political discussions (iii. 80—82). See notes 113 on i. 32, and 221 on iii. 80.

θάλασσαν ἔσσωθήναι, ἥ καὶ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι· πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιὴν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφέρνει ἔλθουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν μῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν. οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε⁵². ἀλλ' ἦν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐμβάλωσι, καὶ νικῆσαντες ναυμαχίῃ πλέωσι εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γεφυραν, τοῦτο δὲ, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκῆν αὐτὸς ταῦτα συμβάλλομαι, ἀλλ' οἶόν κοτε ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε⁵³ καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ σὸς ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηάκιον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας, τότε παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι δεόμενοι Ἰώνων λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπιτέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἰστρον καὶ τότε γε Ἰστιαῖος ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος εἰ ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲ ἡντιώθη⁵⁴, διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα· καίτοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινόν, ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ γε ἐνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι. σὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευε εἰς κίνδυνον μηδένα τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι, μηδεμιῆς ἀνάγκης εἴσης· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθευ· νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὐτίς τε, ὅταν τοι δοκῇ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωντοῦ, προαγόρευε τὰ τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα· τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλευέσθαι κέρδος μέγιστον εὐρίσκω· ἔόν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναι τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν εὖ, ἔσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχροῦς, εἰ οἱ ἡ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο, εὖρημα εὖρηκε· ἦσσαν δὲ οὐδέν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται. ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲ ἐὰ φαντάζεσθαι⁵⁵, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κινίξει; ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα; φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολουῖν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἔπειν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλλῃ, ἡ βροντὴν, δι' ὧν

⁵² οὐκ ὦν ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε, "still success did not attend them in both arms," i.e. by land and sea. Artabanus goes on to show what peril would follow if this should be the case; and it is to be remarked that he imagines by way of argument a scheme which was subsequently proposed. (See viii. 103.)

⁵³ ὀλίγου ἐδέησε, "wanted little." Translate: "what a calamity all but be-

fel us."

⁵⁴ ἡντιώθη. The manuscripts M, F, K, P have ἡναντιώθη, which Schweighäuser considers to be a mixture of the two readings ἀντιώθη and ἡντιώθη.

⁵⁵ φαντάζεσθαι. This word is used in a similar sense by EURIPIDES (*Phæniss.* 93): μή τις πολιτῶν ἐν τρίβῳ φαντάζεται.

ἐφθάρησαν⁵⁶ ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἔα φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν⁵⁷. ἐπειχθῆναι μὲν νυν πᾶν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ παραντίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν. σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συμβουλευώ· σὺ δὲ, ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἔόντων ἀξίων φλαύρως ἀκούειν· Ἑλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων, ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. μή νυν οὕτω γένηται· διαβολὴ γάρ ἐστι δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μὲν εἰσι οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ ὁ ἀδικούμενος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικεῖ οὐ παρεόντος κατηγορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου κακὸς εἶναι⁵⁸. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἡθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω· ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτῃ αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐθέλεις καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσῃν τινὰ βούλει· καὶ ἣν μὲν τῇ σὺ λέγεις ἀναβαίνειν βασιλεῖ τὰ πρήγματα, κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἣν δὲ τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων σὺν δέ σφι καὶ σὺ, ἣν ἀπονοστήσης· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθέλήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαι τινὰ φημι τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπομένων, Μαρδόνιον μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασμένον Πέρσας ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεῖμενον, ἢ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἢ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδὸν, γνόντα ἐπ' οἴους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλέα."

11

Great anger of Xerxes at the counsel of Artabanus.

Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε· Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· "Ἀρτάβανε, πατὴρ εἰς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε ρύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων· καὶ τοι

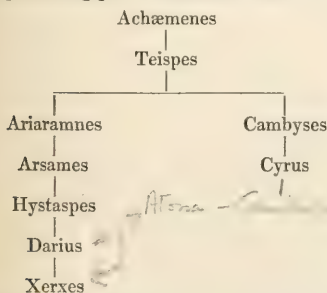
⁵⁶ ἐφθάρησαν. Some MSS have ἐσφάλησαν.

⁵⁷ οὐ γὰρ ἔα φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν. The MSS vary between this reading, οὐ γὰρ ἔα φρονέειν ὁ θεὸς μέγα ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν, and οὐ γὰρ ἔα φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἢ ἑωυτόν.

⁵⁸ ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν . . . κακὸς εἶναι. In one manuscript (P) the place of these words are supplied by the sentence ὁ δὲ διαβαλλόμενος αὐ διπλῶς ἀδικεῖται· διαβληθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου καὶ ἅμα νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀκούσαντος καὶ πεισθέντος εἶναι κακός.

ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθῃμι ἐόντι κακῷ τε καὶ ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι ἐμοί γε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἄμα τῇσι γυναιξί· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ σέο ὅσαπερ εἶπα ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω· μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος, τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω, τοῦ Τεΐσπεος, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεω, τοῦ Τεΐσπεος, τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονὼς⁵⁹, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους· εὖ ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνοι⁶⁰ ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων· οἱ Σάρδις τε ἐνέπρησαν καὶ ἦλθαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. οὐκὼν ἐξαναχωρέειν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς⁶¹ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν ἢ παθεῖν προκέεται ἀγών· ἵνα ἢ τὰδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλησι, ἢ ἐκείνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσησι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἐχθρῆς ἐστί· καλὸν ὦν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρεῖν ἤδη γίνεται, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι⁶² τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ' ἄνδρας τούτους, τοὺς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρύξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος⁶³, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω, ὥς καὶ ἐς τόδε αὐτοί τε ὠνθρωποι καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεφάμενου καλέονται.”

⁵⁹ μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος . . . τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονὼς. The decyphering of the arrow-headed character by Major Rawlinson has rendered possible the complete explanation of this genealogy. See the *Excursus* on iii. 74, pp. 427—9. The corrected genealogy will run thus, representing pure Persian traditions:



The left hand column represents the *lineal* descent of the Achæmenids, *who were kings of Persia*; while the right hand column *connects* Xerxes's claim to be the king of Media in right of his mother Atossa with this Achæmenid pedigree.

Teispes is repeated by the error of putting the two branches one after the other instead of side by side.

⁶⁰ ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνοι, "that if we shall keep the peace, yet will not they." This use of ἀλλὰ after a hypothetical proposition is found throughout Greek literature from the Homeric poems downwards. From the nature of the case it is appropriate to oratory, and in the later writers alone is it used otherwise than in a speech.

⁶¹ οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς. The manuscripts S and V have οὐδετέροις ἱκανῶς, and one other δυνατὰ for δυνατῶς. P and V have also προσκείται in the place of προκέεται.

⁶² τὸ δεινὸν τὸ πείσομαι. This ironical expression appears to be directed against the words of Artabanus: τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἐνεσσι δεινὸν, ἐμέ σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν.

⁶³ ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος. These words indicate that in the mind of the authority followed here by Herodotus, Xerxes was regarded as the lineal descendant of the Assyrian dynasties, as in no other way could Pelops possibly be described as the vassal of his ancestors.

12 In the night after the council has been held Xerxes has a vision,

12 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο· μετὰ δὲ, εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Ξέρξης ἐκνίζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς, πάγχυ εὗρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρήγμα εἶναι στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· δεδογμένων δὲ οἱ αὐτὶς τούτων, κατύπνωσε· καὶ δὴ κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιμήδε, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων⁶⁴. ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐειδέα εἰπεῖν· “μετὰ δὴ βουλεύεαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στράτευμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προεΐπας ἀλίζειν Πέρσας στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβουλεύομενος ποιεῖς εὖ, οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα· ἀλλ’, ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβου-

13 and the next day he changes his mind.

13 λεύσας ποιεῖν, ταύτην ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν.” Τὸν μὲν, ταῦτα εἰπαντα, ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτᾶσθαι· ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμφάσης, ὄνειρου μὲν τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο, ὁ δὲ Περσέων συναλίσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὐ κω ἀνήκω⁶⁵, καὶ οἱ παρηγορέυμενοι κείνα ποιεῖν οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται· ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης, παραυτίκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέξεσε, ὥστε αἰεκέστερα ἀπορρίψαι⁶⁶ ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον ἢ χρεόν· νῦν μέντοι συγγνοὺς, χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ· ὡς ὦν μεταδεδογμένον⁶⁷ μοι μὴ στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥσυχοί ἐστε.”

14 The next night the same vision reappears to him with threats.

14 Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσεκύνεον νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης, αὐτὶς τῷ οὐναιον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν· “ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνειαι ἐν Πέρσῃσί τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην, καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιεύμενος λόγῳ, ὡς παρ’ οὐδενὸς ἀκούσας· εὖ νυν τόδ’ ἴσθι, ἥνπερ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατηλατῆς, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχίσειν· ὡς καὶ μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς ὀπίσω κατὰ

⁶⁴ ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων. See note 338 on i. 95.

⁶⁵ φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεωυτοῦ πρῶτα οὐ κω ἀνήκω. These words seem to be intended as an ostentatious display of modesty on the part of the monarch. He pleads that he has not yet arrived at the complete maturity of his judgment: “I am not yet come to the perfection of my own mental powers.” Consciousness of this makes him ask advice, and, on the other hand, those who give him advice other than his own judgment suggests (κείνα), never leave him alone to think. Hence, he argues,

the Persians should excuse him for “turning short off in his resolutions” (ὅτι ἀγχίστροφα βουλεύομαι). In a court where the infallibility of the sovereign was an axiom, the alteration of a decree became a serious matter, and Xerxes seems spontaneously to have hit on the useful theory of advisers, who should be responsible for his mistakes.

⁶⁶ ἀπορρίψαι. See note 366 on iv. 142.

⁶⁷ μεταδεδογμένον. The MSS vary between this reading, μεταδεδογμένων, μεταδεδογμένου, and μεταδεδογμένῳ.

τάχος ἔσεαι." Ξέρξης μὲν, περιδεὴς γενόμενος ⁶⁸ τῇ ὄψει, ἀνά τε 15
 ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον ⁶⁹ He sends
 καλέοντα· ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε· " Ἀρτάβανε, ἐγὼ for Arta-
 τὸ παραντίκα μὲν οὐκ ἔσωφρόνεον, εἶπας ἐς σέ μάταια ἔπεα χρη- him.
 στῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλῆς· μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγων,
 ἔγων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα ἔοντα τὰ σὺν ὑπεθήκαο ⁷⁰. οὐκων
 δυνατός τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα ποιέειν βουλόμενος· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ
 καὶ μετεγνώκoti ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεται μοι, οὐδαμῶς
 συνῆπαινον ἐν ποιέειν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλήσαν οἴχεται·
 εἰ ὦν θεός ἐστι ὃ ἐπιπέμπων, καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστι γενέσθαι
 στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τῷντὸ τοῦτο
 ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον ⁷¹. εὐρίσκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινό-
 μενα ταῦτα, εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἐνδὺς, μετὰ
 τοῦτο ἱζοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ
 κατυπνώσειας." Ξέρξης μὲν ταῦτά οἱ ἔλεγε· Ἀρτάβανος δὲ οὐ 16
 τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ κελεύσματι πειθόμενος οἶα οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν
 βασιλῆϊον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι ⁷², τέλος ὡς ἡναγκάζετο, εἶπας τάδε
 ἐποίεε τὸ κελεύμενον· " ἴσον ἐκείνο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ κέκρι-
 ται, φρονέειν τε εὖ καὶ τῷ λέγοντι χρηστὰ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι· τὰ
 σὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα περιήκοντα ⁷³, ἀνθρώπων κακῶν ὀμιλίας σφάλ-

⁶⁸ γενόμενος. So Gaisford prints, on the authority of S, V, A, B. But M, P, K, F have ἐγένετο,—alternative readings which can scarcely have been derived the one from the other. F also omits καὶ before πέμπει.

⁶⁹ ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον. S, V, A, B omit the preposition ἐπὶ.

⁷⁰ ὑπεθήκαο. S and V have ὑπέθηκας.

⁷¹ καὶ σοὶ τῷντὸ τοῦτο ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον. The force of the word ἐντελλόμενον, no less than that of ἐπιπτήσεται, is to be extended to the dative καὶ σοί. Translate: "This same dream will be wafed to you too with commands for you no less than for me."

⁷² οὐκ ἀξιεύμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆϊον θρόνον ἵζεσθαι. In later times it was a received opinion that the sitting on the seat of the king, even involuntarily, brought the penalty of death with it. In Alexander's expedition into Sogdiana, a Macedonian soldier, benumbed by the cold, staggered in a nearly insensible state up to the king's quarters. Alexander placed him on his own couch, and caused his limbs

to be fomented until the circulation was restored. On recovering his senses, the man discovered where he was lying, and started up in a fright, upon which Alexander took the opportunity to observe to him how much better it was to live under the Macedonian monarchy than the Persian, as the same thing which would have brought death in the one case saved life in the other. (QUINTUS CURTIUS, viii. 4. 17.) But although no doubt the act, if wantonly committed, would always have been considered a gross outrage, and as such perhaps punished with death, there seems no trace in Herodotus of such a superstitious rule as that which is implied in Curtius's story. At the same time, since the accidental occurrence of such an indecency would doubtless have been regarded as an omen (see iii. 30, above), mere blind fear might very well have led to the adoption of the sternest rule by way of precaution.

⁷³ περιήκοντα. See note 198 on vi. 86.

λουσι· κατά περ τὴν πάντων χρησιμωτάτην ἀνθρώποισι θάλασσαν πνεύματά φασι ἀνέμων ἐμπίπτοντα, οὐ περιορᾶν φύσει τῇ ἐωυτῆς χρῆσθαι. ἐμὲ δὲ ἀκούσαντα πρὸς σεῦ κακῶς οὐ τοσοῦτο ἔδακε λύπη, ὅσον, γνωμέων δύο προκειμενέων Πέρσῃσι,—τῆς μὲν ὕβριν αὐξανούσης τῆς δὲ καταπανούσης, καὶ λεγούσης ὥς κακὸν εἶη διδάσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον τι δίζησθαι αἰεὶ ἔχειν τοῦ παρεόντος,— τοιούτων προκειμενέων γνωμέων, ὅτι τὴν σφαλερωτέραν⁷⁴ σεωυτῶ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι ἀναίρεο· νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, φῆς τοι μετιέντι τὸν ἐπ' Ἑλληνας στόλον ἐπιφοιτᾶν ὄνειρον θεοῦ τινος πομπῇ, οὐκ ἐὼντά⁷⁵ σε καταλύειν τὸν στόλον· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταυτά ἐστι, ὦ παῖ, θεῖα· ἐνύπνια γὰρ τὰ ἐς ἀνθρώπους πεπλανημένα τοιαυτά ἐστι οἷά σε ἐγὼ διδάξω, ἔτεσι σεῦ πολλοῖσι πρεσβύτερος ἐὼν· πεπλανῆσθαι αὐταὶ μάλιστα ἐώθασιν αἱ ὄψεις τῶν ὀνειράτων, τὰ τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ ἡμέρας ταύτην τὴν στρατηλασίην καὶ τὸ κάρτα εἶχομεν μετὰ χεῖρας· εἰ δὲ ἄρα μὴ ἔστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτο οἷον ἐγὼ διαιρέω, ἀλλὰ τι τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχον, σὺ πᾶν αὐτὸς⁷⁶ συλλαβὼν εἴρηκας· φανήτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ὥς καὶ σοὶ διακελευόμενον· φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν⁷⁷· οὐδέ τι μᾶλλον ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ ἀναπαυομένῳ ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ· εἴπερ γε καὶ ἄλλως ἐθέλει φανῆναι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτό γε εὐθιεὶς ἀνῆκει τοῦτό, ὅ τι δὴ κοτέ ἐστι τὸ ἐπιφαινόμενόν τοι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ὥστε δόξει ἐμὲ ὁρῶν σὲ εἶναι, τῇ σῇ ἐσθῆτι τεκμαιρόμενον· εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιήσεται, οὐδὲ ἀξιώσει ἐπιφανῆναι, οὔτε ἦν τὴν

⁷⁴ σφαλερωτέραν. This is the reading of the majority of MSS, and is adopted by Gaisford. But S, V, and K have the superlative σφαλερωτάτην, which is certainly more likely to have been wilfully altered by copyists into the comparative than the converse.

⁷⁵ ἐὼντα. So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS, the others having ἐὼντος, which of course would require to be referred to the word θεοῦ. But although no doubt ὄνειρος and ὄνειρον are equally legitimate forms, it seems very unlikely that in the same anecdote in which the latter has been repeatedly used, the former should in a single instance be substituted for it. Yet it is perhaps even less probable that a transcriber finding ἐὼντος should have wilfully violated the

course of precedent by changing it into ἐὼντα.

⁷⁶ αὐτός. So S. Gaisford and the other MSS have αὐτό. But the emphatic word αὐτός seems more appropriate, considering the dignity of the person addressed; and in the oldest uncial MSS the final Σ would very likely be omitted before the same letter beginning the following word. See note 25 on i. 5. Translate: "Thou thyself in what thou saidst didst take in every thing. For let it appear now with orders for me too as it did to thee." The allusion is to the words above: ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τὸν τοῦτο ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον (§ 15, above).

⁷⁷ ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμήν. See the note 300 on iv. 118.

ἐμὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχω οὔτε ἦν τὴν σὴν, σὲ δὲ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ, τοῦτο ἤδη μαθητέον ἐστὶ· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιφοιτήσῃ γε συνεχέως, φαίην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς θεῖον εἶναι· εἰ δέ τοι οὕτω δεδόκηται γίνεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ οἶά τε αὐτὸ παρατρέψαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη δεῖ ἐμὲ ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ σῇ κατυπνῶσαι, φέρε, τούτων ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἐπιτελευμένων, φανήτω καὶ ἐμοί· μέχρι δὲ τούτου, τῇ παρεούσῃ γνώμῃ χρῆσομαι." Τοσαῦτα εἶπας Ἀρτάβανος ἐλπίζων Ξέρξεα ἀποδέξιν λέγοντα οὐδὲν, ἐποίηε τὸ κελευόμενον· ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Ξέρξεω ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆϊον θρόνον, ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα κοῖτον ἐποίεετο, ἦλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τὸν οὐνερον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἐφοίτα· ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου, εἶπε τάδε· "ἄρα σὺ δὴ κείνος εἰς ὃ ἀποσπεύδων Ξέρξεα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς δὴ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα, οὔτε ἐς τὸ παραντίκα νῦν καταπροΐξαι⁷⁸ ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὸν γενέσθαι· Ξέρξεα δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ δεδῆλωται." Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ οὐνερον⁷⁹ ἀπειλέειν, καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοισι ἐκκαίειν αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ ὅς, ἀμβώσας μέγα, ἀναθρώσκει, καὶ παριζόμενος Ξέρξῃ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε ἀπηγεόμενος, δευτέρᾳ οἱ λέγει τάδε· "ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἶα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν⁸⁰, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἴη τὸ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμέειν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τὸν Καμβύσῳ, συστρατευόμενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ Σκύθας· ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα, γνώμην εἶχον, ἀτρεμίζοντά σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ δαιμονίῃ τις γίνεται ὁρμῇ, καὶ Ἕλληνας, ὡς ἔοικε, φθορὴ τις καταλαμβάνει θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι· σὺ δὲ σήμνηνον μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρῆσθαι δὲ κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοις ἐς τὴν παρασκευήν· ποίεε δὲ οὕτω, ὅκως,

17

The same vision appears to Artabanus,

18

and, influenced by it, Artabanus yields to the proposal to invade Hellas.

⁷⁸ καταπροΐξαι. See note 106 on iii. 36.

⁷⁹ τὸ οὐνερον. The MSS are divided between this reading and τὸν οὐνερον. See note 75 on § 16, above.

⁸⁰ τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν. It is an error to suppose that these words are used in a different sense here from v. 19. In both cases they mean "to follow the dictates of one's age." Xerxes being a young

man, his natural impulses were to adventurous action; Amyntas (v. 19) being aged, his were to retire from a banquet which was becoming indecent and boisterous. The note of Baehr on this passage is an example of a very common mistake in commentators, to attribute to actual phrases a meaning in themselves, which only follows inferentially from the circumstances in which they are used.

τοῦ θεοῦ παραδιδόντος, τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μὴδέν." τούτων λεχθέντων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαρθέντες τῇ ὄψει, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγένετο τάχιστα, Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο ⁸¹ ταῦτα Πέρσησι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος, ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μῦθος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπισπεύδων φανερός ἦν.

19

Xerxes afterwards has a third vision which raises his spirits.

Ὀρμημένῳ δὲ Ξέρξῃ στρατηλατέειν, μετὰ ταῦτα τρίτῃ ὄψις ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐγένετο, τὴν οἱ μάγοι ἔκριναν ⁸² ἀκούσαντες φέρειν τε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν, δουλεύσειν τέ οἱ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἦν ἥδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἐστεφανῶσθαι ἐλαίης θαλλῷ ⁸³. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίης τοὺς κλάδους γῆν πᾶσαν ἐπισχεῖν μετὰ δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κείμενον τὸν στέφανον. κρινάντων δὲ ταύτῃ τῶν μάγων, Περσέων τε τῶν συλληχθέντων αὐτίκα πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἀπελάσας, εἶχε προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ⁸⁴, θέλων αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα λαβεῖν καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγερσιν ⁸⁵ ποίεεται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἡπείρου. Ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου ἀλώσιος, ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτα πλῆρεα παραρτέετο στρατιὴν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ· πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ ⁸⁶ ἐστρατηλάτῃ χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος ⁸⁷. στόλων γὰρ, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο·

20

The preparations for the invasion of Hellas took

⁸¹ ὑπερετίθετο. S and V have ὑπετίθεε. But the latter word seems quite out of place here. See notes 378, 379 on i. 108.

⁸² οἱ μάγοι ἔκριναν. The Magi appear from this passage to stand in the same position as at the court of Astyages, their influence having entirely recovered from the effects of the revolution by which Darius was raised to the throne. See *Excursus* ii. on Book iii. p. 435.

⁸³ ἐλαίης θαλλῷ. This feature in the story would lead one to look for its origin in some locality where a crown of olive leaves would be a symbol of superiority. It can therefore scarcely be a native Persian legend, and may very well be an Athenian.

⁸⁴ ἐπὶ τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι, "on the faith of the promise which had been given," i.e. that the satrap who brought his contingent in the best order into the field should receive the presents which were deemed the most honourable. (See § 3, above.)

⁸⁵ ἐπάγερσιν, "an extraordinary levy." The ordinary contingent sufficed for the conquest of Egypt (ἐπὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐποίεετο τῆς στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν, § 5, above), but additional troops were called out for the

expedition against Athens. It is no objection to this interpretation that the simple form is used below (§ 48), for there the force of the ἐπὶ is supplied by the epithet ἄλλου coupled with στρατοῦ.

⁸⁶ πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτῃ, "in the course of the fifth year he put the army in motion." The word ἀνομένῳ has been by some commentators explained as meaning "ending," and by others "commencing," according as the one or the other meaning squared best with their chronological arrangements. But it really seems to mean neither the one nor the other, but simply "advancing." This is the sense of ἤνετο τὸ ἔργον, an expression used in i. 139 and viii. 71. For an attempt to explain the difficulties in the chronology of the events related as occurring subsequently to the battle of Marathon, see notes 5 on § 1, and 25 on § 7, above.

⁸⁷ χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος, "with an enormous force of troops." The word πλήθος nearly corresponds with the French 'monde,' which also is sometimes employed to mean the aggregate of rank and file under the command of the general.

ὥστε μήτε τὸν Δαρείου τὸν ἐπὶ Σκύθας παρὰ τοῦτον μηδὲν ^{up four full years after the reduction of Egypt.} φαίνεσθαι, μήτε τὸν Σκυθικὸν, ὅτε Σκύθαι Κιμμερίους διώκοντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἐμβαλόντες σχεδὸν πάντα τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίης καταστρεφάμενοι ἐνέμοντο· τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρείος ἐτιμωρέτο ⁸⁸. μήτε κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα τὸν Ἀτρειδέων ἐς Ἴλιον, μήτε τὸν Μυσῶν τε καὶ Τευκρῶν τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γενόμενον ⁸⁹. οἱ διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην κατὰ Βόσπορον, τοὺς τε Θρηϊκὰς κατεστρέψαντο πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον πόντον κατέβησαν, μέχρι τε Πηνειοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἤλασαν. Αὐταὶ αἱ πᾶσαι, καὶ οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι ⁹⁰ πρὸς ταύτησι γενόμεναι στρατηλασίαι, μῆς τῆσδε οὐκ ἄξιαι. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προστετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισιν· τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σιτὰ τε καὶ νέας.

21

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλεόντων ²² περὶ τὸν Ἀθῶν, προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα ἐς τὸν Ἀθῶν· ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὥρμεον τριήρεις ⁹¹. ^{Canal dug through the isthmus connecting}

⁸⁸ τῶν εἵνεκεν ὕστερον Δαρείος ἐτιμωρέτο. See i. 103—106, and iv. 4.

⁸⁹ τὸν πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν γενόμενον. This expedition does not enter into the chain of events which are connected with one another by the author in the opening of his work (i. 1—4). And the reason of this seems to be, that it belonged to a different mythical cycle from that which he is there following. It is a tradition posterior to the time of CALLINUS, the elegiac poet of Ephesus. (STRABO, cited in note 332 on ii. 118.) The *Teuceri* here mentioned are that race of which the Gergithians subjugated by Hymeas were the last relics. But although called the 'ancient Teucrians' (v. 122), and very probably an ancient race, the name was certainly more recent than the *Iliad*. See note 332 on ii. 118.

⁹⁰ οὐδ' εἰ ἕτεραι. The word οὐδὲ appears to be introduced here with the same object as οὐ in § 16, above: *φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μοι ὀφείλει ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν*. See note 300 on iv. 118.

⁹¹ ἐν Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὥρμεον

τριήρεις. *Elæus*, which was at the extreme point of the Chersonese, was excellently situated as a look-out for all vessels from whatever quarter, proposing to enter the Hellespont. The Persian commander in the Chersonese appears to have possessed a semi-naval character. His title was *στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν* (v. 25); and his jurisdiction appears to have extended over the neighbouring islands. We may perhaps suppose *Elæus* the head-quarters of the fleet under his command, with which he would control Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Thasos, and the maritime towns on the Thracian main. In this sense, therefore, *Elæus* may be said to be the point from which the engineering operations were carried on at the isthmus of Athos. The labourers employed in them would probably be relieved from thence, and also supplied with meal from the corn produced in Pontus, shipped in transports. The head-quarters of the commandant, however, would doubtless be *Sestos*, the strongest position in the Chersonese (ix. 115), and the point where the communication be-

Athos with
the main.

ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὀρμεῶμενοι, ὥρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων⁹² παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς· διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων. ὥρυσσον δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Βουβάρης⁹³ δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζου⁹⁴, καὶ Ἀρταχαίης ὁ Ἀρταίου⁹⁵, ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, ἐπεστάτεον τοῦ ἔργου. ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ ὄρος μέγα τε καὶ οὐνομαστὸν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων· τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὸ ὄρος, χερσονησοειδὲς τέ ἐστι καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δώδεκα σταδίων· πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὸν τελευτᾷ ὁ Ἄθως, Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλάς⁹⁶ οἰκῆται· αἱ δὲ ἐντὸς Σάνης ἔσω δὲ τοῦ Ἄθω οἰκημένοι, τὰς τότε ὁ Πέρσης νησιώτιδας ἀντὶ ἡπειρωτῶν ὥρμητο ποιεῖν, εἰς αἷδε· Δίον, Ὀλόφυξος, Ἀκράθων⁹⁷, Θύσσοις, Κλεωναί· πόλις μὲν αὗται, αἱ τὸν Ἄθων νέμονται. Ὁρυσσον δὲ ὦδε· δασάμενοι τὸν χῶρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενέες ποιησάμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο βαθεῖα ἡ διώρυξ, οἱ μὲν, κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες, ὥρυσσον· ἕτεροι δὲ παρεδίδωσαν τὸν αἰὲ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατ' ὑπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων· οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι, ἐτέροισι, ἔως

23

Method of
conducting
the excava-
tion.

tween Europe and Asia, which it was of vital importance to the Persians to maintain, could be most securely preserved. Elæus is the scene of a transaction related by Herodotus elsewhere (ix. 116) on the authority of Chersonesitan informants (ix. 120).

⁹² ὑπὸ μαστίγων. The practice of the Persian petty-officers to inflict summary corporal punishment, like the centurions in the Roman army and the boatswains in the English navy, seems to have struck the Greeks forcibly, judging by the way in which it is repeatedly noticed, e.g. §§ 56, 103, below. Larcher remarks, with the simplicity of a closet critic, that "a soldier thus treated must have been insensible to honour." It is strange that the instance of Marius, who "nodosam frangebat vertice vitem, cum tardus pigrâ muniret castra dolabrâ," did not occur to his mind to disabuse him of such a pedantic notion.

⁹³ Βουβάρης. This individual is probably the same who is mentioned in v. 21.

⁹⁴ Μεγαβάζου. One MS has Μεγαβύζου.

⁹⁵ Ἀρταίου. S and V have Ἀρταχαίου.

⁹⁶ Σάνη πόλις Ἑλλάς. Sane was a

colony from Andros (THUCYDIDES, iv. 109), and appears to have contained a purely Hellenic population. The other towns are enumerated by Thucydides (who calls one *Acrathoi*), and described as containing a mixed population, speaking *two* languages. Sane was so near to Acanthus, that it would seem from the treaty made in the middle of the Peloponnesian war, it must have been placed by that town in the position of a dependency, and its citizens removed thither, as those of Alba were by Tullus to Rome. One provision is: Μηκυβερναίους καὶ Σαναίους καὶ Σιργαίους οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐαυτῶν, καθ' ἅπερ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι. (THUCYDIDES, v. 18.) In subsequent times its importance seems to have outgrown that of Acanthus; for STRABO (vii. *Fragm.* 15) obviously assigns that name to the locality occupied by Sane.

⁹⁷ Ἀκράθων. The MSS vary between Ἀκρόθων and Ἀκρόθοον, and Gaisford adopts the former. But I have not hesitated to change the reading on the authority of THUCYDIDES (iv. 109). The *Acrathoi* are the inhabitants of the high peak of Athos, in which there are now so many monasteries.

ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι, πλὴν Φοινίκων, καταρρηγνύμενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρείχον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἔν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε⁹⁸, ὄρυsson τὸ μὲν ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυχος ποιεῦντες διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον ἔδει αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι· προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἔργου, συνήγαν αἰεὶ κάτω τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐξισοῦτο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι τὸ ἔργον. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορῇ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δὲ σφισι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀղηλεσμένος. Ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλεόμενον εὐρίσκειν⁹⁹, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκα αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὼν γὰρ μῆδενα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσσῃ, εἶρος ὥς δύο τριήρεας πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρεμένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

24

Motives which induced Xerxes to attempt the work.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐποίηε· παρασκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὄπλα¹⁰⁰ ἐς 25

⁹⁸ ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, "as much as fell to their shares." See note 370 on i. 106.

⁹⁹ ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλεόμενον εὐρίσκειν. This notion of Herodotus, that no permanent object was in view in the construction of a ship canal, was doubtless shared by many; and perhaps was partly the cause of the scepticism which many of the ancients felt as to the operation having been really effected, so that 'velificatus Athos' came to be reckoned with 'epota flumina Medo prandente' among the proverbial fictions of Greek historical writing. (JUVENAL, *Sat.* x. 178.) But the canal was traced by CARLYLE (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 224) throughout the whole of its extent. "It is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty-five yards across. It has been much filled up with mud and rushes. Its bottom is in many places very little above the level of the sea; in some parts of it corn is sown, in others there are pools of water." And if it be regarded as a part of the system of arrange-

ments for the permanent occupation of the country, by facilitating the access of a fleet which might be required to carry stores for a land army whenever occasion demanded, it ceases to excite wonder. As for the amount of labour, it cannot have been any thing like so great as must have been expended on the great earth-works in Mesopotamia. But when the whole of the chain of military posts (with the exception of Doriscus) fell before the arms of the Greeks, the scope of the canal ceased to appear, and it came to be represented as due simply to the ostentatious spirit of the invader. Subsequent writers did not fail to improve upon this idea. PLUTARCH gives a letter written by Xerxes to Mount Athos, menacing it with his vengeance for opposition to his will. (*De cohibendâ irâ*, p. 455.)

¹⁰⁰ ὄπλα, "tackle." The word is applicable to all instruments used in working a vessel, and not confined to the ropes, although in this particular instance the ropes would be the most important por-

Preparation
of stores for
the expedi-
tion.

τὰς γεφύρας βύβλινά τε καὶ λευκολίνου, ἐπιτάξας Φοῖνιξί τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ σιτία τῇ στρατιῇ καταβάλλειν^a, ἵνα μὴ λιμῆνεια ἢ στρατιῇ, μηδὲ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐλαυνόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀναπυθόμενος δὲ τοὺς χώρους, καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε ἵνα ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἴη, ἄλλον ἄλλῃ ἀγίνεοντας ὀκλάσι τε καὶ πορθμητοῖσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πανταχόθεν. τὸν δὲ ὦν πλείστον ἐς Λευκὴν Ἀκτὴν καλεομένην τῆς Θρηάκης ἀγίνεον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Τυρόδιζαν τὴν Περινθίων, οἱ δὲ ἐς Δορίσκον¹⁰¹, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, οἱ δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίην διατεταγμένοι.

26

March of
the army
from *Critalla*, the
point of rendezvous.
They cross
the *Halys*,
and reach
Celænæ,
where are
the foun-
tains of the
Mæander
and the

Ἐν τῷ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδις, ἐκ Κριτάλλων¹⁰² ὁρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. ὃς μὲν νυν τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατὸν κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένον ἀγαγὼν τὰ προκείμενα¹⁰³ παρὰ βασιλέος ἔλαβε δῶρα, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἐς κρίσιν τούτου πέρι ἐλθόντας οἶδαν· οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε διαβάντες τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ¹⁰⁴, δι' αὐτῆς πορευόμενοι παρεγένοντο ἐς Κελαινάς¹⁰⁵. ἵνα

tion. In THEOCRITUS (xiii. 52) the order *κουφότερα ποιῆσθαι ὕπλα* would imply the laying in the oars and, as English sailors express it, "making all snug," to prepare for the coming breeze indicated by the falling star.

^a καταβάλλειν σιτία, "to form magazines of provision."

¹⁰¹ ἐς Δορίσκον. See note 289 on v. 98. The site is described below, § 59. It will be observed that the places named here form a chain of posts along the line of march into Hellas. *Eion* and *Doriscus*, besides their accessibility from the sea, of which the Persians had the command, secured the passage over the Strymon and the Hebrus respectively. That the greatest quantity of stores should be laid up at Leuce Acte was likely from the circumstance that the supplies came chiefly from Pontus (above, § 23). What the particular points for magazines in Macedonia were, Herodotus does not say. His informant was perhaps a Hellespontine Greek, more familiar with his own neighbourhood than with the coast west of the Strymon. He also knew no particulars

which happened on the march until *Celænæ* was reached.

¹⁰² ἐκ Κριτάλλων. *Critalla* was the frontier town of Cappadocia. See notes 243 on i. 72, and 130 on v. 52.

¹⁰³ τὰ προκείμενα. See above, § 8.

¹⁰⁴ ἐπεὶ τε διαβάντες τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὠμίλησαν τῇ Φρυγίῃ. The passage of the river here seems undoubtedly to be at the same place which Herodotus speaks of in v. 52. See the note 129 on that passage, and also 243 on i. 72.

¹⁰⁵ ἐς Κελαινάς. The population of this city were removed by Antiochus Soter to *Apamea*, which he built in honour of his mother Apame, and which became, next to Ephesus, the most important commercial town of Asia. (STRABO, xii. c. 8, p. 73.) From this circumstance it may be presumed that the same character had attached to *Celænæ*, which quite accords with its being the locality in which an individual like Pythius was established. See note 111, below. *Apamea* was situated at the source of the river *Marsyas*, which was no doubt the same as that which Herodotus calls *Cataract*, for the

πηγαὶ ἀναδιδούσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ¹⁰⁶, καὶ ἑτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσ- *Cataract,*
 σονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ οὖνομα τυγχάνει ἐὼν Καταρρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ *which*
 αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῆς Κελαινέων ἀνατέλλων, ἐς τὸν Μαιάνδρον *bursts out*
 ἐκδιδού· ἐν τῇ¹⁰⁷ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σίληνοῦ Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει *in the*
 ἀνακρέμαται, τὸν ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκ- *agora.*
 δαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ὑποκατήμενος Πύθιος *There too is*
 ὁ Ἄττος¹⁰⁸, ἀνὴρ Λυδὸς, ἐξείνισε τὴν βασιλέως στρατιὴν πᾶσαν *the Skin of*
 ξεινίοισι μεγίστοισι καὶ αὐτὸν Ξέρξεα, χρήματά τε ἐπαγγέλλετο *Marsyas.*
 βουλόμενος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρέχειν· ἐπαγγελλομένου δὲ χρήματα **27**
 Πυθίου, εἴρετο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας, τίς τε ἐὼν ἀνδρῶν *Anecdote of*
 Πύθιος καὶ κόσα χρήματα κεκτημένος ἐπαγγέλλοιτο ταῦτα; οἱ *Pythius the*
 δὲ εἶπαν· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὗτός ἐστι ὃς τοι τὸν πατέρα Δαρεῖον *Lydian and*
 ἐδωρήσατο τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ¹⁰⁹. ὃς καὶ *his enor-*
 νῦν ἐστι πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, μετὰ σέ.” *mous*
 Θωμάσας δὲ τῶν ἐπέων τὸ τελευταῖον Ξέρξης, αὐτὸς δεύτερα εἴρετο **28**
 Πύθιον ὁκόσα οἱ εἶη χρήματα; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε σε *wealth.*
 ἀποκρύνῃω οὔτε σκήψομαι τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι τὴν ἔμεωντοῦ¹¹⁰ οὐσίην,
 ἀλλ’ ἐπιστάμενός τοι ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστά σε
 ἐπυθόμην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καταβαίνοντα τὴν Ἑλληνίδα, βουλόμενός
 τοι δοῦναι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρήματα, ἐξέμαθον, καὶ εὖρον λογιζό-

current belief was that both the Marsyas and the Mæander rose from the same tarn, which was above the hill on which Celenæ had stood. (STRABO, p. 74.) This tarn abounded in the reeds from which the musical pipes were made,—a circumstance which doubtless determined the assignment of this locality to the contest of Marsyas with Apollo.

¹⁰⁶ ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδούσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ. In the time of XENOPHON the stream issued from a court in the palace of the younger Cyrus, which had been built there, surrounded with a park of wild animals preserved for the purposes of the chase. Probably this residence did not exist in the time of Herodotus, as he takes no notice of it, although the tradition ran that it was built by Xerxes on his retreat out of Europe after the defeat at Salamis. (*Anabasis*, i. 2. 9.)

¹⁰⁷ ἐν τῇ. One manuscript (*b*) has ἐν φ. In the time of XENOPHON the skin was suspended in the grotto from whence the stream called Marsyas issued, and the

place where it joined the Mæander was fixed as the site of the flaying. (*Anabasis*, i. 2. 8.)

¹⁰⁸ Ἄττος. The manuscripts P, K, F, *b* have Ἀτρείος.

¹⁰⁹ τῇ πλατανίστῳ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ. The article is to be observed: “the well-known golden plane,” &c. Pythius had doubtless both received benefits from Darius and rendered services to him (see note 111, below), and the superiority of Greek artists gave him an opportunity of making a present which for its beauty astonished the Medo-Persian courtiers. The trait of Xerxes knowing nothing of the man’s name, but being familiar with his magnificent present, is beautifully characteristic of courtly selfishness.

¹¹⁰ ἔμεωντοῦ. The majority of MSS have ἔμεωντοῦ, which Gaisford retains. But ἔωντοῦ exists in K, and it is perhaps more likely to have been altered into the usual form than the converse. In iv. 97 the great majority of the MSS have ἔωντοῦ, and only two ἔμεωντοῦ.

29 μενος, ἀργυρίου μὲν δύο χιλιάδας εἰσάσας μοι ταλάντων, χρυσίου δὲ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεϊκῶν¹¹¹, ἐπιδεούσας ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων. καὶ τούτοισί σε ἐγὼ δωρέομαι· αὐτῷ δ' ἐμοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπεδίων ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος." Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε· Ξέρξης δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι, εἶπε· "ξεῖνε Δυδὲ, ἐγὼ ἐπεὶ τε ἐξήλθον τὴν Περσίδα χώραν, οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνέμιξα ἐς τόδε, ὅστις ἠθέλησε ξεινία προθεῖναι στρατῷ τῷ ἐμῷ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν καταστὰς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμοὶ ἠθέλησε συμβαλέσθαι χρήματα, ἔξω σεῦ· σὺ δὲ καὶ ἐξείνισας μεγάλως στρατὸν τὸν ἐμὸν, καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐπαγγέλλεαι. σοὶ ὦν ἐγὼ ἀντὶ αὐτῶν γέρεα τοιάδε δίδωμι· ξεινόν τέ σε ποιεῖνμαι ἐμὸν¹¹² καὶ

¹¹¹ τετρακοσίας μυριάδας στατήρων Δαρεϊκῶν. If the *Daric* be reckoned at 17. 1s. 10. 44d., which would be its value if compared with our own sovereigns with reference to the amount of pure gold in each, this sum would be enormous, and make the wealth of Pythius such as to throw into the shade not only the fortunes of European Greece, but even those of the modern millionnaires of England. But it seems clear from the excess of gold over silver, that this is too great an estimate of its current value in Phrygia at the time of Xerxes's invasion. Independently of the Lydian gold from the Tmolus, a great deal would come in from central Asia, where it has always been abundant in comparison of silver. (See the note 280 on iii. 95.) In the time of XENOPHON (*Anabasis*, i. 7. 18), when there had been a vast efflux of gold from Asia into Europe, the *daric* was still reckoned as equivalent to only twenty silver *drachms*, or 300 *darics* to one *talent*. This would give about 16s. 3d. for the value of the *daric*. Taking it at this sum, the property of Pythius would still amount to £3,400,000 in gold (after Xerxes had made it up to a round number), and £510,000 in silver. The wealth of Callias, the richest of Athenian citizens in the most flourishing times of the commonwealth, was assessed at 200 talents, or £51,000. (LYSIS, xix. p. 649, *Reiske*.) The only way in which this enormous accumulation in the hands of a private individual in those days becomes conceivable, is by supposing that Pythius had farmed the revenues, and probably on very favourable terms, upon the constitution of Darius's system of satrapies. In carrying

out those arrangements the assistance of the experienced Lydian financiers would be one of the greatest necessities; and the same class of persons would, almost alone, be able to turn to their own advantage the troubles which ever since the destruction of the Lydian dynasty had prevailed in Asia. The whole matter becomes explicable if Pythius is regarded in the same light as the Fuggers of Augsburg, and his liberality to Xerxes as an act parallel to the well-known story of the head of that house; who presented the emperor Charles V., towards the close of a splendid entertainment he gave to him, with his own bond to light a pile of fragrant spices. In its turn the agency of Ionian capitalists will help to explain the peculiar order of the satrapies in Darius's cadastral system, as given by Herodotus, to which attention was called in note 251 on iii. 90. PLUTARCH (*de Virtut. Mul.* p. 262) gives a long story of Pythius, whom he calls Pythes, and whose wealth he derives from the discovery of some gold mines, and represents him as forcing all the inhabitants of "the city which he governed" to work these. He is converted from this policy by his wife, who gives him a practical lesson that gold is only useful as an article of exchange.

¹¹² ξεινόν τέ σε ποιεῖνμαι ἐμόν. In these formal expressions of friendship between persons of very unequal rank there seems to be the germ of modern titles, at any rate of that of "count" (*comes*). Philip of Macedonia gave a formality to the title *ἐταῖρος*, which he seems to have bestowed upon men of weight by whose services he hoped to profit.

τὰς τετρακοσίας μυριάδας τοι τῶν στατήρων ἀποπλήσω παρ' ἐμεωντοῦ, δούς τὰς ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας· ἵνα μὴ τοι ἐπιδέεες ἔωσι αἱ τετρακόσiai μυριάδες ἑπτὰ χιλιάδων, ἀλλ' ἢ τοι ἀπαρτιλογίῃ ὑπ' ἐμέο πεπληρωμένη· κέκτησό τε αὐτὸς τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐκτίσας, ἐπίστασό τε εἶναι αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γάρ τοι ταῦτα ποιεῦντι οὔτε ἐς τὸ παρεὸν οὔτε ἐς χρόνον μεταμελήσει."

Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἐπιτελέα ποιήσας, ἐπορεύετο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω.

"Ανανα δὲ καλεομένην Φρυγῶν πόλιν παραμβόμενος, καὶ λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ἅλης γίνονται, ἀπῆκετο ἐς Κολοσσὰς, πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης¹¹³, ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἔπειτα διὰ σταδίων ὡς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδίδου καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μαϊάνδρον. ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁρμώμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ τῶν Λυδῶν, ἀπῆκετο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν· ἔνθα στήλη¹¹⁴ καταπεπηγυῖα, σταθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου, καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὖρους. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἄριστερην ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης, τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαϊάνδρον ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται, καὶ ἵεναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον¹¹⁵ πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἄνδρες δημιουργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι¹¹⁶, ταύτην ἰὼν ὁ

30

Xerxes passes by *Anana* and a salt lake, and arrives at *Colossæ*, where the river *Lycus* runs under ground for five stades; then at *Cydrara*,

31

on the frontier of Phrygia and Lydia, as shown by a *stile* set up by *Cræsus*. After this the road divides, the

¹¹³ ἐς Κολοσσὰς, πόλιν μεγάλην Φρυγίης. S and V omit the word *μεγάλην*, and the former has the form *Κολοσσούς*. The city *Colosse* is said by STRABO to have derived its name from the peculiar aptness of the wool produced by the sheep in the neighbourhood to take the colour which was designated by that name. *Laodicæa*, which was in the immediate neighbourhood, on the Lycus, was equally remarkable for the excellence of its wool in taking the colour called *coraxe* (xii. c. 8, p. 74).

¹¹⁴ Κύδραρα πόλιν· ἔνθα στήλη. S has *Κυδραπόλιν*, ἔνθα ἡ στήλη, an important variation, as it indicates that the monument was a well-known one. Two or three other MSS also have *Κύδρα* instead of *Κύδραρα*. Nothing is known of the town. Probably it was a mere frontier station, existing chiefly for the purpose of exacting transit duties,—a circumstance which would make it notable to travelling merchants. (See note 130 on v. 52.) It has been identified with the *Carura* of STRABO (xiv. c. 3, p. 212) by Schweighäuser; but

Carura was the frontier town between *Caria* and *Phrygia*, whereas *Cydrara* is represented by Herodotus as the frontier between *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, and somewhat south of the point where the road towards *Caria* turned off.

¹¹⁵ Καλλάτηβον. The manuscripts S and V have *Καλλάτιον*. Nothing is known of the place. Probably it was only noted for the manufacture spoken of in the text. It has been placed by conjecture on the site of *Philadelphia*, but apparently without any good reason.

¹¹⁶ ἄνδρες δημιουργοὶ μέλι ἐκ μυρίκης τε καὶ πυροῦ ποιεῦσι. Herodotus speaks of an extensive *manufacture of honey* among one of the Libyan tribes (iv. 194). It must be remembered that the word 'honey' would, as naturally as the word 'sugar' with us, be employed by the ancients to express any saccharine substance which might be obtained by an artificial process. As the bee-honey furnished the original and also the principal means of sweetening, its name would be extended to

left leading
to Caria,
the right,

32

which
Xerxes
took, to
Sardis.
From Sar-
dis heralds
are sent
into Hellas.

Ξέρξης τὴν ὁδὸν, εὗρε πλατάνιστον, τὴν κάλλεος εἵνεκα δωρησά-
μενος κόσμῳ χρυσέῳ καὶ μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας ¹¹⁷,
δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπίκητο ἐς τῶν Λυδῶν τὸ ἄστυ. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς
Σάρδεις ¹¹⁸, πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, αἰτή-
σοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ προεέροντας δαίπνα βασιλεῖ παρα-
σκευάζειν· πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας οὔτε ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπέπεμπε
ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν ¹¹⁹, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ πάντῃ· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τὸ δεύ-
τερον ¹²⁰ ἀπέπεμπε ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· ὅσοι πρότερον οὐκ
ἔδοσαν ¹²¹ Δαρείῳ πέμψαντι, τούτους πᾶγχυ ἔδοκεε τότε δείσαντας
δώσειν· βουλόμενος ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκμαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ἔπεμπε ¹²².
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον.

33

Site of the
bridge
across the
Hellespont.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσῆς ἐς
τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ,
Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τραχέα ἐς θάλασσαν
κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταπύριον· ἔνθα μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐ
πολλῷ, ἐπὶ Ξανθίππου τοῦ Ἀρίφρονος στρατηγοῦ Ἀθηναίων,
Ἀρταύκτῃ ¹²³ ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν λαβόντες Σηστοῦ ὑπαρχον, ζῶντα
πρὸς σανίδα προσδιεπασσάλευσαν· ὃς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πρωτεσίλεω τὸ
ἶρον ἐς Ἑλαιούντα ¹²⁴ ἀγινέμενος γυναικάς, ἀθέμιτα ἔρδσκε. Ἐς
ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμώμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι
προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν ¹²⁵ λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέραν τὴν
βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτου· ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν

34

all others. The word *δημιουργός* is men-
tioned by *ATHENÆUS* (iv. 172) as having
been the name given by the *ancients* (οἱ
πρότερον) to the makers of pastry,—which
may induce the conjecture that the origin
of this kind of cakes was in the offerings
made to the deities, and that a peculiar
mode of manufacturing them was pre-
served as a part of the sacred traditions,
and committed to the hands of certain
officials.

¹¹⁷ μελεδωνῷ ἀθανάτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτρέψας,
“having committed it to the charge of
a member of the Immortal Band as its
guardian.” Of these ‘immortals,’ see be-
low, § 33.

¹¹⁸ ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις. It will be
observed that in the description of the
route of Xerxes to Sardis, there is no pre-
tence at any thing like the accuracy of an
itinerary. All the points mentioned have
a mercantile interest, which appears on

the very face of the matter, and nothing
is related which would not naturally re-
main in the current traditions of the sever-
al localities. These considerations are
important in estimating the value of the
details in Herodotus's story.

¹¹⁹ πλὴν οὔτε ἐς Ἀθήνας . . . αἴτησιν.
For a reason of this see § 133, below.

¹²⁰ τὸ δεύτερον. These words are omit-
ted by S and V.

¹²¹ ἔδοσαν. The MSS are divided be-
tween this word and ἔπεμψαν.

¹²² βουλόμενος ὦν . . . ἔπεμπε. This
clause is omitted in V, and apparently
from no error of vision in the transcriber.

¹²³ Ἀρταύκτῃ. Of this Artayctes see
ix. 120, below.

¹²⁴ ἐς Ἑλαιούντα. See note on § 22,
above.

¹²⁵ τὴν μὲν. The word with which
τὴν agrees is γέφυραν, gathered by infer-
ence from the preceding verb ἐγεφύρουν.

ἀπαντίον. Καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένον τοῦ πόρου, ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν 35
 μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκείνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε· ὥς δ' ἐπύθετο
 Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος, τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευε τριηκοσίας
 ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς ¹²⁶, καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων
 ζεύγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὥς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε
 στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· ἐνετέλλετο δὴ ὦν ραπίζοντας λέγειν
 βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα· “ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι
 δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον
 παθόν· καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεταιί σε, ἦν τε σύ γε
 βούλη ἦν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων
 θύει, ὥς ἐόντι δολερῷ τε καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ ¹²⁷.” τήν τε δὴ
 θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ
 ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς. Καὶ οἱ μὲν 36
 ταῦτα ἐποίεον τοῖσι προσεκέετο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμὴ· τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι
 ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξέγυνσαν· ἐξέγυνσαν δὲ ὧδε· πεντηκοντέρους καὶ

Story of the
 outrageous
 behaviour
 of Xerxes
 when the
 bridge gave
 way.

¹²⁶ τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς. The construction is the same as if the author had said ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευε τριηκοσίας ἐκέσθαι πληγὰς, “he ordered that three hundred stripes with the scourge should be applied to the Hellespont.” By the way in which ÆSCHYLUS speaks of the act of bridging over the strait, it seems likely that the whole story of the insults wreaked on the Hellespont has for its foundation “poetry condensed into fact.”

ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἱρὸν, δούλον ὡς δεσπό-
 μασιν
 ἤλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥόον
 θεοῦ,
 καὶ πόρον μετεῤῥύθμισε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρη-
 λάτοις
 περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤγνυσεν πολλῷ
 στρατῷ,
 θνητὸς ὢν, θεῶν δὲ πάντων ᾤετ' οὐκ εὐ-
 βουλῶ
 καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσειν, πῶς τὰδ' οὐ
 νόσος φρενῶν; (*Pers.* 745.)

It seems quite plain that in the time when the *Persians* were produced on the stage, the particulars related by Herodotus of Xerxes's fury were unknown at Athens. His impiety is made to consist in the forcing his passage across the sacred strait, the displeasure of which had been already evinced. Under more equivocal circumstances Cleomenes did not venture to cross the *Erasinus* (vi. 76). Æschylus repre-

sents the Persian metaphorically as treating the Hellespont like a rebellious slave, —for whom bonds, the lash, and the στίγματα would be the appropriate punishment; and the popular traditions supplied these, although the last feature seems (as was not unlikely from its utter inappropriateness) to have been wanting in most of these. It did not appear in the account with which JUVENAL was familiar, which also varied in making the winds, not the Hellespont, the objects scourged.

Ille tamen qualis rediit, Salamine relictâ,
 In Caurum atque Eurum solitus sævire
 flagellis
 Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere
 passos?
 Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosig-
 zeum,
 Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmatè dignum
 Credidit! (*Sat.* x. 179, seqq.)

The address to the Hellespont, which is put into the mouth of the Persian king, is of nearly the same stamp as the letter to Mount Athos given by Plutarch. See note 99, above.

¹²⁷ ποταμῷ. The Hellespont, perfectly land-locked, and with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person who is sailing in it altogether the appearance of a ‘river;’ and it is from this notion of it that the epithets πλατὺς and ἀπείρων are applied to it in the Homeric poems.

τριήρεας συνθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέρην τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας ¹²⁸ τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχέῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὕπλων συνθέντες δὲ, ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκειας—τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης, τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης [τῆς ¹²⁹] πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου—εὗρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα· διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφασιν ¹³⁰ κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων

¹²⁸ τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας. See the note on iv. 101. It is impossible that any persons who had ever constructed a pontoon bridge should think of mooring vessels, when stability was an object, in any other position than with their heads or sterns in the direction of the current; and it is such an erroneous assumption which has caused so much difficulty in the understanding of this passage. Owing to the shape of the channel the set of the current is not in the line of water, but oblique from one shore to the other. A vessel therefore laid, as it must be if it is not to be soon carried away, *in the line* of the current, would be *at an angle* to the apparent line of the shore of the Propontis; it would seem as if not going direct up channel. All the ships were so moored,—*each* being what the writer describes the *whole* to have been,—with the object of “steadying the strain of the tackle” (ἵνα ἀνακωχέῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὕπλων). The only difficulty arises from the circumstance that the author imagines the pontoon-ships to have been *first* put together (συνθέντες), and then brought into line by an operation like that effected with the tubes of the Menai tunnel; whereas no doubt they were first anchored individually, then brought accurately into line by heaving at the capstan, and finally made fast to each other. The two bridges reciprocally acted as breakwaters to each other against the effects of the prevalent winds, the East and the South-west. (See note 87 on iv. 27.) No doubt anchors were also laid out from the inner extremity of each vessel in the two lines, but these would not need to be of the size of the external ones, as the strain upon them would be much less.

STRABO describes the line of the bridge as having been from a point *above* Abydos to one a little *below* Sestos, which in his time bore the name of *Apobathra*. The ferry-men in crossing from Sestos used to

go down channel a short distance until they came off ‘Hero’s Tower,’ from which point the set of the current enabled them to make Abydos. From Abydos, on the contrary, they crept up along shore for about eight stades, and then stood for Sestos. The distance from port to port he puts at thirty stades, but the length of the bridge at only seven (xiii. c. 1, p. 96). The passage from Europe to Asia was considered the easier.

¹²⁹ [τῆς.] This word is not found in S, P, F, and I have little doubt that it is an interpolation. It seems impossible to give any sense to the passage if it be retained. But after expunging it from Gaisford’s text, on the authority of the above-mentioned MSS, the sense becomes manifest, making allowance for the false notion the author entertained of the mode of the operation. Translate: “After attaching together penteconters and triremes, 360 for the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea, and 314 for the other (all laid at an angle to the sea, but in the line of the stream of the Hellespont, to steady the strain on the gear), they laid out anchors with very long flukes,—some on the side of the sea for the one bridge, on account of the winds that blew from inwards; and for the other bridge, on the side of the west and the Ægean,—[they laid them out, I say] on account of the e. and s.w. winds [respectively].”

¹³⁰ ὑπόφασιν. This word is used in the sense of ‘a window’ in the LXX (Ezekiel xli. 16), διέκπλους ὑπόφασιν appears to mean ‘a passage like a window,’ i.e. an arch. We must suppose a line of triremes and penteconters alternated in general, but in three places one of the latter left out in order to allow of a passage during the time of the construction of the bridge. Before the army crossed these were doubtless restored to their proper places, and made to bear their share of the pressure of the main cables,

καὶ τριχοῦ, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλέειν πλοίοισι *
 λεπτοῖσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, κατέτεινον
 ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνουσι τὰ ὄπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα
 τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασάμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην, τέσσαρα
 δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων παχύτης μὲν ἢ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον
 δὲ ἦν ἐμβριθέστερα τὰ λίνεα· τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἴλκε. ἐπειδὴ
 δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμούς ξύλων καταπρίσαντες καὶ ποιή-
 σαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίας τῷ εὐρεῖ, κόσμῳ ἐπετίθεσαν κατύπερθε
 τῶν ὄπλων τοῦ τόνου· θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπέξεύνουσι
 ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα, ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν· κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν
 ὕλην, γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν· κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, φραγμὸν
 παρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν
 θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

Ὡς δὲ τὰ τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν 37
 Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ¹³¹ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, (οἱ τῆς ῥηχίης
 εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν ἵνα μὴ πῖμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος,) The bridge
and the
canal being
reported
complete,
Xerxes
 καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως πεποιημένη ἀγγελλτο· ἐνθαῦτα χειμε-
 ρίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἔاري παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων
 ὀρμάτω ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον. ὠρμημένῳ δὲ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ
 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανῆς ἦν, οὐτ' ἐπινεφέλων¹³² ἐόντων, αἰθρίας
 τε τὰ μάλιστα· ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο· ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι
 τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο· καὶ εἴρετο τοὺς μάγους τὸ θέλοι
 προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα ; οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς Ἑλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ moves his
army on
Abydos in
the early
spring.
Just at the
same time
an eclipse
of the sun
alarms him,
but the Ma-

which were passed from shore to shore, and strained tight by the gigantic capstans (ὄνοι) on land.

¹³¹ χυτοί. These appear to have been moles or breakwaters run out for some distance, to prevent the mouth of the canal from being choked up by the shingle, which would otherwise accumulate. The phrase ῥηχίης is not to be interpreted too strictly, as if it meant merely the rise of the tide. That would be very inconsiderable (although not absolutely null) in this part of the Mediterranean. But a great sea would get up on the shore under the influence of the Etesian winds, and soon fill the mouth of the channel with shingle and sand, unless prevented by some such contrivance as that referred to in the text.

¹³² ἐπινεφέλων. So Gaisford prints.

But two MSS have ἐπὶ νεφέλων, and several ἐπὶ νεφέων. If absolute dependence could be placed on the statement that an eclipse took place, as Herodotus relates, the exact time of the passage of the raft might be determined. But it seems (see LARCHER), that no eclipse took place in the year 480 B.C. which would be visible at Abydos, although such a one did occur the year before. It is however quite impossible to reconcile the passage of the army in that year with the general chronology of Herodotus's history. See notes 5 and 25, above. It is more reasonable to suppose that in subsequent times the traditions connected the celebrated eclipse of 481 with the transit of Xerxes in 480. See note 32 on iii. 10, and 221 on vi. 98.

gians re-assure him.

38

Story of the horrible punishment for an offence given by Pythius the Lydian.

θεὸς ἔκλειψιν τῶν πολιῶν λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων¹³³. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν¹³⁴. Ὡς δ' ἐξήλαυνε τὴν στρατιὴν, Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαρθείς τε τοῖσι δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ δέσποτα, χρήσας ἄν τι τεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν¹³⁵, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρὸν τυγχάνει ἐὼν ὑπουργήσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον” Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρητῆσειν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσειν καὶ διαγορεύειν ἐκέλευε ὅτεν δέοιτο· ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσύνοντας τάδε· “ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσί μοι παῖδες εὐντες πέντε, καὶ σφεας καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἤκοντα οἰκτεῖρας, τῶν μοι παιδῶν ἓνα παράλυσον τῆς στρατηγῆς τὸν πρεσβύτατον¹³⁶,

¹³³ λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. This passage indicates a great change in the religion of the Persian court as compared with the time of Cambyses. (See notes on iii. 35, and on § 114, below.) The same doctrine was laid down by the Egyptians in Alexander's army, which had been terrified by an eclipse of the moon just before the battle of Arbela. (CURTIUS, iv. 10. 7.) But it seems not unlikely from the expression “veteraque exempla percensent,” that the story is framed on the model of this very passage. At any rate Darius, very soon after (iv. 13. 12), is represented as invoking “Solem Mithren, sacrumque et æternum ignem.” The popular notion at Athens in the time of the Peloponnesian war was that both sun and moon were the especial deities of the barbarians, as contradistinguished from the anthropomorphic divinities of European Hellas. Thus ARISTOPHANES takes advantage of the irregularity of the Athenian calendar to show the Athenians how the feuds of Greece served the policy of Persia:

TP. σοὶ φράσω τι πρᾶγμα δεινὸν καὶ μέγα,
ὃ τοῖς θεοῖς ἅπασιν ἐπιβουλεύεται
EP. ἴθι δὴ, κάτειπ'· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν πέλ-
σαις ἐμέ.

TP. ἢ γὰρ σελήνη χῶ πανοῦργος ἥλιος
ἑμὶν ἐπιβουλεύοντε πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον
τοῖς βαρβάροισι προδίδοντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

EP. ἴνα τί δὲ τοῦτο δρᾶτον; TP. ὅτι γὰρ
νῆ Δία
ἡμεῖς μὲν ὑμῖν θύομεν, τοῦτοισι δὲ
οἱ βάρβαροι θύουσι. (PAC. 403.)

¹³⁴ περιχαρὴς ἐὼν ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν. Photius (*Biblioth.* p. 39) gives the following words as the summary of CTESIUS, immediately after mentioning the building of the bridge: Δημάρατος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρεγένετο ἡδὴ πρῶτον, καὶ συνῆν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ διαβάσει, καὶ ἀπείργε τῆς εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἐφόδου. It is observable that while differing in every particular, the prominent point brought forward equally in both narratives is the dim apprehension of calamity impending if the strait should be crossed.

¹³⁵ χρήσας ἄν τι τεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, “I would fain obtain at thy hands a thing I wished for.” The particle ἄν is to be taken with βουλοίμην.

¹³⁶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον. It would seem that the anger of Xerxes was mainly excited by the request of Pythius being made for his eldest son,—who, according to oriental ways of thinking, would be the most precious of his children. (See the note 676 on i. 199.) Hence the expression τοῦ περιέχει μάλιστα in Xerxes's reply. SENECA ‘improves’ the story, by making Pythius ask for one son without specifying which. Xerxes allows him to take his choice, and having by this means discovered which was the favourite child, proceeds in the manner related in the text. (*De Irâ*, iii. 17.) See the note 235 on iv. 84. The non-historical character of the story is confirmed by the circumstance that no eclipse seems to have happened in the year when the army crossed into Europe. (See note 132, above.) Compare note 235 on iv. 84.

ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἡ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσσερας ἄγειν ἅμα σεωυτῶ· καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοεῖς νοστήσειας ὀπίσω.” Κάρτα τε ἐθυμώθη ὁ Ξέρξης, καὶ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “ὦ κακὲ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ ἐτόλμησας, ἐμεῦ στρατευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἄγοντος παῖδας ἐμούς καὶ ἀδελφεοὺς καὶ οἰκήτους καὶ φίλους, μνήσασθαι περὶ σέο παιδός· ἐὼν ἐμὸς δοῦλος, τὸν χρὴν πανοικίῃ αὐτῇ γυναικὶ συνέπεσθαι; εἰ νῦν τόδ’ ἐξεπίστασο, ὥς ἐν τοῖσι ὥσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκέει ὁ θυμός· ὃς χρηστὰ μὲν ἀκούσας τέρψιος ἐμπιπλέει τὸ σῶμα, ὑπεναντία δὲ τούτοισι ἀκούσας ἀνοιδέει· ὅτε μὲν νυν χρηστὰ ποιήσας ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἐπηγγέλλεο, εὐεργεσίῃσι βασιλέα οὐ καυχῆσαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀναιδέσπερον ἐτράπευ, τὴν μὲν ἀξίην οὐ λάμβναι, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς ἀξίης· σὲ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσερας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ ξείνια· τοῦ δὲ ἐνός, τοῦ περιέχειαι μάλιστα, τῇ ψυχῇ ζημιώσαι.” ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίνατο, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο ταῦτα πρήσσειν, τῶν Πυθίου παίδων ἐξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμεῖν· διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ δὲ ἐπ’ ἀριστερά· καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν.¹³⁷

Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξίηε ὁ στρατός· 40 ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· μετὰ δὲ τούτους στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι¹³⁸. τῇ δὲ ὑπερηνμίσεες ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο¹³⁹. καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλείῃ. προηγύντο μὲν δὴ ἱππῶται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ, αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ, ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι¹⁴⁰ καλεούμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὥς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς¹⁴¹ τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Νίσαιον· τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους

Order of the line of march.

¹³⁷ καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν. See note 235 on iv. 84.

¹³⁸ στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι. These troops were probably raised for general service, and entered into the framework of the standing army. Such an arrangement, natural to a great empire, was quite foreign to the habits of the Greeks of Herodotus's time, where the civil relations were not lost sight of in associating levies from different states.

¹³⁹ τῇ δὲ ὑπερηνμίσεες ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα

διελέλειπτο, “in the point where the half of the number was turned, there a break in the line had been left.”

¹⁴⁰ Νισαῖοι. Some of the MSS have Νησαῖοι.

¹⁴¹ πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς. See note 307 on iii. 106. RAWLINSON says (*Journal of the Geogr. Soc.* ix. p. 101), “With Herodotus, who was most imperfectly acquainted with the geography of Media, originated the error of transferring to that province the Nisæa (Nesá) of

τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίου τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἴλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ· ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων εἶπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος, ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει· τούτου δὲ ὅπισθεν αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων παραβέβηκε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω
 41 παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω¹⁴². Ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης· μετεκβαίνεσκε δὲ, ὅπως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθεν αἰχμοφόροι, Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναιώτατοι, χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες¹⁴³. μετὰ δὲ, ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίῃ ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵπποι, ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ῥοιὰς εἶχον χρυσέας¹⁴⁴, καὶ πέριξ συνεκλήϊον τοὺς ἄλλους· οἱ δὲ

Khorassan, and all later writers either copied or confounded his statement. Strabo alone has escaped from the general confusion. . . . In his description we recognize the great grazing plains of Kháwah, Alish-tar, Huru, Silákhúr, Burbúrúd, Jápálák, and Ferídún, which thus stretch in a continuous line from one point to another along the southern frontiers of Media." These pastures lie along the mountain range, reaching from about Behistun (*Bagistane*), lat. 34° 15', long. 47° 35', to Ispahan, and it is probably the westernmost of them which were visited by Alexander on his march from Susa to Agbatana. (ARRIAN, vii. 13.)

¹⁴² Ὀτάνεω παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω. The office of ἡνίοχος was no doubt one of high rank, like that of bow-bearer and quiver-bearer and all others which involved close proximity to the person of the sovereign. This circumstance suggests that Patirampes may have been son of the conspirator Otanes, apparently the most powerful of the Persian aristocracy. (See notes 192 on iii. 63, and 390 on iii. 141, and the exceptional position of his family described in the text, iii. 84.) On the other hand, it is certainly striking that so important an individual as the *conspirator* Otanes should be designated merely as *ἀνὴρ Πέρσης*, if the narrative here belongs to the same cycle of historical traditions as the account of the conspiracy in Book III.

¹⁴³ κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες. This seems to indicate, when taken in

connexion with the reversal of the arms of the guard who preceded the sovereign, a symbol of respect to him. The notion seems to have been that the rear guard were regarded as more in the actual presence of the monarch than the advanced guard. In the university of Cambridge the maces of the esquire bedells are borne reversed when preceding any other official than the chancellor himself.

¹⁴⁴ ῥοιὰς . . χρυσέας. These *pomegranates* were no doubt sacred emblems. (See note 606 on i. 195.) The statue of Here in the temple at Mycenæ had a pomegranate in the one hand and a sceptre (on which a cuckoo was perched) in the other. PAUSANIAS says that there was a secret doctrine connected with the former (ii. 17. 4). The statue Pausanias saw was by Polyclethus, but the symbol would doubtless be traditional, and derived from a much earlier time. The wife of the 'rex sacrificulus' at Rome, when sacrificing, wore a garland composed of a twig of the same tree. (FESTUS, v. *Inarctum*, and SERVIVS, *ad Æn.* iv. 137.) As the deity at Mycenæ was a θεὸς γαμήλιος, and the rites at Rome alluded to were of the same nature as the Attic Thesmophoria, it seems likely that the productivity of nature was symbolized by the fruit, remarkable as it was for the number of seeds it contained. In this case the deity to which the emblem belonged would be some form of Aphrodite Urania, and would be a recent adoption among the pure Persians,

εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἔοντες ἀργυρέας ροῖας εἶχον. (εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροῖας καὶ οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξη.) τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρὴν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίου, καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος ἦε ἀναμίξ.

Ἐποιέετο δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τε ποταμὸν 42
Καῖκον καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυσίην· ἀπὸ δὲ Καϊκού ¹⁴⁵ ὁρμώμενος, Κάνης
ὄρος ἔχων ἐν ἀριστερῇ, διὰ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος ἐς Καρίνην πόλιν· ἀπὸ
δὲ ταύτης διὰ Θήβης πεδίου ¹⁴⁶ ἐπορεύετο, Ἀτραμύττειόν τε πόλιν
καὶ Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα ¹⁴⁷ παραμβέβηκον· τὴν Ἰδην δὲ
λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χέρα ¹⁴⁸, ἦε ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα γῆν. καὶ πρῶτα
μὲν οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ νύκτα ἀναμείναντι βρονταὶ τε καὶ πρηστήρες
ἐπεισπίπτουσι, καὶ τινα αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συχνὸν ὄμιλον διέφθειραν.
Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς πρῶτος 43
ποταμὼν ἐπεί τε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὁρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ,
ἐπέλιπε τὸ ρέεθρον, οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε καὶ τοῖσι κτίνεσι
πυνόμενος· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ
Πριάμου Πέργαμον ¹⁴⁹ ἀνέβη, ἵμερον ἔχων θείσασθαι· θεησάμενος

Course of
the march
from Sardis
to Abydos.

probably under the name of *Mitra*. See i. 132, above. LAYARD professes to have found the pomegranate among the sacred emblems on the Nimroud sculptures. (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 296.) A Parthian with a short spear, at the extremity of which is a sphere, is figured by HOPE. (*Costumes of the Ancients*, vol. i. fig. 13.)

¹⁴⁵ ἀπὸ δὲ Καϊκού. From this point the line of march until the Hellespont was crossed would lie among an Æolian population, which covered the whole country from Cyzicum to the Caicus. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 81.) *Cane* is the promontory which constitutes the southern point of the bay of Adramyttium, Lectium, a spur of Mount Ida, being the northern one. (Id. *ib.* p. 134.)

¹⁴⁶ διὰ Θήβης πεδίου. The town *Thebe* is represented in the *Iliad* as having been sacked by Achilles, together with eleven others in the neighbourhood. It was there that Chryses, the priest of Apollo under the name of *Hecatus* (see note 506 on i. 151), dwelt, and Andromache, the wife of Hector, was the daughter of its king Aetion. Xerxes, according to the text, seems to have kept the coast road which led from Atarneus to Adramyttium, but

on arriving near the latter place to have passed between it and Antandrus, and struck northwards into the hill country between Ida and a range running east and west, called in the *Iliad* *Placus*, under which Thebe lay.

¹⁴⁷ Ἀντανδρον τὴν Πελασγίδα. See note 179 on i. 56.

¹⁴⁸ τὴν Ἰδην δὲ λαβὼν ἐς ἀριστερὴν χέρα. It is not easy to understand this expression; for if Xerxes had left Ida on his left, he would have come upon the *Granicus*, not upon the *Scamander*. Their sources however were not distant from one another, although the rivers descended on opposite sides of the water-shed. (STRABO, xiii. p. 113.) His route between Adramyttium and Abydos is over the top of Ida, and there seems no obvious reason why he should have abandoned the coast road, which, although longer, would have been much easier for a large army. Perhaps the bulk of the force did really take the coast road, and only a detachment accompany the king by the short cut over the mountains.

¹⁴⁹ ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον. This phrase is perhaps used to distinguish the place visited by Xerxes from the hill-fort

δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος κείνων ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ¹⁵⁰ ἐχέαντο· ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε· ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεύτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ῥοίτειον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδανον, ἥπερ δὴ Ἀβύδω ὁμουρός ἐστι, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς ¹⁵¹.

44

In Abydos
the army
is reviewed.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδω, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ιδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ ¹⁵². ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδωνοὶ, ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος· ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἴζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθελίτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας· θηεύμενος δὲ ἰμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν ¹⁵³ γινομένην ιδέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες

45

Xerxes is
moved to
tears,

Σιδώνιοι, ἥσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατῷ. Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένοι, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδωνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα

46

and Artabanus
takes

Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε. Μαθὼν δὲ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ¹⁵⁴ ὁ πάτριος, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο

which Lysimachus afterwards made the acropolis of the celebrated city of the same name.

¹⁵⁰ τοῖσι ἥρωσι. The barrows with which this locality abounds were all regarded as the burial place of some of the worthies of the Trojan war, and chapels were erected to these, either on them or on the elevations in the neighbourhood. At Rhetæum was a chapel of Ajax, at Ophrynum a grave of Hector, at Sigeum the tomb of Achilles. The tomb of He-cuba (called κυνὸς σῆμα) was between Dardanus and Abydos; and near Sigeum was that of Protesilaus. (STRABO, xiii. p. 102, *seqq.*) Larcher attempts to account for the discrepancy between the conduct of Xerxes here and the habits ascribed to the Persians in i. 132, by supposing that it arose from a desire to conciliate the gods of the land through which the army was passing. There is no doubt something in this; but the true explanation is (I believe) to be found in the view put forth in the *Excursus* on iii. 74, pp. 434—5.

¹⁵¹ Γέργιθας Τευκρούς. These Gergithians had been subdued by the Persian general Hymeas in the course of putting down the Ionian rebellion (v. 122, above).

¹⁵² προξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ. Massive marble chairs were set up in many places in Greece, sometimes in honour of distinguished individuals, sometimes consecrated to certain deities. Such a one, existing at Rhamnus, is described by MR. ΡΑΙΚΕΣ. (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 310.) The custom appears in the Homeric poems (*Il.* xviii. 504). *Job* too says of himself, ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἐτίθετό μου ὁ δῖφρος (xxix. 7), when enumerating the particulars of the prosperity of his former days.

¹⁵³ ἄμιλλαν, "a contest of speed," not "a sea-fight."

¹⁵⁴ Ἀρτάβανος. HERMOGENES the rhetorician, in quoting a part of the dialogue which follows, makes not *Artabanus*, but *Artabazus* to be the party with whom the Persian king discourses. This is doubtless owing to a slip of the memory, the attention of the writer being taken up by the substance of the discussion, and the name of the interlocutor being comparatively a matter of indifference. But this very circumstance should operate as a caution to those who attempt to identify the individuals mentioned here and there in the stories related by Herodotus with one another; for exactly the same causes which influenced Hermogenes would also

ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλευέων Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, advantage of the mood
οὗτος ὤνῃρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα εἶρετο τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, to impress
ὥς πολὺ ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρό- him with
τερον; μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν δακρύεις.” ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ἐσῆλθε the uncer-
γάρ με¹⁵⁵ λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὥς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρῶ- tainty of
πινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἑόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος human
περιέσται.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· “ἔτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζῶν affairs.
πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα· ἐν γὰρ οὕτῳ βραχεὶ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτῳ ἄνθρω-
πος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παρα-
στήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἔπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ
ζοῖν· αἱ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσιν¹⁵⁶ καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συν-
ταράσσουσιν καὶ βραχὺν ἑόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν
βίον· οὕτῳ ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζῆς, καταφυγὴ
αἶρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν
αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἑὼν¹⁵⁷.” Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο 47
λέγων· “Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νῦν ἀνθρωπηῆς πέρι, ἐούσης τοι-
αύτης οἴηνπερ σὺ διαιρεῖαι¹⁵⁸ εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνέ-
μεθα χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσὶ· φράσον δέ μοι τόδε· εἴ
τοι ἢ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργῆς οὕτῳ ἐφάνη, εἶχες ἂν τὴν
ἀρχαίην γνώμην οὐκ ἑὼν με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ
μετέστης ἂν; φέρε μοι τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο
λέγων· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὄψις μὲν ἢ ἐπιφανείσα τοῦ ὀνείρου ὥς βουλό-
μεθα ἀμφοτέροι τελευτήσῃ· ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε δείματός εἰμι
ὑπόπλεος, οὐδ' ἐντὸς ἐμεωυτοῦ, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος καὶ
δὴ καὶ ὀρέων τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἑόντα πολεμιώτατα.”

operate upon the authorities through which the accounts came to Herodotus. See note 116 on i. 32, note 494 on ii. 160, and note 368 on iv. 144.

¹⁵⁵ ἐσῆλθε γάρ με. A similar expression is used above, iii. 42: τὸν δὲ ὥς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρήγμα, vi. 125: ἰδόντα τὸν Κροῖσον γέλως ἐσῆλθε, and in other passages.

¹⁵⁶ προσπίπτουσιν. STOBÆUS, in quoting this passage, has the variation συμπίπτουσιν, which is used by Herodotus above, i. 139: καὶ τότε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπίπτωκε γίνεσθαι, and by THUCYDIDES, iii. 59: κατανοοῦντες . . . ὥς ἀσάθμητον τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ᾧ τινὶ ποτ' ἂν καὶ ἀναξίῳ

ξυμπέσοι.

¹⁵⁷ ὁ δὲ θεὸς . . . εὐρίσκεται ἑὼν. Translate: “the deity, after giving us a taste of sweetness in our life, is found to mean spite in so doing.” The vender of wine would “give a taste” (γεύειν) in order to allure a purchaser. Hence SILENUS, in the *Cyclops* of EURIPIDES, says: γεῦμα τὴν ὥνῃν καλεῖ (v. 150). The meaning of Artabanus is, that the happiness of life is bestowed merely to arouse desire, in order that the greater pain may be inflicted by thwarting it. “Ut casu graviore ruant, tolluntur in altum.” Upon the θεῶν φθόνος see note 119 on iii. 40.

¹⁵⁸ διαιρεῖαι. See note 604 on i. 180.

- 48 Ξέρξης δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “ δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοῖα ταῦτα λέγεις εἶναι δύο μοι πολεμιώτατα ; κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς μεμπτὸς κατὰ τὸ πλήθός ἐστι, καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἔσσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου ; ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνων ; ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα ; εἰ γάρ τοι αὐτὴ ἐνδεέστερα φαίνεται εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα,
- 49 στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἄγερσιν ποιοῖτο.” Ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο λέγων· “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε στρατὸν¹⁵⁹ τοῦτον ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει μέμφουτ’ ἂν, οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλήθος· ἦν τε πλεῦνας συλλέξης, τὰ δύο τοι τὰ λέγω πολλῷ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεται· τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτα ἔστι γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα· οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόθι, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, ὅστις ἐγειρομένου χειμῶνος δεξάμενός σεν τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικόν, φερέγγυος ἔσται διασῶσαι τὰς νέας· καὶ τοι οὐκ ἓνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡπείρου, παρ’ ἣν δὴ κομῖαι· οὐκ ὦν δὴ εὐνιτων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων¹⁶⁰, μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὠνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων· καὶ δὴ τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἑτέρου εἰρημένου, τὸ ἕτερον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων· γῆ δὴ¹⁶¹ πολεμὴν τῇδὲ τοι κατίσταται· εἰ ἐθέλοι τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξουν καταστήναι, τοσοῦτῳ τοι γίνεται πολεμιωτέρῃ ὅσῳ ἂν προβαίνης ἐκαστέρῳ, τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος¹⁶². εὐπρηξίης γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρα¹⁶³. καὶ δὴ τοι, ὥς οὐδενὸς ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω

¹⁵⁹ οὔτε στρατὸν, κ.τ.λ. Valcknaer calls attention to the circumstance of the following sentiments of Artabanus being by SENECA (*de Benef.* vi. 31) put into the mouth of Demaratus, while, on the other hand, the argument relative to the succession (§ 3, above), which Herodotus ascribes to Demaratus, is by PLUTARCH and others who followed him attributed to Artabanus. See note 154, above.

¹⁶⁰ ὑποδεξίων, i.e. ἱκανῶν ὥστε ὑποδέχεσθαι. The analogy of ἀλώσιμος, ναυπηγήσιμος, &c., would lead one to expect the form ὑποδέξιμος. The fear of not finding sufficient accommodation for their ships induced a tripartite division of the fleet which sailed from Athens on the fatal Sicilian expedition, although that consisted only of one hundred and thirty-seven ships. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 42.)

¹⁶¹ γῆ δὴ. So S. The other MSS have

γῆ δὲ, which Gaisford follows.

¹⁶² τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος, “being cheated as you go of [real] advance.” The meaning seems to be, that success not being complete is no success at all. Whatever is achieved, more will seem to remain behind.

¹⁶³ εὐπρηξίης γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρα, “with men there is no such thing as a plethora of success.” This is exactly parallel to the sentiment of the Chorus in the *Agamemnon* of ÆSCHYLUS, where the thought is very beautifully followed up:

τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφν
πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν· δακτυλοδεκτῶν δ’
οὔτις ἀπειπὼν εἴργει μελάρων,
ΜΗΚΕΤ’ ΕΞΕΛΘΗΣ ΤΑΔΕ, φωνῶν.
(*vv.* 1331—4.)

τὴν χώραν πλεῦνα ἐν πλεῦνι χρόνῳ γινομένην λιμὸν τέξεσθαι. ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρρωδέοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρήμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη.” Ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσδε· “Ἀρτάβανε, οἰκώτως μὲν σὺ γε τούτων ἕκαστα διαιρέαι· ἀτὰρ μήτε πάντα φοβέο, μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγο· εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπесφερομένῳ πρήγματι τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ποιήσεις ἂν οὐδαμὰ οὐδέν· κρέσσον δὲ πάντα θαρσέοντα ἡμῖς τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον, ἢ πᾶν χρήμα προδεδαιμόνιοντα μηδαμὰ μηδὲν παθεῖν· εἰ δὲ ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον, μὴ τὸ βέβαιον¹⁶⁴ ἀποδέξεις, σφάλλῃσθαι ὀφείλεις ἐν αὐτοῖσι ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοις λέξας. τοῦτο μὲν νυν ἐπίσης ἔχει· εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα κῶς χρὴ τὸ βέβαιον; δοκέω μὲν οὐδαμῶς. τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοις ποιέειν, ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα· τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενοις τε πάντα καὶ ὀκνεῦσι, οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. ὁρᾷς τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα ἐς ὃ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε· εἰ τοίνυν ἐκείνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς γνώμῃσι ἐχρέοντο¹⁶⁵ ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σὺ, ἢ μὴ χρεόμενοι γνώμῃσι τοιαύτησι ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ ἂν κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ κινδύνους ἀναρριπτόντες¹⁶⁶ ἐς τοῦτό σφρα προηγάζοντο· μεγάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μέγαλοισι κινδύνουσι ἐθέλει καταϊρέεσθαι· ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὁμοιούμενοι κείνοις, ὥρην τε τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην πορευόμεθα, καὶ καταστρεψάμενοι πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω, οὔτε λιμῷ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμῶθι οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι παθόντες οὐδέν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερόμενοι πορευόμεθα· τοῦτο δὲ, τῶν

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¹⁶⁴ μὴ τὸ βέβαιον. This is the reading of S, V, A, B. But M, P, K, F, b have μή τε βέβαιον. Gaisford's reading, which I have followed, seems to furnish a satisfactory meaning. Translate: “and if, while taking exceptions to every thing which is proposed, you fail to point out the secure course, you are open to failure in them (i. e. the perilous conjunctures, τοῖς δεινοῖς) no less than those who have given opposite advice. And as for the secure course, how should mortal man know it? I hold it to be impossible!”

¹⁶⁵ ἐχρέοντο. So Gaisford prints, but the MSS have ἐχρέωντο, and in the next line χρεώμενοι. Some of the MSS have

τῇσι for ὁμοίῃσι, a change which seems to arise from a gloss.

¹⁶⁶ κινδύνους ἀναρριπτόντες. EURIPIDES (*Iph.*, fr. 14) uses the simple verb: νῦν δ' εἰς μίαν βλέπουσι, κίνδυνον μέγαν ῥίπτοντες.

So too the author of the *Rhesus* (154):

ἐγὼ πρὸ γαίης τόνδε κίνδυνον θέλω
ρίψας κατόπτης ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων μολεῖν.

The metaphor is taken from the throwing of dice. Translate: “playing the dangerous game.” In the expression κίνδυνον αἰρεσθαι (*Heracl.* 504), the metaphor is from lifting a burden.

- 51 ἄν κου ἐπιβέωμεν γῆν καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῖτον ἔχομεν ἐπ' ἀροτῆρας δὲ καὶ οὐ νομάδας στρατευόμεθα ἄνδρας." Λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀρρωδέειν οὐδὲν ἔας πρῆγμα, σὺ δὲ μευ συμβουλίην ἔνδεξαι· ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχει περὶ πολλῶν πρηγμάτων πλεῖνα λόγον ἐκτείνειν. Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν, πλὴν Ἀθηναίων, κατεστρέψατο δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσῃσι· τούτους ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμβουλεύω τοι μηδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας¹⁶⁷· καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων οἰοί τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτεροι γίνεσθαι· ἢ γὰρ σφεας, ἣν ἔπωνται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι καταδουλουμένους τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἢ δικαιοτάτους συνελευθεροῦντας. ἀδικώτατοι μὲν νυν γινόμενοι, οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσι· δικαιοτάτοι δὲ γινόμενοι, οἰοί τε δηλῆσασθαι¹⁶⁸· μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν γίνονται. ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῦ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος¹⁶⁹ ὥς εἷ εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι." Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· "Ἀρτάβανε, τῶν ἀπεφῆναο γνωμῶν σφάλλαει κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα, ὅς Ἰωνας φοβέαι¹⁷⁰ μὴ μεταβάλωσι· τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα¹⁷¹ μέγιστον, τῶν σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρείῳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθαις, ὅτι ἐπὶ τούτοισι ἢ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο, διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι· οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὐδέν· πάρεξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ καταλιπόντας τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ χρήματα, οὐδ' ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιήσῃν· οὕτω μὴδὲ τοῦτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθόν, σῶζε οἶκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνην ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτρέπω."
- 53 Ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας¹⁷² ἐς Σοῦσα, δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ παρήσαν, ἔλεγε σφί τάδε· "ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρήζων

Xerxes holds a second council of notables.

¹⁶⁷ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας. This is the argument which in the sequel Themistocles used to induce the Ionians to take part against their Persian masters: ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποίετε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι (viii. 22).

¹⁶⁸ δηλῆσασθαι. S and V have the active form δηλῆσαι.

¹⁶⁹ ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῦ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος. The same expression is used below (viii. 68): ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τότε ἐς θυμὸν βαλεῦ.

¹⁷⁰ φοβέαι. See note 604 on i. 180.

¹⁷¹ γνῶμα, "ground for knowing." The word is not a common one, but is used by SOPHOCLES (*Trachin.* 593):

ἀλλ' εἰδέναι χρὴ δρῶσαν· ὥς οὐδ' εἰ δο-

κεῖς ἔχειν, ἔχοις ἂν γνῶμα μὴ πειρωμένην.

¹⁷² ἀποστείλας. S and V have ἀπολύσας, which seems to be an original reading, though Wesseling regards it as derived from a gloss.

συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθεν ἐργασμένα Πέρσῃσι, ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοὺ ἄξια· ἀλλ' εἰς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ τοῦτο πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθίνομαι, ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς· τῶν ἦν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τοῖ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι¹⁷³."

Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρασκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν· τῇ δὲ 54
ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον, ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμὴ-
ματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνησι
στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν· ὥς δ' ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης
φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον¹⁷⁴, μηδε-
μίαν οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι ἢ μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι
τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται· εὐξά-
μενος δὲ, ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον
κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ
ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατήκε ἐς τὸ
πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι
καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ 55
ἐπεποίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς
τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζὺς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς

The passage
of the strait
is auspicated
by offerings
to the rising
sun.

Order of the
passage.

¹⁷³ τοῖ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι. The manuscripts P, K, F, a, b, c have οἱ Πέρσας λελόγχασι.

¹⁷⁴ εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, "prayed, turned to the sun." This practice, which prevailed in all the religions of antiquity into which sun-worship entered, was transferred to the early Christians, probably to avoid shocking the habits of new converts, and the Fathers of the Church took considerable trouble to give explanations of the practice conformable to the principles of Christianity. But, nevertheless, the habit drew upon them the calumny that the sun was an object of their adoration, and, in the case of many individuals, probably with justice. LEO (quoted by Voss, *De Origine Idololatriæ*) complains that some persons after mounting the steps to the altar of St. Peter's Basilica, which, contrary to the usual practice, stands at the west end, "converso corpore ad nascentem se solem reflectant, et curvatis cervi-

cibus in honorem se splendidi orbis inclinent;" and in a Latin sermon of the seventh century by St. Eligius (quoted by GRIMM, *Anhang zur Deutschen Mythologie*, p. xxx) appears the caution, "Nul lus dominos Solem aut Lunam vocet." The same idolatry of which Leo complained had aroused the indignation of the prophet EZEKIEL at Jerusalem (see viii. 16); and the direction in which DANIEL turned (vi. 10) was doubtless a portion of his disobedience to the royal decree which especially excited the wrath of his accusers. The position of the temple at Jerusalem was, according to the notion of some, expressly determined on as a protest against sun worship (ἵνα οἱ προσευχόμενοι μὴ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα προσκυνώσιν ἀλλὰ τὸν ἡλίου δεσπότην. ANASTASIUS, *Quæst.* xviii.). This position is enjoined for Christian Churches in the *Pseud-Apostolic Constitutions* (ii. 57).

τὸ Αἰγαῖον¹⁷⁵ τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπῆτήν· ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὔτοι· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἱππόται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὔτοι· μετὰ δὲ, οἱ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ, αὐτὸς τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι, καὶ οἱ ἱππόται οἱ χίλιοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοισι ὁ ἄλλος στρατός· καὶ αἱ νῆες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον¹⁷⁶. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων¹⁷⁷.

Anecdote of a Hellespontine on the occasion.

56 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ τε διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθελίτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα¹⁷⁸. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξεω ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον· “ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὐνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα.”

Portents which occurred at the time of the passage.

57 Ὡς δὲ διέβησαν πάντες, ἐς ὁδὸν ὠρμημένοισι τέρας σφί ἐφάνη μέγα, τὸ Ξέρξης ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο καὶ περ εὐσύμβλητον εἶον· ἵππος γὰρ ἔτεκε λαγόν. (εὐσύμβλητον ὦν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἔμελλε μὲν ἐλᾶν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης ἀγαυρότατα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα, ὀπίσω δὲ περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων¹⁷⁹ ἤξειν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον.) ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ τέρας εἶοντι ἐν Σάρδισι· ἡμίονος γὰρ ἔτεκε ἡμίονον διξὰ ἔχουσαν αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἔρσεινος, τὰ δὲ θηλέης· κατύπερθε δὲ ἦν τὰ τοῦ ἔρσεινος. Τῶν ἀμφοτέρων λόγον οὐδένα ποιησάμενος, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύετο· σὺν δέ οἱ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός· ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων¹⁸⁰, παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσω τὸ πεζοῦ·

Line of the march through Europe.

¹⁷⁵ τὸ Αἰγαῖον. F has τὸν Αἰγαῖον.

¹⁷⁶ ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον, “got under way for the opposite shore.”

¹⁷⁷ ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα. . . βασιλέα πάντων. The diversity of these two accounts indicates the uncertain character of the sources of the narrative; for the difference between them is not the difference between two witnesses who contradict one another in details entirely unimportant to the main gist of a story, but it is a contradiction in the very particular which could not have

failed to impress itself upon a spectator,—the place of the monarch.

¹⁷⁸ ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. See note 92 on § 22, above.

¹⁷⁹ περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων. One manuscript (S) has περὶ ἑωυτῷ τρέχων. But the genitive is warranted by the majority of MSS, and by the whole in viii. 140: θέειν περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν.

¹⁸⁰ ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων. One MS only has τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, which would be the usual form. Perhaps ἔξω

ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιούμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν¹⁸¹, ἐς τὴν αὐτῷ προεῖρητο ἀπικομένῳ περιμένειν· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατὸς πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐποίεετο τὴν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχων τὸν Ἑλλης τάφον τῆς Ἀθάμαντος, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ Καρδίην πόλιν¹⁸², διὰ μέσης δὲ πορευόμενος πόλιος τῇ οὐνομα τυγχάνει ἐὼν Ἀγορή· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ κάμπτων τὸν κόλπον τὸν Μέλανα καλεόμενον, καὶ Μέλανα ποταμὸν, οὐκ ἀντισχόντα τότε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ῥέεθρον ἀλλ' ἐπιλιπόντα, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβὰς (ἐπ' οὗ καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει) ἦϊε πρὸς ἑσπέρην, Αἰνόν¹⁸³ τε πόλιν Αἰολίδα καὶ Στεντορίδα λίμνην παρεξίων, ἐς ἃ ἀπίκητο ἐς Δορίσκον¹⁸⁴. Ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος 59 ἔστι τῆς Θρηκτικῆς αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίου μέγα· (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἑβρος·) ἐν τῷ τείχός τε ἐδέδμητο βασιλῆιον—τοῦτο τὸ δὴ Δορίσκος κέκληται—καὶ Περσέων φρουρὴ ἐν αὐτῷ

A halt is made at Doriscus, and a review takes

πλέων is to be regarded as a single verb governing the accusative τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, in the sense "evacuating." Above (v. 103) the expression ἐκπλώσαντες ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλησποντον is used.

¹⁸¹ ἐπὶ Σαρπηδονίης ἄκρης ποιούμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν. This phrase is not a very easy one to translate, except by a periphrasis, although the meaning of the author is plain enough if the form of the coast be considered. The fleet would not really sail in a western direction on leaving Sestos, but first of all in a s.w. course till it came off Elæus. When that point was rounded they would hug the shore of the Chersonese for four or five leagues, and then would stretch across for the Sarpedonian head in a direction only two or three points to the westward of due north. The ships were laid "for the cape" (ἐπὶ ἄκρης) in the process of "making the land" (ποιούμενος τὴν ἄπιξιν). After that had been effected, they would proceed westward along the shore to the beach adjacent to Doriscus (§ 59). Looking on the one hand to the point of rendezvous for the ships, and on the other to the direction of the mountain range in which the Chersonese is continued, and to the south of which the land forces must have marched for a considerable time, a native of Sestos might not unreasonably describe the courses of the fleet and the army as being respectively to the west and the east. Speaking in general terms they were this; and

strictly they were in opposite directions to each other.

¹⁸² Καρδίην πόλιν. See note 80 on vi. 33.

¹⁸³ Αἶνον. This place was a very strong one, as appears from the circumstance that in the war with the Romans carried on by Philip, king of Macedonia, in the year 200 B.C., it gave great trouble to the besieger, and at last only fell by the treachery of the governor. (LIVY, xxx. 16.) It probably was occupied by a Persian garrison as an important post, and perhaps on this account is mentioned by the author in iv. 90. The Thracian name of Ænus was *Pollyobria*, which was equivalent to "the town of Polty," for the termination βρία, that appears in *Selybria*, and *Menebria* (the ancient name of *Mesembria*) is, according to STRABO (vi. c. 6, p. 111), the equivalent of πόλις. Another name of the city was *Apsynthus*. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, v. Αἶνος.) Hence it is possible that the *Apsynthian* Thracians of whom Herodotus speaks (vi. 34 and ix. 119) are the periœcians of this town, although in the text there is no hint of any connexion between them. The population was certainly Æolian. (THUCYDIDES, vii. 57.) Ænus is however mentioned in the *Iliad* (iv. 520) as the town from which the Thracian leader *Pirous* came.

¹⁸⁴ ἐς Δορίσκον. See note 289 on v. 98.

place of all
arms.

κατεστήκεε ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεὶ τε ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ξέρξῃ ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν ἐν τῷ Σάλῃ τε Σαμοθρηκική πεπόλισται πόλις καὶ Ζώνη, τελευταία δὲ αὐτοῦ Σέρρειον, ἄκρη ὀνομαστή¹⁸⁵. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Κικόνων. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες, τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες· ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποίεετο. "Ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρέιχον πλήθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν¹⁸⁶, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλήθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χώρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συνάξαντες¹⁸⁷ ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραψαν ἕξωθεν κύκλον· περιγράψαντες δὲ, καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἵμασίην περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλὸν, ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον· μέχρις οὗ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν· ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.

60
The land
force
amounted
to 1,700,000.

61
Enumera-
tion of the
several na-
tions serv-
ing in the
grand army.
Persians

Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἶδε ἦσαν· Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας καλεομένους, πέλους ἀπαγέας¹⁸⁸. περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς¹⁸⁹ ποικίλους, λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδέος· περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα· ὑπὸ δὲ, φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο¹⁹⁰. αἰχμὰς

¹⁸⁵ ἄκρη ὀνομαστή. Perhaps from its importance as a landmark to the mariner, it forming with Sarpedon's Head the bay within which there was so good a beach for ships to be hauled up high and dry.

¹⁸⁶ πλήθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν. The manuscripts S, V, a, c have πλήθεος ἀριθμὸν, and d, πλήθος ἀριθμὸν.

¹⁸⁷ συνάξαντες. The true reading is probably συννάξαντες, which is adopted by Bekker. The meaning of συννάσσω would be "to compress." See above, κατανάξαντες (§ 36).

¹⁸⁸ πέλους ἀπαγέας. See HESYCHIUS, quoted in note 449 on i. 132.

¹⁸⁹ χειριδωτοὺς, "sleeved." The whole of the upper part of the body of these

Persians was protected by a coat of mail, of such a kind as still not to prevent them from drawing the bow. For the manner in which they acted see ix. 61, and the note thereon. The lower part of the body was not necessarily defended by armour, for this was protected by the huge shield fixed in the ground. A figure of the kind is given by LAYARD from the sculptures of Kouyunjik. (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 348.)

¹⁹⁰ ὑπὸ δὲ, φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο, "and under these were hung quivers of arrows." This does not (I conceive) mean that the shield was carried on the back, and thus covered a quiver suspended from the archer's shoulders; but that the quivers were hung to the interior of the

δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, οἷστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνοῦς· πρὸς ^{commanded}
 δὲ, ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν ¹⁹¹ παραιωρούμενα ἐκ τῆς ^{by Otanes;}
 ζώνης. καὶ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ὀτάνεα, τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα,
 τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός ¹⁹². (ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων
 Κηφῆνες, ὑπὸ μέντοι σφέων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν περιόικων Ἀρταῖοι ¹⁹³.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης τε καὶ Διὸς ἀπίκετο παρὰ Κηφέα τὸν
 Βήλου, καὶ ἔσχε αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδην, γίνεται αὐτῷ
 παῖς τῷ οὐνομα ἔθετο Πέρσην· τοῦτον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπει,
 ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἄπαις ἐὼν ὁ Κηφεὺς ἔρσεως γόνου, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ
 τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔσχον ¹⁹⁴.) Μῆδοι δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι **62**
 ἐστρατεύοντο· Μηδικὴ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐ Περσικὴ ¹⁹⁵. ^{Medians}
 οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἄρχοντα μὲν παρείχοντο Τιγράνην, ἄνδρα Ἀχαιμενίδην. ^{commanded}
 (ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι ¹⁹⁶. ἀπικομένης δὲ Μηδείης ^{by Tigranes;}

shield itself, which when used fixed in the ground formed a kind of breastwork. (See note on ix. 61.)

¹⁹¹ παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν. See note 176 on iii. 64.

¹⁹² τὸν Ἀμήστριος πατέρα, τῆς Ξέρξεω γυναικός. RAWLINSON (*Note on the Persian Inscriptions at Behistun*, p. xiii.) believes that Otanes is here confounded with his son Anaphes or Onophas. (See note on i. 19.) Having been old enough to have a daughter married to Cambyses (iii. 68), and to take a command against Samos (iii. 141), Otanes (in his judgment) could not by any possibility have led the *Persians*, the flower of the army of Xerxes, in the expedition against Greece, still less could he have had a daughter young enough to marry Xerxes. It is possible that there is a confusion; but Rawlinson's reasons do not appear to me satisfactory. Considering the early puberty of women in the east, Otanes may very well have been no more than thirty-five or forty when he conspired against the Magian. This would make him little more than eighty at the time of Xerxes's expedition; and the examples of Suwarrow, Radetzky, and Wellington are enough to prove that warfare is not a thing impossible at that age. Besides this, the command of the Persians (like the colonelcy of our regiments) may not have implied active service with them, but rather have been the index of the rank of the commander. Xerxes offered the highest military command either to Artynte or her nominee (ix. 109). The age of Amestris too would

not be a conclusive argument. She need not have been more than twenty-five or thirty. No doubt one great cause of her occupying the position she did was the power of her family, whether she was the daughter of Otanes or of Anaphes. (See note 192 on iii. 68, and also iii. 83, 84.) And the bitter jealousy exhibited by her against the wife of Masistes is rather in keeping with a woman whose personal attractions have gone off, and who feels her power over a sensual husband diminishing (ix. 111, 112). Compare the anecdote of her told in vii. 114.

¹⁹³ Ἀρταῖοι. This word would seem to be equivalent to *magnates*. See the interpretation of *Artaxerxes* given in vi. 98. The etymology would indicate that they were a ruling class living among a servile population; and if so the term *περιόικων* does not mean merely "neighbours," but implies (as in Hellas) an inferior condition.

¹⁹⁴ ἐπεὶ δὲ Περσεὺς, κ.τ.λ. This genealogy shows that the author is here drawing from *Hellenic*, not *Oriental*, sources; for "the Persians" made Perseus an Assyrian by birth, and in no way connected with the family of Acrisius. See vi. 53, above.

¹⁹⁵ Μηδικὴ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ. See i. 135.

¹⁹⁶ ἐκαλέοντο δὲ πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι. The MSS all have the form Ἄριοι both here and in § 66; but Ἀρείοι in iii. 93. HELLANICUS called *Ario*, which he used both in the feminine and neuter gender, a region of Persia. (*Steph. Byz.* sub v.)

τῆς Κολχίδος ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἐς τοὺς Ἀρίους τούτους, μετέβαλον καὶ οὗτοι τὸ οὖνομα· αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ σφέων ᾧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι.¹⁹⁷)

Cissians by Anaphes, son of Otanes; Hyrcanians by Megarans;

63

Assyrians, with Chaldeans among them, by Otanes;

Κίσσιοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατάπερ Πέρσαι ἐσκενέδατο· ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων, μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν. Κισσίων δὲ ἡρχε Ἀνάφης¹⁹⁸ ὁ Ὀτάνεω. Ὑρκάνιοι δὲ κατάπερ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα. Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπήγητον¹⁹⁹. ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς καὶ ἐγχειρίδια παραπλήσια τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι εἶχον· πρὸς δὲ, ῥόπαλα ξύλων τετυλωμένα σιδήρῳ καὶ λινέους θώρηκας²⁰⁰. οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι²⁰¹, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀσσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν· τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ, Χαλδαῖοι²⁰². ἡρχε δὲ σφεων Ὀτάσπης ὁ Ἀρταχάιου.

64

Bactrians and Sacans

Βάκτριοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀγχότατα τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα ἐπιχώρια καὶ αἰχμὰς

¹⁹⁷ αὐτοὶ δὲ περὶ σφέων ᾧδε λέγουσι Μῆδοι. The most determined sticklers for the authority of Herodotus will hardly contend that genuine Median traditions brought the author of their name from Athens. *Tigranes* is in fact an Armenian name; and in the Armenian history of MOSES OF CHORENE, a Tigranes takes the part in the overthrow of the Median empire which Herodotus ascribes to Cyrus. (See note 441 on i. 130.) Perhaps "the Medians" here are the inhabitants of that region which is spoken of elsewhere as so very near to Colchis (i. 104, where see note 363).

¹⁹⁸ Ἀνάφης. The manuscripts S and V have Ἀναφάνης. RAWLINSON considers this name identical with Ὀνόφας, the name by which CTESIAS designates one of the seven conspirators against the Magian pretender, and whose daughter he makes Amestris, the sultana of Xerxes, to have been. See DIODORUS, cited in note 228 on iii. 84.

¹⁹⁹ χάλκεά τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εὐαπήγητον. I take these words to mean two different kinds of casque, the former being the helmet familiar to the Greeks with a curved crest, and the latter a scull cap surrounded by a turban. Both of these (as well as others) were found by LAYARD at Nimroud represented in the sculptures. See

the figures given by him, *Nineveh*, vol. ii. p. 338. He also found helmets, but they were of iron, sometimes inlaid with stripes of copper.

²⁰⁰ λινέους θώρηκας. These were very probably of Egyptian manufacture, or at least produced by Egyptian artisans. The Egyptian flax and byblus manufactures are well known; and the offering of Amasis to the Lindian Athene, and that which he intended to send to Lacedæmon (ii. 182 and iii. 47), seem to have been a *chef d'œuvre* of the particular article which his subjects were famous for producing. A quilted thorax made from the coarse byblus thread of which sailcloth was manufactured (ii. 96) would be a considerable protection. See i. 135, and the note 461.

²⁰¹ οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέοντο Σύριοι. The name Syrians seems to have been anciently applied by the Hellenic race so as to include Assyrians, Syrians proper, and Cappadocians. Specially however it was applied to the last, who in speaking exactly were termed White Syrians (λευκόσυροι). STRABO, xvi. *init.*

²⁰² τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ, Χαλδαῖοι. It seems not impossible that these Chaldeans who were mixed up with the Assyrians were the armourers to the heavy-armed troops. They can scarcely be the Chaldeans of i. 181.

βραχέας. Σάκαι δὲ [οἱ Σκύθαι²⁰³] περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρ- by *Hystaspes*, son of Darius and Atossa;
 βασίας ἐς ὃξὺ ἀπιγμένας²⁰⁴ ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ
 ἐνδεδύκεσαν· τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια, καὶ ἐγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ
 ἀξίνας²⁰⁵ σαγάρεις²⁰⁶ εἶχον· (τούτους δὲ ἔοντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργί-
 οὺς²⁰⁷ Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέ-
 ουνσι Σάκας·) Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ Σακέων ἦρχε Ὑστάσπης, ὁ Δαρείου
 τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης τῆς Κύρου. Ἴνδοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν ἐνδεδυκότες ἀπὸ 65
 ξύλων πεποιημένα²⁰⁸, τόξα δὲ καλάμινα εἶχον καὶ οἷστους καλα-
 μίνους· ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρον ἦν. ἐσταλμένοι μὲν δὴ ἦσαν οὕτω Ἴνδοί·
 προστετετάχατο δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Φαρναζάβηρ τῷ Ἀρταβάτew.
 Ἄριοι²⁰⁹ δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικόισι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα 66
 κατὰ περ Βάκτριοι. Ἀρίων δὲ ἦρχε Σισάμνης ὁ Ὑδάρνεος²¹⁰.
 Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμοι²¹¹ καὶ Σογδοὶ τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ
 Δαδίκαι²¹², τὴν αὐτὴν σκευὴν ἔχοντες τὴν καὶ Βάκτριοι, ἐστρα-
 τεύοντο· τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἶδε· Πάρθων μὲν καὶ Χορασμίων
 Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεω· Σογδῶν δὲ Ἀζάνης²¹³ ὁ Ἀρταίου· Γαν-
 πίων by *Pharnazathres*; *Arians* by *Sissamnes*; *Parthians*, *Chorasmians*, *Sogdians*, *Gandarians*, and *Dadicae* by *Artabazus*, *Azanes*, and *Artaphanes*; *Caspians* by

²⁰³ [οἱ Σκύθαι.] These words appear to me a gloss.

²⁰⁴ ἀπιγμένας. The manuscripts P, F have ἀπηγμένας, which Schaefer adopts. The word πεπηγυίας, "stiffened," makes it likely that the caps were of felt.

²⁰⁵ ἀξίνας. Aldus prints ἀξίνας καὶ σαγάρεις, but all the MSS have ἀξίνας σαγάρεις without the copula. The case seems a parallel one to that of *πίλους* *τιάρας* (iii. 12), where see the note.

²⁰⁶ σαγάρεις. This word, which is etymologically identical with the Latin 'securis' and the Armenian 'sacr,' denotes the double-headed Amazonian axe which appears on the works of art. It was also the ensign of Zeus Labrandeus in Caria (see note 327 on v. 119), and an hereditary weapon of the Vindelici in the time of HORACE. (*Od.* iv. 4. 17.)

²⁰⁷ Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους. No clue seems to exist for determining the site of these Scythians. The MSS vary between Ἀμυργίους, Αἰμυργίους, and Εὐμυργίους. COOLEY from the etymology supposes them to be the inhabitants of the valley of the Moorg. They served as marines on board the ships (§ 96), and their weapon, the sagaris, must have been very effective in boarding. A somewhat similar one is used in the British navy for the same duty.

²⁰⁸ ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα. This has been understood to mean "made of tree-wool" (*εἶρια ἀπὸ ξύλου*), i.e. cotton. See the note 219, b, on iii. 86.

²⁰⁹ Ἄριοι. All the MSS have this form here, but in iii. 93 they are equally unanimous in favour of Ἀρειοί.

²¹⁰ ὁ Ὑδάρνεος. See note 254 on § 83, below.

²¹¹ Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμοι καὶ Σογδοί. These three nations, together with the Arii, form one *nome* in the cadastral system (iii. 93).

²¹² Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι. See note 258 on iii. 91. The name Γανδάριοι is probably connected with *Candabar*. In the Behistun Inscription *Gadara* comes next to *Suguda* (Sogdiana) in the list of tributary countries. The Persians seem to have found a difficulty in pronouncing the letters M and N when followed by a mute, and thus Gandaria became with them Gadara, just as Intaphernes did *Vidafrana*, and Cambyses *Kabujiya*. COOLEY identifies the Dadicae with the *Tadjek*, "a people of ancient Persian race, now widely scattered through the countries east of Persia;" and says that Von Hammer traces the word in *Tadschik* (Tedeschi), the ancestors of the *Deutschen*, or Germans.

²¹³ Ἀζάνης. S and V have Ἀρτάνης. See note on § 224, below.

- 67 *Ariomardus; Sargians by Pheren-
dides; Pactyes by Artynes;* δαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος²¹⁴ ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες²¹⁵, καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκεις, ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν²¹⁶. Σαράγγαι²¹⁷ δὲ εἴματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες· πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικὰς. Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι²¹⁸ τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρτύντην²¹⁹ τὸν Ἰθαμάτρεω. Οὗτιοι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰπερ Πάκτυες. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἷδε· Οὐτίων μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου· Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ξειράς²²⁰ ὑπέζωσμένοι ἦσαν· τόξα δὲ παλίντονα²²¹ εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα μακρὰ, τετραπήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσων· ἐπὶ δὲ, καλαμίνους οἰστοὺς μακροὺς²²². (ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶν λίθος ὀξὺς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι·) πρὸς δὲ, αἰχμὰς εἶχον· ἐπὶ δὲ, κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶν
- 68 *Utians and Mycans by Arsamenes, son of Darius;* δαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος²¹⁴ ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες²¹⁵, καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκεις, ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν²¹⁶. Σαράγγαι²¹⁷ δὲ εἴματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες· πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικὰς. Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι²¹⁸ τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρτύντην²¹⁹ τὸν Ἰθαμάτρεω. Οὗτιοι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰπερ Πάκτυες. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἷδε· Οὐτίων μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου· Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ξειράς²²⁰ ὑπέζωσμένοι ἦσαν· τόξα δὲ παλίντονα²²¹ εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα μακρὰ, τετραπήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσων· ἐπὶ δὲ, καλαμίνους οἰστοὺς μακροὺς²²². (ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶν λίθος ὀξὺς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι·) πρὸς δὲ, αἰχμὰς εἶχον· ἐπὶ δὲ, κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶν
- 69 *rius, and Paricanians by Siro-
mitres; Arabians and Ethiopians, some African, some Asiatic, by Arsamenes, son of Darius* δαρίων δὲ καὶ Δαδικέων Ἀρτύφιος²¹⁴ ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. Κάσπιοι δὲ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες²¹⁵, καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια καλάμινα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκινάκεις, ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσκευάδατο, ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Ἀριόμαρδον τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν²¹⁶. Σαράγγαι²¹⁷ δὲ εἴματα μὲν βεβαμμένα ἐνέπρεπον ἔχοντες· πέδιλα δὲ ἐς γόνυ ἀνατείνοντα εἶχον, τόξα δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς Μηδικὰς. Σαραγγέων δὲ ἦρχε Φερενδάτης ὁ Μεγαβάζου. Πάκτυες δὲ σισυρνοφόροι²¹⁸ τε ἦσαν καὶ τόξα ἐπιχώρια εἶχον καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. Πάκτυες δὲ ἄρχοντα παρείχοντο Ἀρτύντην²¹⁹ τὸν Ἰθαμάτρεω. Οὗτιοι δὲ καὶ Μύκοι τε καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰπερ Πάκτυες. τούτων δὲ ἦρχον οἷδε· Οὐτίων μὲν καὶ Μύκων Ἀρσαμένης ὁ Δαρείου· Παρικανίων δὲ Σιρομίτρης ὁ Οἰοβάζου. Ἀράβιοι δὲ ξειράς²²⁰ ὑπέζωσμένοι ἦσαν· τόξα δὲ παλίντονα²²¹ εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ, μακρά. Αἰθίοπες δὲ παρδαλέας τε καὶ λεοντέας ἐναμμένοι, τόξα δὲ εἶχον ἐκ φοίνικος σπάθης πεποιημένα μακρὰ, τετραπήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσων· ἐπὶ δὲ, καλαμίνους οἰστοὺς μακροὺς²²². (ἀντὶ δὲ σιδήρου ἐπὶν λίθος ὀξὺς πεποιημένος, τῷ καὶ τὰς σφρηγίδας γλύφουσι·) πρὸς δὲ, αἰχμὰς εἶχον· ἐπὶ δὲ, κέρας δορκάδος ἐπὶν

²¹⁴ Ἀρτύφιος. Both here and in the next section S, V, and *d* have Ἀρτύβιος, a name which was borne by a Persian of distinction killed in Cyprus (v. 108).

²¹⁵ σισύρνας τε ἐνδεδυκότες. This (which was no doubt the ordinary garb of the country) suggests that these Caspians were more probably inhabitants of a cold than a warm region,—rather therefore to be sought in the *mountains* than on the *plains*. That they should have had some cavalry is no objection to this view. That it was insignificant is clear from the description of its armament (below, § 86). See, with reference to the word *Caspian*, the note 269 on iii. 93.

²¹⁶ τὸν Ἀρτυφίου ἀδελφεόν. The circumstance of *two* brothers having such high commands suggests the probability that their father Artabanus was Darius's brother.

²¹⁷ Σαράγγαι. *Zarangia* is one of the twenty-two countries enumerated in the Behistun Inscription as making up the empire of Darius. (See note 278 on iii. 94.)

²¹⁸ σισυρνοφόροι. This description of their garb would lead one to suppose that

the Pactyes were mountaineers living at a high level, which produced severe cold. Their site is most difficult to fix. See note 294 on iii. 102, the view in which is corroborated by the circumstance that 'pasht' is said in the Afghan language to mean 'a hill.' (POTT, *Etymologische Forschungen*, quoted by Cooley, *ad loc.*)

²¹⁹ Ἀρτύντην. The majority of the MSS have this form, but some have Ἀρταύντην and Ἀτραύντην. See note 353 on iii. 128.

²²⁰ ξειράς. This word is explained by the grammarians as *χιτῶνας ἀνακεκολλημένους*, a phrase which appears to be corrupt.

²²¹ τόξα δὲ παλίντονα. These are bows which when unstrung assumed a curved form, sometimes approaching nearly to circularity, with the convex side in the opposite side to that on which it shows itself when the bow is strung.

²²² μακροὺς. This is the reading of the manuscripts F, *a*, *b*. The majority (which Gaisford follows) have *μικροὺς*. But it would be impossible to use very short arrows with bows of six feet.

ὄξυ πεποιημένον, τρόπον λόγῃης· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ῥόπαλα τυλωτά· and Artystone his favourite wife.
 τοῦ δὲ σώματος τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ ἐξηλείφοντο γύψῳ ἴοντες ἐς μάχην,
 τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἡμισυ μίλῳ. Ἀραβίων δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ
 Αἰγύπτου οἰκημένων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης²²³, ὁ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης
 τῆς Κύρου θυγατρὸς· τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρείος,
 εἰκῶ χρυσῆν σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο²²⁴. τῶν μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ Αἰγύ-
 πτου Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ Ἀραβίων ἦρχε Ἀρσάμης. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ἡλίου 70
 ἀνατολέων Αἰθίοπες, (διξοὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο,) προσεtetάχατο
 τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι, διαλλάσσοντες εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι, φωνὴν
 δὲ καὶ τρίχωμα μῦνον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες ἰθὺτριχῆς
 εἰσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰβύνης οὐλότατον τρίχωμα ἔχουσι πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης Αἰθίοπες, τὰ μὲν πλέω
 κατάπερ Ἰνδοὶ ἐσεσάχατο, προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον²²⁵ ἐπὶ
 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι σύν τε τοῖσι ὥσιν ἐκδεδαρμένα καὶ τῇ λοφιῇ· καὶ
 ἀντὶ μὲν λόφου ἢ λοφιῇ κατέχρα· τὰ δὲ ὦτα τῶν ἵππων ὀρθὰ
 πεπηγότα εἶχον· προβλήματα δὲ ἀντ' ἀσπίδων ἐποιεῦντο γεράνων
 δοράς. Αἰβυες δὲ σκευὴν μὲν σκυτίνην ἥϊσαν ἔχοντες, ἀκοντίοισι 71
 δὲ ἐπικαύτοισι χρεώμενοι· ἄρχοντα δὲ παρείχοντο Μασσάγην τὸν
 Ὅαρίζου. Παφλαγόνες δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι 72
 ἔχοντες κράνεα πεπλεγμένα²²⁶, ἀσπίδας δὲ σμικρὰς, αἰχμὰς δὲ οὐ
 μεγάλας· πρὸς δὲ, ἀκόντια καὶ ἐγχειρίδια· περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας,
 πέδιλα ἐπιχώρια ἐς μέσσην κνήμην ἀνατείνοντα. Αἰγυες²²⁷ δὲ καὶ
 Dotus;

²²³ Ἀρσάμης. ÆSCHYLUS mentions this chief as the governor of Memphis:

ὅ τε τῆς ἱερᾶς Μέμφιδος ἄρχων
 μέγας Ἀρσάμης (Persians, 37),

a position quite in accordance with his holding the command which Herodotus ascribes to him. He makes him slain in the action of Salamis (308).

²²⁴ εἰκῶ χρυσῆν σφυρήλατον ἐποίησατο. Perhaps this was an effigy after her death. Just before the death of Darius himself Atossa possessed the whole influence with him (vii. 3), which would scarcely have been had Artystone been alive. According to the canons of the grammarians the Ionic form of the accusative εἰκῶ is εἰκοῦν. But although Herodotus uses the accusatives Ἰοῦν and Βουτοῦν, he adheres to εἰκῶ and αἰδῶ.

²²⁵ προμετωπίδια δὲ ἵππων εἶχον. These are helmets made of a portion of the skin

of the horse's crest, perhaps a part of the bone being also left in to protect the forehead of the wearer. The helmet of Hercules is in a similar way made of the head of the Nemean lion in VALERIUS FLAC-
 cus:

"Cleonæo jam tempora clusus hiatu
 Alcides" (Argonaut. i. 34),

a representation which often appears on ancient works of art. Another hero is made by VIRGIL to use the skin of the wolf's head in the same way:

—"caput ingens oris hiatu
 Et malæ texere lupi cum dentibus albis."
 (Æneid, xi. 680.)

²²⁶ κράνεα πεπλεγμένα. See above, note 199 on § 63.

²²⁷ Αἰγυες. One manuscript (S) has Αἰγυες, and the same, together with V, has Αἰγδων instead of Αἰγλῶν in iii. 92.

Mariandynians, Lygyes, and Cappadocians, by Gobryas, son of Darius

and Artystone; *Phrygians and Armenians by Artochmes, a son-in-law of Darius;*

Lydians and Mysians by Artaphernes, the colleague of Datis at Marathon;

Ματινηοὶ καὶ Μαρριανδυνοὶ τε καὶ Σύροι²²⁸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες Παφλαγόσι ἐστρατεύοντο· οἱ δὲ Σύροι οὗτοι ὑπὸ Περσέων Καππαδόκαι καλέονται· Παφλαγόνων μὲν νυν καὶ Ματινηῶν Δῶτος²²⁹ ὁ Μεγασίδρου ἦρχε· Μαρριανδυνῶν δὲ καὶ Λιγύων καὶ Σύρων Γωβρύης²³⁰ ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνης. Φρύγες δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Παφλαγονικῆς σκευὴν εἶχον, ὀλίγον παραλλάσσοντες· οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες²³¹ χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπῇιοι ἔοντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι· μεταβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἅμα τῇ χώρῃ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλον ἐς Φρύγας. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ κατὰ περ Φρύγες ἐσεσάχατο, ἔοντες Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων συναμφοτέρων ἦρχε Ἀρτόχμης, Δαρείου ἔχων θυγατέρα. Λυδοὶ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα· (οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μητίονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι²³². ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄντος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὖνομα·) Μυσοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, ἀσπίδας δὲ σμικράς· ἀκοντίοισι δὲ ἐχρέωντο ἐπικαύτοις²³³. (οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι Λυδῶν ἄποικοι· ἀπ' Οὐλύμπου δὲ οὐρεος

²²⁸ Σύροι. See note 242 on i. 72.

²²⁹ Δῶτος. One MS has Δάτος.

²³⁰ Γωβρύης. This is the reading of S alone. The majority of the MSS have Βρύης, and *a* and *c* Γοβρύης.

²³¹ ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες. This account of the matter by the Macedonians is very instructive as a type of the manner in which historical facts were both preserved and modified by the early traditions. The ethnical affinity of the tribes thrown off in successive waves of the great stream of migration which set from central Asia westward was manifest, partly by the similarity of their ritual, partly by that of their garb and military equipments, partly by that of their language. (Thus Eudoxus, *ap. Steph. Byzant. sub v. Ἀρμενία*, remarks of the Armenians, that they τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ Φρυγίζουσιν.) But the westernmost were the first to benefit by contact with Hellenic civilization, and after this was the case, and commercial intercourse had again renewed their intercourse with their kinsmen, all recollection of the original connexion having died away, the first mode of explaining the phenomena which forced themselves upon their notice would be to consider the inferior race as the degenerate descendants of the superior. Hence, as in the text, the Asiatic Phrygians are represented as colonists from Macedonia, and the Armenians as colo-

nists from Phrygia. Hence, too, the phenomenon which so continually recurs in mythical times, of pairs of legends, the one of which represents a given tribe (A) as the ancestors of another (B), while the corresponding legend exactly reverses the relation.

The form Βρίγες, or Βρύγες (which one MS has), for Φρύγες, is due to the dialect of Macedonia, which substituted β for φ, or for the digamma Ϝ, of which βαλακρὸς for φαλακρὸς, κεβαλή for κεφαλῇ, Βερενίκη for Φερενίκη, and βρίγος for Φρίγος (Lat. *frigus*), are familiar instances. It may be remarked that this provincialism was not confined to the lower orders; for although the father of Alexander the Great is always called, and probably wished always to be called, Φίλιππος, yet when his generals succeeded to thrones, the vulgarism was elevated to a court fashion, and neither Pherenice nor Ptolemy ever make their appearance in Greek literature. The Βρύγοι of vi. 45 are no doubt the same as the European Βρίγες of the text.

²³² Μητίονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι. See i. 7, above.

²³³ ἀκοντίοισι . . . ἐπικαύτοις. It is not easy to imagine such weapons as these formidable, yet Æschylus distinguishes the bearers of them as ἀκοντιστὰι Μυσοί. (*Pers.* 52.)

καλέονται Οὐλυμπιηνοί²³⁴.) Λυδῶν δὲ καὶ Μυσῶν ἦρχε Ἀρταφέρνης ὁ Ἀρταφέρνηος, ὃς ἐς Μαραθῶνα ἐσέβαλε ἅμα Δάτι. Θρήϊκες δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἄλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας· ἐπὶ δὲ, ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν²³⁵. πρὸς δὲ, ἀκόντιά τε καὶ πέλτας καὶ ἐγχειρίδια σμικρά. (οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί²³⁶. τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἔξαναστήναι δὲ φασὶ ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν²³⁷.) Θρηϊκῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἦρχε Βασσάκης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. . . 75
 .. ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοΐνας εἶχον σμικρὰς, καὶ προβόλους δύο λυκοεργέας²³⁸ ἕκαστος εἶχε· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα·

75

Thracians
(Bithyni-
ans) by
Bassaces;

76

Asiatic
Thracians,
who have
an oracle
of Ares;

²³⁴ καλέονται Οὐλυμπιηνοί. For the site of the Mysian Olympus see note 124 on i. 36. It is the scene of the death of Croesus's favourite son.

²³⁵ πέδιλα νεβρῶν, "deerskin buskins." See note 27 on ii. 9.

²³⁶ Βιθυνοί. The *Thyni* are not mentioned (as in i. 28) by the side of the *Bithyni*, which is certainly remarkable, if, in accordance with the general view, we suppose both to be Asiatic Thracians. STRABO (xi. c. 3, p. 15) mentions a place called *Thynias Acte*, on the European side of the Euxine, between Apollonia and Salmydessus, as an evidence (like the Thracian tribe called Bithyni) of the European origin of the Asiatic Thyni and Bithyni. It is clear therefore that he and the authorities whom he followed conceived of the Thyni of i. 28 as Asiatics. But it is observable that wherever these last are mentioned on the Asiatic shore, it is always in connexion with the *Bithyni*; whereas the European Thyni were a notoriously warlike Thracian tribe in the time of XENOPHON (*Anab.* vii. 2. 22). Under these circumstances I am inclined to suspect that the *Asiatic* Thyni owe their existence only to the misunderstanding of the passage in Herodotus (i. 28), it being wrongly assumed that the catalogue of Croesus's subjects there given related only to the continent of *Asia*. But it is far from impossible that through the agency of the elder Miltiades a feudal submission may have been rendered to Croesus by the chiefs of the *European* Thyni. (See note 88 on vi. 37.) And if these are meant in i. 28, their absence from the roll of the Persian army here is at once explained,—

which on the generally received hypothesis of their being Asiatics would be very difficult to account for. This view of the case illustrates the antipathy of the younger Miltiades to the Persian power (see note 354 on iv. 137), and the difference of feeling between him and Histæus, who stood to Darius in very much the same feudal relation that the elder Miltiades had done to Croesus. It also serves to show the steps by which Croesus came to entertain the project of building a navy of his own (i. 27). His success abroad through *Miltiades* might give plausibility to a scheme which would be obviously insane in a purely continental potentate. But it would be very natural for a sanguine and successful prince to think that if great results could be achieved by a small fleet of (so to say) privateers, yet more might be effected by a pitched battle with a regular navy. The intense desire exhibited a few years ago in Germany to get up a confederate fleet for the purpose of protecting the foreign trade of the Zoll-verein is an exaggerated parallel of the delusion of the Lydian monarch.

²³⁷ ἔξαναστήναι . . . ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν. This event would have taken place in the course of the expedition spoken of in § 20, above. But with regard to that expedition see the note on the passage, and 332 on ii. 118.

²³⁸ προβόλους δύο λυκοεργέας, "wolf-spears." The commentators from the time of De Pauw seem agreed that a *lacuna* must exist after the word Ἀρταβάνου, the name of some tribe or nation to whom the armament described belonged having fallen out from the text.

πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κρίνεσι, ὧτά τε καὶ κέρεια προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι· τὰς δὲ κνήμας ῥάκεσι φοινικέοισι κατελίσχατο. (ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι Ἄρεός ἐστι χρηστήριον.)

77 Καβηλέες²³⁹ δὲ, οἱ Μηῖνες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν Κίλιξι εἶχον σκευὴν· τὴν ἐγὼ, ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλικῶν τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, τότε σημανέω. Μιλύαι²⁴⁰ δὲ αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας εἶχον, καὶ εἴματα ἐνεπεπορπέατο. εἶχον δὲ αὐτῶν τόξα μετεξέτεροι Λύκιοι· περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἐκ διφθερέων πεποιημένας κυνέας. τούτων πάντων ἦρχε Βάδρης²⁴¹ ὁ Ὑστά-

78 νεος. Μόσχοι δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας ξυλίνας εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ καὶ αἰχμὰς σμικράς· λόγχοι δὲ ἐπῆσαν μεγάλοι. Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνοικοι²⁴² κατὰπερ Μόσχοι²⁴³ ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο· τούτους δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἶδε· Μόσχους μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς, Ἀριόμαρδος ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ Πάρμυος τῆς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, Μάκρωνα δὲ καὶ Μοσυνοίκους Ἀρταύκτης ὁ Χεράσμιος²⁴⁴, ὃς Σησπὸν τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ

²³⁹ Καβηλέες. These, it cannot be doubted, are the same as the Καβάλιοι of iii. 90, although the difference in the form of the name suggests that there will have been a different source for the two lists. In that passage the Lasonii are represented as not identical with the Cabalii, but the text is certainly corrupt; the Hygennees are never mentioned elsewhere; and the conjecture of Valcknaer that ΚΑΙΥΓΕΝΝΕΩΝ is a corruption from ΚΑΛΕΥΜΕΝΩΝ is, to say the least, a very plausible one, and completely reconciles the two accounts.

²⁴⁰ Μιλύαι. See i. 173, and the notes upon it.

²⁴¹ Βάδρης. Respecting this name see note 83 on iii. 30.

²⁴² Μάκρωνες καὶ Μοσύνοικοι. See notes 274, 275 on iii. 94. ΗΕCΑΤΕΥS mentioned both these tribes by name. The latter he made conterminous to the *Tibari*, and mentioned a city in their territory named *Χοιράδες* (ap. *Steph. Byz. v. Χοιράδες*).

²⁴³ Μόσχοι. In the cadastral system of Darius, the Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynœci, and Mares constitute the nineteenth satrapy, and their tribute is fixed at 300 talents (iii. 94). STRABO (xi. c. 2, p. 406) makes the Moschi to be the inhabitants of the *roots* of the s.w. side of the Caucasus on the coast of the Euxine, immediately north of the Colchians. But it seems quite clear from the armament

which is here attributed to them that they were mountaineers; and ΗΕCΑΤΕΥS (ap. *Steph. Byzant. sub v.*) made them conterminous with the Matieni. So too HELLANICUS (ap. *Steph. Byz. v. Χαριμάται*) says: *Κερκεταίων δ' ἄνω οἰκοῦσι Μόσχοι καὶ Χαριμάται, κάτω δὲ Ἠνίοχοι, ἄνω δὲ Κοραῖοι*. The Coraxi are described by ΗΕCΑΤΕΥS (ap. *Steph. Byz. sub v.*) as a Colchian tribe. We shall probably be right in considering them as ethnically identical with the Achæi, Zygî, Heniochi, and Cercetæ, whom Strabo places on the mountainous shore of the eastern coast of the Euxine. Still *Moschice* is further on said by Strabo to be the name of the region drained by the upper part of the Phasis, and its feeders Glaucus and Hipus, which run from the Armenian mountains, i.e. the northern side of the range of Taurus. In this country the legend of Jason was indigenous, and he, as also Phrixus before him, was said to have gone as far as Media,—an indication of the early existence of the commercial route described in the note 363 on i. 104 (xi. c. 2, p. 410).

²⁴⁴ Χεράσμιος. S has *Χοράσμιος*, and Valla *Chorasmis filius*. *Chorasmia* is one of the twenty-two countries forming the empire of Darius in the Behistun Inscription. (See note 278 on iii. 94.) But Artayctes is specified elsewhere to be a

Cabelees
(Lasonians)
and Milya
by Badres;

Moschi,
Tibareni,
Macrones,
and Mosy-
nœci, by
Ariomar-
dus, son of
Darius and
Parmys, and
Artayctes;

ἐπετρόπευε. Μᾶρες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κρίνεα ἐπιχώρια 79
 πλεκτὰ εἶχον, ἀσπίδας δὲ δερματίνας σμικρὰς καὶ ἀκόντια. Κόλχοι
 δὲ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κρίνεα ξύλινα, ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοΐνας
 σμικρὰς αἰχμὰς τε βραχέας· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ μαχαίρας εἶχον. Μα-
 ρῶν²⁴⁵ δὲ καὶ Κόλχων ἦρχε Φαρανδάτης ὁ Τεάσπιος. Ἀλαρόδιοι
 δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρες²⁴⁶ κατάπερ Κόλχοι ὅπλισμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο·
 τούτων δὲ Μασίστιος ὁ Σιρομίτρεω ἦρχε. Τὰ δὲ νησιωτικὰ ἔθνεα 80
 τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπόμενα, νήσων δὲ ἐν τῇσι τοὺς
 ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους²⁴⁷ κατοικίζει βασιλεὺς, ἀγχοτάτω τῶν
 Μηδικῶν εἶχον ἐσθλὰ τε καὶ ὅπλα· τούτων δὲ τῶν νησιωτέων
 ἦρχε Μαρδόντης ὁ Βαγαίου, ὃς ἐν Μυκίῃ στρατηγέων δευτέρῳ
 ἔτει τούτων²⁴⁸ ἐτελεύτησε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

Mares and Colchians by Pharan-dates; Alarodians and Saspires by Masistius;

Islanders from the Erythraean sea by Mardontes, who was afterwards killed at Mycale.

Ταῦτα ἦν τὰ κατ' ἡπειρον στρατευόμενά τε ἔθνεα, καὶ τεταγμένα 81
 ἐς τὸ πεζόν. τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον οὗτοι οἵπερ εἰρέαται
 καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν, καὶ χιλιάρχας
 τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες· ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱ
 μυριάρχαι. τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες²⁴⁹. ἦσαν
 μὲν δὴ οὗτοι, οἵπερ εἰρέαται, ἄρχοντες. Ἐστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων 82
 τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γω-
 βρύνω²⁵⁰, καὶ Τριτανταίχμης²⁵¹ ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένον

The generals of division were Mardonius,

Persian (ix. 115), so that the interpretation of Valla is apparently correct.

²⁴⁵ Μαρῶν. See note 276 on iii. 94. *HECATÆUS* made the *Mares* conterminous with the *Mosynoeci* (*ap. Steph. Byz. sub v.*).

²⁴⁶ Σάσπειρες. See note 272 on iii. 94.

²⁴⁷ τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους. See iii. 93.

²⁴⁸ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων, "in the second year after these things." See note 96 on vi. 40.

²⁴⁹ τελέων δὲ καὶ ἐθνέων ἦσαν ἄλλοι σημάντορες, "and of entire nations also there were other officers having the command." A distinction is taken between the ἄρχοντες, whom Herodotus has mentioned as high officers directly appointed by the king, and these persons, probably the chiefs of their several tribes, who brought their followers *en masse* on their own authority.

²⁵⁰ Μαρδόνιος τε ὁ Γωβρύνω, κ.τ.λ. These six generals are united in pairs

below (§ 121). Mardonius and Masistes are in command of one division, which keeps up the communication with the fleet; Tritantæchmes and Gergis of a second, which seems to be a light division, as it would have to act against mountaineers; and Smerdomenes and Megabyzus of a third, which was accompanied by Xerxes in person. Mardonius being named first, in spite of the rank which Masistes's birth must have given him, induces one to suppose that the command in chief was practically given to him. Hence he commanded the most important of the *corps* which had to act with the fleet; and hence, when Xerxes retreated, he was formally recognized as chief.

²⁵¹ Τριτανταίχμης. This is the name of a satrap of Babylonia (i. 192), but *his* father's name is Artabazus. It may be observed that the richness of the Babylonian province rendered it an appropriate government for a near relative of the sovereign; and in the uncial MSS *ν* might

*Tritantæch-
mes, Smer-
domenes,
Masistes,
Gergis, and
Megabyzus.*

83

μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω—
Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὗτοι ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες, Ξέρξη δὲ ἐγίνοντο
ἀνεψιοὶ—καὶ Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου τε καὶ Ἀτόσσης παῖς, καὶ
Γέργης ὁ Ἀρίζου²⁵², καὶ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου²⁵³. Οὗτοι ἦσαν
στρατηγοὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ πεζοῦ, χωρὶς τῶν μυρίων τῶν
δὲ μυρίων τούτων Περσέων τῶν ἀπολελεγμένων ἐστρατήγησε μὲν
Ῥδάρνης ὁ Ῥδάρνεος²⁵⁴, ἐκαλέοντο δὲ Ἀθάνατοι οἱ Πέρσαι οὗτοι
ἐπὶ τοῦδε· εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἢ θανάτῳ βιηθεὶς ἢ
νόσῳ, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀραίρητο· καὶ ἐγίνοντο οὐδαμὰ οὔτε πλεῦνες
μυρίων οὔτε ἐλάσσονες. κόσμον δὲ πλείστον παρείχοντο διὰ πάν-

The corps of
"the Im-
mortals" com-
manded
by Hydar-
nes.

84

The cavalry
contingent.

των Πέρσαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν· σκευὴν μὲν τοιαύτην εἶχον
ἥπερ εἴρηται· χωρὶς δὲ, χρυσόν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον ἔχοντες
ἐνέπρεπον, ἄρμαμάξας τε ἅμα ἤγοντο ἐν δὲ παλλακὰς, καὶ
θεραπήτην πολλήν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένην· σῖτα δὲ σφι, χωρὶς
τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτέων, κάμηλοι τε καὶ ὑποζύγια ἤγον.

85

Sagartians,

καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα. Εἰσὶ δέ τινες
νομάδες ἀνθρώποι Σαγάρτιοι καλεόμενοι, ἔθνος μὲν Περσικὸν καὶ
φωνῇ, σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ
τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς²⁵⁵. οἱ παρείχοντο μὲν ἵππον ὀκτακισχιλῆν, ὅπλα

easily be mistaken for ζ. The Tritantæchmes of this passage seems to have inherited his father's prudence, if the reading of S in viii. 26 be the true one.

²⁵² Ἀρίζου. The manuscripts S, a, c, d have Ἀρίζου.

²⁵³ Μεγάβυζος ὁ Ζωπύρου. It has been assumed that this Zopyrus is the same as the individual whom Herodotus represents to have played so important a part at the siege of Babylon. But if he was so regarded, it seems strange that no allusion should be made to that remarkable story. See the note 440 on iii. ult.

²⁵⁴ Ῥδάρνης ὁ Ῥδάρνεος. RAWLINSON (*Note on the Persian Inscription of Behistun*, p. xv) calls this person the elder of the two sons (the other being Sisamnes, § 66, above) of Hydrarnes the conspirator. He also tacitly identifies the conspirator with the great officer mentioned below,

§ 135. But all this connexion of circumstances is pure assumption. There is nothing to prove that the Hydrarnes of iii. 70 is the same with all or any of the parties of the same name mentioned in vi. 133; vii. 66. 211, and 135; and there are some reasons against it. See note 298 on vi. 133.

²⁵⁵ σκευὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς. Perhaps the covering of their heads as well as their dirks resembled the Persian. Being nomads, they would doubtless be shepherds, and the rough sheepskins would be the point of similarity between them and the Pactyes, who wore capotes of goatskin with the hair on. (See § 67, above.) The description of their armament reminds one of the lasso of the Pampas; and in the late war in Hungary very formidable irregular cavalry were furnished by the mounted shepherds, who

δὲ οὐ νομίζουσι ἔχειν οὔτε χάλκεα οὔτε σιδήρεα, ἔξω ἐγχειριδίων
 χρέωνται δὲ σειρήσι πεπλεγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων ταύτησι πίσυνον
 ἔρχονται ἐς πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ μάχη τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦδε· ἐπεὰν
 συμμίσγῃσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ' ἄκρῳ
 βρόχους ἐχούσας· ὅτεν δ' ἂν τύχῃ, ἦν τε ἵππου ἦν τε ἀνθρώπου,
 ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ἔλκει· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασσόμενοι διαφθείρονται
 τούτων μὲν αὕτη ἡ μάχη· καὶ ἐπετετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας.
 Μῆδοι δὲ τήνπερ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ εἶχον σκευήν· καὶ Κίσσιοι ὡσαύτως. 86
 Ἰνδοὶ δὲ σκευὴ μὲν ἐσεσάχατο τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ, ἤλαυνον
 δὲ κέλητας καὶ ἄρματα· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖσι ἄρμασι ὑπῆσαν ἵπποι καὶ
 ὄνοι ἄγριοι.²⁵⁶ Βάκτριοι δὲ ἐσκευάδατο ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ,
 καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως. Λίβυες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατάπερ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ·
 ἤλαυνον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἄρματα. ὥς δ' αὐτως Κάσπειροι²⁵⁷
 καὶ Παρικάνιοι²⁵⁸ ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ. Ἀράβιοι δὲ
 σκευὴν μὲν εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν ἦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ· ἤλαυνον δὲ πάντες
 καμήλους, ταχυτῆτα οὐ λειπομένας ἵππων. Ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα μούνα 87
 ἵππευεν²⁵⁹. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐγένετο ὀκτὼ μυριάδες, πάρεξ
 τῶν καμήλων καὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι ἱππέες ἐτετάχατο
 κατὰ τέλεα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἐπετετάχατο· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ἵππων
 οὔτι ἀνεχομένων τὰς καμήλους ὕστεροι ἐτετάχατο, ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο
 τὸ ἱππικόν.²⁶⁰ Ἰππαρχοὶ δὲ ἦσαν Ἀρμαμίθρης τε καὶ Τίθαιος, 88
 Δάτιος παῖδες· ὁ δὲ τρίτος σφι συνίππαρχος Φαρνούχης κατα-
 λέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων· ὥς γὰρ ὀρμέωντο ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἐπὶ
 συμφορὴν ἐνέπεσε ἀνεθέλητον²⁶¹. ἐλαύνοντι γὰρ οἱ, ὑπὸ τοὺς

*Medes,
Cissians,
Indians,
Bactrians,
Caspians,
Libyans,
Caspiri,
Paricani,
Arabs.*

likewise carried a lasso loaded with a heavy ball of lead at each end. They however are described as using this in the manner of a hand-sling, whereas the Sagartians employed their weapon like the South American horsemen. With regard to the site of the Sagartians see note 433 on i. 125.

²⁵⁶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι. This feature in the narrative is very suspicious. The zebra has never been tamed, although many trials have been made.

²⁵⁷ Κάσπειροι. S has Κάσπιοι. The Caspians have been mentioned above (§ 63), but the Caspirians are unknown except from this passage.

²⁵⁸ Παρικάνιοι. HECATEUS (*ap. Steph. Byzant. sub v.*) gave Παρικάνη as the name

of a city in Persia. But the site is entirely unknown. The Paricanians are mentioned above (iii. 92), where see note 260.

²⁵⁹ ἵππευεν. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V. The majority of the MSS have the present ἵππεύει.

²⁶⁰ ἵνα μὴ φοβέοιτο τὸ ἱππικόν. See i. 80.

²⁶¹ ἐπὶ συμφορὴν . . . ἀνεθέλητον. A similar expression is used below (§ 133): ὅ τι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασιν τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεκε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι. The extreme aversion to using words in themselves importing misfortune may be observed. Similarly Solon says, τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, meaning δυστυχήματα all the time (i. 32); and the phrases

πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὑπέδραμε κύων· καὶ ὁ ἵππος οὐ προῖδων, ἐφοβήθη τε καὶ στὰς ὀρθὸς ἀπεσεύσατο τὸν Φαρνούχεια· πεσὼν δὲ, αἰμά τε ἤμμε, καὶ ἐς φθίσιν περιῆλθε ἡ νοῦσος· τὸν δὲ ἵππον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησαν οἱ οἰκέται ὥς ἐκέλευε· ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ περ κατέβαλε τὸν δεσπότηα ἀπαγαγόντες, ἐν τοῖσι γούνασι ἀπέταμον τὰ σκέλεα. Φαρνούχης μὲν οὕτω παρελύθη τῆς ἡγεμονίης.

- 89 Τῶν δὲ τριήρεων ἀριθμὸς μὲν ἐγένετο ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι ²⁶². παρείχοντο δὲ αὐτὰς οἶδε· Φοίνικες μὲν σὺν Συριοῖσι τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τριηκοσίας, ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυνέας εἶχον ἀγχοτάτω πεποιημένας τρόπον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν· ἐνδεδυκότες δὲ θώρηκας λινέους ²⁶³, ἀσπίδας δὲ ἴτυς οὐκ ἐχούσας ²⁶⁴ εἶχον, καὶ ἀκόντια· οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν

οὐκ ὥς ἤθελε, and the like, are common in Herodotus, where a very strong expression would really be appropriate.

²⁶² ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι. The same number is given below (§ 184), where the author sums up the whole of the Persian force. ÆSCHYLUS states the amount of the force in terms which may be differently interpreted, according as we suppose him to agree with Herodotus or not:

Ξέρξη δὲ (καὶ γὰρ οἶδα) χιλιάς μὲν ἦν
ᾧν ἦγε πλῆθος· αἱ δ' ὑπέρκοποι τάχει
ἐκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἑπτὰ θ'. ᾧ δ' ἔχει λόγος.
(*Persæ*, 341.)

If the 207 swift sailers be taken exclusive of the 1000 before mentioned, the two accounts exactly coincide. But that this was the intention of Æschylus seems very improbable, if we look back to the two preceding lines, where he says:

Ἑλλήσιν μὲν ἦν
ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα
ναῶν· δεκάς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἑκκρίτος.

It is quite certain that the ten select ships here are not exclusive of the 300, and it is almost so, that the 207 of the Persian armament is intended to stand in the same relation to the whole as the ten of the allies to their fleet. And both PLATO (*Legg.* iii. 14) and CTESIUS (*ap. Photium*, p. 39) make the numbers of the Persian ships something above a thousand. This circumstance proves decisively that a definite tradition, which confined the numbers to a thousand or a little more, existed in the early part of the fourth century B.C., even among those persons who would be most

tempted to exaggerate the enemy's force. The statements of the orators—(such as ISOCRATES, who gives in one place 1200 and in another 1300),—and of the later compilers of history, are not worth taking into account. I am inclined to the opinion not only that the interpretation of Æschylus, in accordance with Plato, is the more authentic one, but that the discrepancy between the resulting numbers and those which appear in the text arises from the other interpretation of that very passage, viz. the addition of the squadron of 207 to the whole fleet, of which it was really a part. Herodotus's informant had fallen into this mistake (as I conceive), and perhaps into another also,—the reckoning the Egyptian squadron as an independent one of 200 ships. See note 288 on § 98, below.

²⁶³ θώρηκας λινέους. Probably of Egyptian manufacture. See note 461 on i. 135, and above, note 199 on § 63. The similarity of the Phœnician, Carian, Egyptian, and Greek helmet of the time of Herodotus was so great as to suggest the probability of the common origin of them. See note 467 on iv. 180. But I do not believe with LAYARD (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 338) that it came from Assyria, but rather that it was imported thither from Phœnicia or Egypt, after the expeditions of the Assyrian monarchs to those countries. It seems to me to be originally Carian, and to have been invented before the era of Minos. (See note 487 on iv. 189.)

²⁶⁴ ἴτυς οὐκ ἐχούσας. The grammarians explain ἴτυς as the bosses of the shields; but they are the rims surrounding them.

οἴκεον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες²⁶⁵, τῆς Συρίας οἰκέουσι τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν· τῆς δὲ Συρίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τὸ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου πᾶν, Παλαιστίνη καλεῖται²⁶⁶. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ νέας παρείχοντο διηκοσίας· οὗτοι δὲ εἶχον περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χηλευτὰ²⁶⁷, ἀσπίδας δὲ κοίλας τὰς ἴνυς μεγάλας ἐχούσας, καὶ δόρατά τε ναύμαχα, καὶ τύκους²⁶⁸ μεγάλους· τὸ δὲ πλήθος αὐτῶν θωρηκοφόροι ἦσαν, μαχαίρας δὲ μεγάλας εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἐσταλάδατο. Κύπριοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας 90 πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ἐσκευασμένοι ὧδε· τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μίτρῃσι οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας²⁶⁹. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατάπερ Ἑλλήνες. τούτων δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεά ἐστι· οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίας· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθνου²⁷⁰. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας²⁷¹, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι. Κίλικες δὲ ἑκατὸν παρείχοντο νέας· οὗτοι δ' αὖ περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα ἐπιχώρια, λαισιγῖά τε εἶχον ἀντ' ἀσπίδων 91 ὁμοβοῆς πεποιημένα, καὶ κιθῶνας εἰρυνέους ἐνδεδυκότες· δύο δὲ ἀκόντια ἕκαστος καὶ ξίφος εἶχον, ἀγχοτάτω τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι μαχαί-

²⁶⁵ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὑπερβάντες. This is a similar account to that given in i. 1. But there were traditions which exactly reversed the matter. See STRABO quoted in note 314 on iii. 111.

²⁶⁶ τῆς δὲ Συρίας . . . Παλαιστίνη καλεῖται. A distinction between Phoenicia and Palestine seems to be made in iii. 5, although the passage is certainly in confusion. But the two were united in the same nome by Darius (see iii. 91), and it is probably with reference to this division that the term Palestine is applied to the whole sea-board. In the genuine Persian account of the satrapies the two appear massed together as *Arabia* (see the BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION in note 278 on iii. 94), although Arabia, according to Herodotus, was excluded from the satrapy.

²⁶⁷ χηλευτὰ. HESYCHIUS explains this word as πλεκτὰ ἐκ σχοίνων.

²⁶⁸ τύκους, "poll-axes." See LIDDELL and SCOTT'S Lexicon, *sub* v.

²⁶⁹ οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας. POLLUX (x. 162) quotes the word *κιδάρις* as used by Herodotus, which has induced the conjecture that *κιδάρις* is the true reading in this passage instead of *κιθῶνας*,—which certainly does not give an adequate sense.

²⁷⁰ οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίας· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Κύθ-

νου. These would be respectively Pelasgians and Dryopes, both of which appear among the elements of the mixed population in Ionia (i. 146). Hermione, on the coast of Argolis, and the two towns (each called Asine) in that region and on the coast of Messenia were likewise Dryopian, the founders being apparently hierodules of the Delphic Apollo antecedently to the revolution, which is mythically described as a conquest by Heracles. (See PAUSANIAS, iv. 34. 9, *seqq.*) Asine was the name of a town in Cyprus (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub* v.), and probably therefore a Dryopian and Cythnian settlement. That the 'Arcadians' in Cyprus should really have come from Arcadia seems as little likely as that the Pelasgi mentioned in the *Iliad*, as one of the races in Crete, should have come from Pelasgiotis in Thessaly. In both cases the existence of diverse fragments of the same race is accounted for by the hypothesis of a colony.

²⁷¹ οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας. It seems not impossible that these were the descendants of negroes brought as slaves from Africa; or perhaps they may have been a swarm of the pirates who haunted the Bucolic branch of the Nile in Egypt. See note 293 on ii. 104.

- ρρησι πεποιημένα. οὔτοι μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν Ὑπαχαιοὶ ἐκαλέοντο· ἐπὶ δὲ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος, ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος, ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Πάμφυλοι δὲ τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας Ἑλληνικοῖσι ὅπλοισι ἐσκευασμένοι· οἱ δὲ Πάμφυλοι οὔτοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀποσκευασθέντων ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ²⁷² καὶ Κάλχαντι. Λύκιοι δὲ παρείχοντο νέας πεντήκοντα, θωρηκοφόροι τε εὐντες καὶ κημιδοφόροι· εἶχον δὲ τόξα κρανείνα, καὶ ὀστοὺς καλαμίνους ἀπτέρους καὶ ἀκόντια· ἐπὶ δὲ, αἰγὸς δέρματα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενα²⁷³. περὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι πῖλους πτεροῖσι περιεστεφανωμένους· ἐγχειρίδια δὲ καὶ δρέπανα εἶχον. Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο²⁷⁴, ἐκ Κρήτης γεγονότες· ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκου τοῦ Πανδίου, ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου, ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Δωριεὲς δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσῆς τριήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, ἔχοντές τε Ἑλληνικὰ ὅπλα καὶ γεγονότες ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. Κᾶρες δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα παρείχοντο νέας, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰπερ Ἑλληνες ἐσταλμένοι· εἶχον δὲ καὶ δρέπανα καὶ ἐγχειρίδια. οὔτοι δὲ οἴτινες πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτοισι τῶν λόγων²⁷⁵ εἶρηται. Ἴωνες δὲ ἑκατὸν νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι ὡς Ἑλληνες. Ἴωνες δὲ, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἶκεον τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Ἀχαιΐν, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Δάναόν τε καὶ Ἰούθον ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Πελασγοὶ Αἰγυαλεές· ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ἰούθου Ἴωνες²⁷⁶. Νησιῶται²⁷⁷ δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, ὥπλισ-

²⁷² ἅμα Ἀμφιλόχῳ. See STRABO, quoted in note 254 on iii. 91.

²⁷³ αἰγὸς δέρματα περὶ τοὺς ὤμους αἰωρεύμενα. This seems almost the same thing as the aegis, and only differing from it in its original form (see iv. 189) by not being fringed. And the aegis was the common garb of the Libyan women. (See note 487 on iv. 189.)

²⁷⁴ Τερμίλαι ἐκαλέοντο. See note 585 on i. 173.

²⁷⁵ ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτοισι τῶν λόγων. The reference is to i. 171; but it must not be supposed from this that the present nonary division is recognized. See note 93 on vi. 39. On the relation of the Carians to the Leleges see note 571 on i. 171.

²⁷⁶ ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ἰούθου Ἴωνες. This expression seems to intimate a belief in the purity of descent of the Asiatic Ionians, very alien from the opinions maintained in the kind of *excursus* found in i. 143—146. It would almost seem that

the present passage belongs to the original draft of the work, and that the other is an addition of a later period. This seems a more natural solution of the contradiction than to substitute ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων for οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, three lines below, as Valcknaer conjectures.

²⁷⁷ Νησιῶται. These islanders might be taken for the contingent from the Cyclades; but this does not seem to have joined the fleet of Xerxes until it arrived at Phalerum. (See viii. 66.) LEAKE conjectures with some plausibility, that Lemnos and Imbros are the places from which these ships came. (*Appendix ii. to Athens and the Demi of Attica*, p. 237.) The Samothracians in the fleet of Xerxes, who are of the same race as the natives of these islands, are spoken of as *Ionians*, although probably in contradistinction to Phœnicians, in viii. 90. See the note there.

μένοι ὡς Ἑλληνες· καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἰωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ οἱ δυωδεκαπόλεις Ἴωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων. Αἰολέες δὲ ἐξήκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, ἐσκευασμένοι τε ὡς Ἑλληνες καὶ τὸ πάλοι καλεόμενοι Πελασγοί, ὡς Ἑλλήνων λόγος. Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ, πλὴν Ἀβυδηνῶν (Ἀβυδηνοῖσι γὰρ προσετέτακτο ἐκ βασιλέως, κατὰ χώραν μένουσι, φύλακας εἶναι τῶν γεφυρέων) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου²⁷⁸ στρατευόμενοι, παρείχοντο μὲν ἑκατὸν νέας, ἐσκευασμένοι δὲ ἦσαν ὡς Ἑλληνες. οὗτοι δὲ Ἰόνων καὶ Δωριέων ἄποικοι.

Ἐπεβάτευνον δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ 96
Σάκαι²⁷⁹. τούτων δὲ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο νέας Φοίνικες, καὶ Φοινίκων Σιδώνιοι. τούτοισι πᾶσι, καὶ τοῖσι ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τεταγμένοισι αὐτῶν, ἐπῆσαν ἐκάστοισι ἐπιχώριοι ἡγεμόνες· τῶν ἐγὼ, οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖη ἐξέργομαι²⁸⁰ ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, οὐ παραμέμνημαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἐκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἔν τε ἔθνει ἐκάστῳ ὅσαιπερ πόλεις, τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν²⁸¹. εἶποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοὶ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι· ἐπεὶ στρατηγοὶ τε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες κράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνέων ἐκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέαται μοι. Τοῦ 97
δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐστρατήγεον οἶδε· Ἀριαβίγνης²⁸² τε ὁ Δαρείου, καὶ Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω²⁸³, καὶ Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω²⁸⁴,

²⁷⁸ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. Among these one may expect the Cyzicenes, from their wealth, to have furnished a considerable contingent. The Hellespontines, after the destruction described in vi. 33, could have supplied little or nothing.

²⁷⁹ Ἐπεβάτευνον . . . Σάκαι. The marines in all the vessels being supplied from the hereditary dominions of the Persian king indicates some distrust of their naval allies. They could perhaps depend upon these for working the ships, but not for much more.

²⁸⁰ ἐξέργομαι. See note 106 on i. 31.

²⁸¹ οὔτε γὰρ . . . ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν. See above, note 249.

²⁸² Ἀριαβίγνης. Possibly this is the same individual whom PLUTARCH (*The-mist.* § 14) describes under the name of Ariamenes, as the admiral of the Persian naval force, and as πολὺν κράτιστός τε καὶ δικαίτατος of all Xerxes's brothers. He was killed at Salamis. The Hellenic *m* is sometimes represented in Persian by *b*;

for instance, *Megabyzus* is in the Behistun tablets *Bagabuksha*.

²⁸³ Πρηξάσπης ὁ Ἀσπαθίνεω. An Aspathines is mentioned by Herodotus, although not so by the Behistun Inscription, as one of the seven conspirators wounded severely in the attempt to slay the Magian (iii. 70. 78). But if the same person had been meant here, some allusion to the circumstance might have been looked for. Possibly he may have been a son of the Prexaspes who by his confession and voluntary death did such good service to the cause of Darius (iii. 75), as in several instances the Hellenic practice of naming a grandson after the grandfather appears as existing among the Persian nobles.

²⁸⁴ Μεγάβαζος ὁ Μεγαβάτεω. Perhaps this Megabazus is the chief of whom Herodotus tells two anecdotes (iv. 143); and from the practice which evidently prevailed of putting members of the royal family in high command, it seems likely that his father Megabates was the first

καὶ Ἀχαιμένης ὁ Δαρείου τῆς μὲν Ἰάδος τε καὶ Καρικῆς στρα-
τιῆς Ἀριαβίγνης, ὁ Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ τῆς Γωβρύεω θυγατρός·
Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης ²⁸⁵, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀπ' ἀμφο-
τέρων ἀδελφεός· τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιῆς ἐστρατήγεον οἱ δύο.
τριηκόντεροι δὲ, καὶ πεντηκόντεροι, καὶ κέρκουροι ²⁸⁶, καὶ ἰπ-
παγωγὰ πλοῖα μακρὰ συνελθόντα ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐφάνη τρις-
98 χίλια. Τῶν δὲ ἐπιπλεόντων μετὰ γε τοὺς στρατηγούς οἷδε
ἦσαν οἱ ὀνομαστότατοι Σιδώνιος Τετράμνηστος Ἀνύσου, καὶ
Τύριος Μάπην ²⁸⁷ Σιρώμου, καὶ Ἀράδιος Μέρβαλος ²⁸⁸ Ἀγβάλου,
καὶ Κιλιξ Σύνεννες Ὡρομέδοντος, καὶ Λύκιος Κυβερνίσκος Σίκα
καὶ Κύπριοι, Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος ²⁸⁹, καὶ Τιμῶναξ ὁ Τιμαγόρεω
καὶ Καρῶν Ἰστιαιός τε ὁ Τύμνεω ²⁹⁰ καὶ Πίγρης ὁ Σελδώμου καὶ

cousin of Darius (mentioned in v. 32). Some have also identified Megabazus with the Megabyzus of iii. 70. But great caution is requisite in such proceedings. (See note 367 on iv. 143.)

²⁸⁵ Αἰγυπτίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ἀχαιμένης. After the revolt of Egypt, which took place in the last year of Darius's life, and which was quelled by Xerxes, Achæmenes was sent to that country as viceroy. He seems therefore to have left his government in command of the naval contingent furnished from thence. A question arises, how was this enormous force (200 triremes, § 89, above) raised? There is no reason to suppose that the Egyptians themselves were ever any thing but river boatmen. The naval conquests of Amasis and of Apries were probably effected by Hellenic auxiliaries. (See note 554 on ii. 132.) The refusal of the Phœnician squadron prevented Cambyses from attempting the conquest of Carthage after he had subdued Egypt, although he had the Ionian and Æolian naval contingent with him (iii. 19). Therefore at that time there could hardly have been an Egyptian fleet. Nevertheless Aryandes possessed a fleet either native or foreign (iv. 167), which was commanded by a Persian. If we suppose the fleet in question to have been created by Achæmenes subsequently to his going to his government, we shall see the force of the expression: Αἰγυπτον πολλὰν δουλοτέρην ποιήσας (§ 7, above), for the most stringent measures must have been required to produce such results. And after all, it seems not impos-

sible that although the Egyptians probably supplied rowers, the navigation of the ships may have been performed by Phœnicians or Philistines, the funds for the payment of these, and probably also for the building of the fleet, being furnished by Egypt.

²⁸⁶ κέρκουροι. Accounts vary as to whether this description of vessel was Cyprian or Corcyrean. Its mention here by Herodotus goes to corroborate the former view.

²⁸⁷ Μάπην. The MSS vary between this form, Μάπτην, and Μάρτην. Of Σιρώμου, see note 301 on v. 104.

²⁸⁸ Μέρβαλος. Some MSS have Νέρβαλος. Sidon, Tyre, and Aradus were the three cities which constituted the Phœnician Tripolis. It will be observed that no Philistine or Egyptian commander is named among the subordinate chiefs. The Philistine contingent too is reckoned together with the Phœnician one above, § 89; and possibly the real solution of the difference between the numbers of Æschylus and those of Herodotus is to be found in the view that the Egyptian contingent really formed *two thirds* of the *three hundred* galleys, of which Tetramnestus, Mapen, and Merbal were the subordinate commanders. See note on viii. 17.

²⁸⁹ Γόργος τε ὁ Χέρσιος. This individual had been replaced in his position as king of Salamis in Cyprus (v. 104) on the reconquest of the island by the Persians (v. 115).

²⁹⁰ Ἰστιαιός τε ὁ Τύμνεω. This individual was one of the commanders in the

Δαμασίθυμος²⁹¹ ὁ Κανδαύλεω. Τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παρα- 99
 μένηται ταξιαρχέων, ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος· Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ, τῆς
 μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης,
 γυναικός· ἥτις, ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρός, αὐτὴ τε ἔχουσα τὴν
 τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίω, ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ
 ἀνδρηΐης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς ἐούσης οἱ ἀναγκαίης. οὐνομα μὲν
 δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος· γένος δὲ ἐξ
 Ἀλικαρνησοῦ²⁹² τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα· ἡγε-
 μόνευε δὲ Ἀλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κῶων καὶ Νισυρίων τε καὶ
 Καλυμνίων²⁹³, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη· καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρα-
 τιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάν-
 των τε τῶν συμμάχων γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλεῖ ἀπεδέξατο·
 τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτὴν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω
 πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικόν· Ἀλικαρνησῆας μὲν Τροίξηνιους, τοὺς δὲ
 ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς
 εἴρηται.

Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡρίθμησέ τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἐπεθύμησε 100
 αὐτὸς σφεας διεξελάσας θεήσασθαι μετὰ δὲ ἐποίηε ταῦτα, καὶ
 διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἑκαστον, ἐπυνθάνετο· καὶ
 ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί²⁹⁴, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο
 καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, τῶν νεῶν
 κατελκυσθεισῶν ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ
 ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην, ἵζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ· καὶ παρέπλεε

fleet which attempted the *coup de main* on Naxos, whom Aristagoras secured at the outbreak of the Ionian revolt (v. 37).

²⁹¹ Δαμασίθυμος. This individual is probably the commander of the ship sunk by Artemisia in order to save herself (viii. 87). Perhaps his notoriety was mainly owing to this circumstance.

²⁹² Ἀλικαρνησοῦ. This is the reading of all the MSS. Below F has Ἀλικαρνησέων and Ἀλικαρνησέας. See note I on i. 1.

²⁹³ Καλυμνίων. Gaisford, with the MSS, has Καλυδνίων. But it seems certain that the inhabitants of some island near Halicarnassus are here meant; and such an island existed, of the name Κάλυμνα (called *Calimno* by SÆWULF, A.D. 1102), in the immediate vicinity of Cos and Nisyrus. Calydna was a name given to some very

small islands just off the shore of Tenedos, and at one time to Tenedos itself. And it seems not improbable that the island Calymna was sometimes called Calydna (for the *Iliad*, ii. 677, couples νήσους τε Καλύδνας with Cos). But the form Κάλυμνα appears in inscriptions (HOFFMANN, *Griechenland*, p. 1441, note 26), and therefore seems to be the authentic form for the times when the orthography was settled. But see note on viii. 87.

²⁹⁴ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί. It is a conjecture of Heeren's, which is approved of by Bishop Thirlwall, that the muster rolls thus formed fell into the hands of the Greeks after the defeat of the Persians, and formed the authority for the account which Herodotus has been giving of the troops.

παρὰ τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος· τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχεον, τὰς πρώρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὥς ἐς πόλεμον· ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν προρέων πλέων ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

101

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας διεξέπλωσε, καὶ ἐξέβη ἐκ τῆς νεὸς, μετεπέμφατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, συστρατευόμενον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καλέσας δ' αὐτὸν εἶρετο τάδε· “Δημάρητε, νῦν μοί σε ἡδύ τι ἐστὶ ἐπιείρεσθαι τὰ θέλω· σὺ εἰς Ἑλλην τε, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι σεῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικνεομένων, πόλιος οὔτ' ἐλαχίστης οὔτ' ἀσθενεστάτης· νῦν ὧν μοι τόδε φράσον, εἰ Ἑλληνες ὑπομενέουσι χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ἀνταειρόμενοι· οὐ γὰρ, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρης οἰκέοντες ἄνθρωποι συλλεχθείησαν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί εἰσι ἐμὲ ἐπιόντα ὑπομείναι, μὴ ἔοντες ἄρθμιοι²⁹⁵· ἐθέλω μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖόν τι λέγεις περὶ αὐτῶν, πυθέσθαι.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰρώτα· ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη· “βασιλεῦ, κότερα ἀληθιῇ χρήσομαι πρὸς σέ ἢ ἡδονῇ;” ὁ δέ μιν ἀληθιῇ χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε, φὰς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν· ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε Δημάρητος, ἔλεγε τάδε·

102

“βασιλεῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀληθιῇ διαχρήσασθαι²⁹⁶ πάντως με κελεύεις, ταῦτα λέγοντα τὰ μὴ ψευδόμενός τις ὕστερον ὑπὸ σεῦ αἰλώσεται, τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεὶ κοτε σύντροφος σύνεστι, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἔπακτός ἐστι, ἀπὸ τε σοφίης κατεργασμένη καὶ νόμου ἰσχυροῦ· τῇ διαχρεωμένη ἢ Ἑλλάς, τὴν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. αἰνέω μὲν νυν πάντας Ἑλληνας τοὺς περὶ κείνους τοὺς Δωρικοὺς χώρους οἰκημένους· ἔρχομαι δὲ λέξων οὐ περὶ πάντων τούσδε τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μούνων· πρῶτα μὲν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως κοτὲ σοὺς δέξονται λόγους δουλοσύνην φέροντας τῇ Ἑλλάδι· αὐτὶς δὲ, ὥς ἀντιώσονται τοι ἐς μάχην, καὶ ἦν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες πάντες τὰ σὰ φρονέωσι· ἀριθμοῦ δὲ πέρι, μὴ πύθῃ ὅσοι τινὲς ἔοντες ταῦτα ποιέειν οἰοί τέ εἰσι· ἦν

²⁹⁵ μὴ ἔοντες ἄρθμιοι. These words appear to me to have dropped out of their proper place, which seems to be after the word ἀνταειρόμενοι.

²⁹⁶ διαχρήσασθαι. The manuscripts S and V have the simple form χρήσασθαι, Stobæus; δὴ χρήσασθαι.

τε γὰρ τύχῳσι ἔξεστρατευμένοι χίλιοι, οὗτοι μαχήσονται τοι, ἦν
 τε ἐλάσσονες τούτων, ἦν τε καὶ πλεῦνες.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης, 103
 γελάσας ἔφη· “ Δημάρητε, οἷον ἐφθέγγξαι ἔπος, ἄνδρας χιλίους
 στρατιῇ τοσῆδε μαχήσασθαι. ἄγε, εἰπέ μοι, σὺ φῆς τούτων τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς γενέσθαι; σὺ ὦν ἐβελήσεις αὐτίκα μάλα
 πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι²⁹⁷; καίτοι εἰ τὸ πολιτικὸν²⁹⁸ ὑμῖν
 πᾶν ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον οἷον σὺ διαιρέεις, σέ γε τὸν κείνων βασιλέα
 πρέπει πρὸς τὸ διπλήσιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμε-
 τέρους²⁹⁹. εἰ γὰρ κείνων ἕκαστος δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς
 ἐμῆς ἀντάξιός ἐστι, σέ δέ γε διζῆμαι εἴκοσι εἶναι ἀντάξιον· καὶ
 οὕτω μὲν ὀρθοῖτ’ ἂν ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ σεῦ εἰρημένος. εἰ δέ, τοιοῦτοί
 τε ἔοντες καὶ μεγάθεα τοσοῦτοι οἷος σὺ τε καὶ οἱ παρ’ ἐμὲ φοιτῶσι
 Ἑλλήνων ἐς λόγους, αὐχεῖτε τοσοῦτον, ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ
 λόγος οὗτος εἰρημένος εἴη. ἐπεὶ φέρε ἴδω παντὶ τῷ οἰκόντι κῶς
 ἂν δυναίαιο χίλιοι, ἢ καὶ μύριοι, ἢ καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, ἔοντες γε
 ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ὁμοίως καὶ μὴ ὑπ’ ἐνὸς ἀρχόμενοι, στρατῷ
 τοσῶδε ἀντιστῆναι; ἐπεὶ τοι πλεῦνες περὶ ἓνα ἕκαστον γινόμεθα
 ἢ χίλιοι, ἔοντων ἐκείνων πέντε χιλιαδέων. ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐνὸς
 ἀρχόμενοι κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἡμέτερον, γενοίατ’ ἂν δειμαίνοντες
 τοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἑωυτῶν φύσιν ἀμείνονες, καὶ ἴοιεν ἀναγκαζό-
 μενοι μάστιγι ἐς πλεῦνας ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες· ἀνειμένοι δὲ ἐς τὸ
 ἐλεύθερον, οὐκ ἂν ποιεοίεν τούτων οὐδέτερα. δοκέω δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ
 ἀνισωθέντας πλήθει χαλεπῶς ἂν Ἑλλήνας Πέρσῃσι μόνουσι
 μάχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σὺ λέγεις· ἔστι γε
 μέντοι οὐ πολλόν, ἀλλὰ σπάνιον· εἰσὶ γὰρ Περσέων τῶν ἐμῶν
 αἰχμοφόρων οἱ ἐθελήσουσι Ἑλλήνων ἀνδράσι τρισὶ ὁμοῦ μάχε-
 σθαι τῶν σὺ ἐὼν ἄπειρος, πολλὰ φλυηρέεις.” Πρὸς ταῦτα 104

²⁹⁷ πρὸς ἄνδρας δέκα μάχεσθαι; By the selection of this number it would seem as if Xerxes had here in his mind merely his guardsmen, the band of the Immortals, who were 10,000 in number, although, as Herodotus tells the story, the conversation with Demaratus takes place when he is elated at seeing the numbers and efficiency of his whole force, fleet as well as army. And it is with reference to the whole force that he pursues the argument below: ἐπεὶ τοι πλεῦνες . . . πέντε χιλιαδέων.

²⁹⁸ τὸ πολιτικόν. This term is used to

denote the aggregate of the πολῖται in contradistinction to ὁ ἄρχων. ARISTOTLE (*Nicomach. Ethic.* iii. p. 1116, l. 19) calls the civilians employed in an army as militia men τὰ πολιτικά, in contradistinction to the regular soldiers.

²⁹⁹ κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὑμετέρους. There is perhaps here an allusion to the custom at Sparta of setting before the kings a double share of the victim whenever they were invited to a private sacrifice (vi. 57). The practice was a sort of symbol of their being held equal to two other men.

Δημάρητος λέγει· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀρχήθεν ἠπιστάμην ὅτι ἀληθὴν ἡ χρεώμενος οὐ φίλα τοι ἐρέω· σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἠνάγκασας λέγειν τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτησι· καίτοι ὡς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω τὰ νῦν τάδε ἐστοργῶς ἐκείνους αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεται³⁰⁰, οἳ με τιμὴν τε καὶ γέρεα ἀπελόμενοι πατρώϊα ἄπολιν τε καὶ φυγάδα πεποιήκασιν, πατὴρ δὲ σὸς ὑποδεξάμενος βίον τέ μοι καὶ οἶκον δέδωκε· οὐκ ὄντως οἶκός ἐστι ἄνδρα τὸν σῶφρονα εὐνοίην φαινομένην διωθέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ στέργειν μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε δέκα ἀνδράσι ὑπίσχομαι οἷός τε εἶναι μάχεσθαι, οὔτε δυοῖσιν ἐκὼν τε εἶναι οὐδ’ ἂν μουνوماχέοιμι· εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαίῃ εἴῃ ἢ μέγας τις ὁ ἐποτρύνων ἄγων, μαχοίμην ἂν πάντων ἡδιστα ἐν τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστός φησι τριῶν ἄξιος εἶναι· ὥς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατὰ μὲν ἓνα μαχεόμενοι οὐδαμῶν εἰσι κακίονες ἀνδρῶν, ἀλέες δὲ ἄριστοι ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων· ἐλεύθεροι γὰρ ἔόντες οὐ πάντα ἐλεύθεροί εἰσιν· ἔπεστι γάρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἳ σοὶ σέ· ποιεῖσιν γὼν τὰ ἂν ἐκείνος ἀνώγει· ἀνώγει δὲ τὸν αἰεὶ, οὐκ ἔων φεύγειν οὐδὲν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ μένοντας ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι³⁰¹. σοὶ δὲ εἰ φαίνομαι ταῦτα λέγων φληνρέειν, τᾶλλα³⁰² σιγᾶν ἐθέλω τὸ λοιπὸν, νῦν δὲ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἔλεξα· γένοιτο μέντοι κατὰ νόον τοι, βασιλεῦ.”

105

Xerxes proceeds, after making Maseum governor of Doriscus.

‘Ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· Ξέρξης δὲ ἐς γέλωτά τε ἔτρεψε, καὶ οὐκ ἐποιήσατο ὀργὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ’ ἡπίως αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. τούτῳ δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Ξέρξης, καὶ ὑπαρχον ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ³⁰³ καταστήσας Μασκάμην τὸν Μεγαδόστω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου σταθέντα καταπαύσας, ἐξήλανε τὸν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς

³⁰⁰ καίτοι ὡς ἐγὼ . . . αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἐξεπίστεται, “although no one knows so well as you how little, as things now are with me, I am disposed to feel kindly towards them on this subject.”

³⁰¹ ἐπικρατέειν ἢ ἀπόλλυσθαι. These infinitives are governed by some such word as κελεύων, gathered by inference from οὐκ ἔων. Valcknaer compares ALEXIS (*ap. Stobaeum*, p. 454):

οὐκ ἤξιωσα καταλιπεῖν τὴν μητέρα,
πρώτην δὲ σώζειν,

and the description given by ST. PAUL of the perverters of Christian simplicity:

κωλύοντων γαμῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων. (1 Timothy iv. 3.) Compare note 218 on vi. 97.

³⁰² τᾶλλα. Several MSS have ἅμα, from which Wesseling conjectured that ἅλλα was the true reading. But the text as it stands appears quite sound, and the words τὸ λοιπὸν are something more than τᾶλλα. They are in opposition to νῦν, which follows. “If this my language appears vapouring, I will keep silence on other matters for the future, and as it is (νῦν δὲ) I spoke by compulsion.”

³⁰³ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ. See § 59, above.

Θρηίκης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκά-
μην γενόμενον, τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε³⁰⁴, ὡς ἀριστεύ-
οντι πάντων ὅσους κατέστησε αὐτὸς ἢ Δαρείος ὑπάρχους· πέμ-
πεσκε δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω³⁰⁵ τοῖσι
Μασκαμείοισι ἐκγόνοισι. κατέστασαν γὰρ ἔτι πρότερον ταύτης
τῆς ἐλάσιος ὑπαρχοὶ ἐν τῇ Θρηίκῃ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου παν-
ταχῇ³⁰⁶. οὗτοι ὦν πάντες, οἳ τε ἐκ Θρηίκης καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόν-
του³⁰⁷, πλὴν τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον ταύτης τῆς
στρατηλασίης ἐξηρέθησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν Δορίσκῳ Μασκάμην οὐδαμοί
κω ἐδυνάσθησαν³⁰⁸ ἐξελεῖν, πολλῶν πειρησαμένων· διὰ τοῦτο δέ
οἱ τὰ δῶρα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αἰεὶ ἐν Πέρσῃσι.
Τῶν δὲ ἐξαιρεθέντων ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οὐδένα βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης
ἐνόμισε εἶναι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν, εἰ μὴ Βόγην μόνον, τὸν ἐξ Ἡϊόνος·
τοῦτον δὲ αἰνέων οὐκ ἐπαύετο, καὶ τοὺς περιεόντας αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρ-
σῃσι παῖδας ἐτίμα μάλιστα· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄξιος αἴνου μεγάλου ἐγένετο
Βόγης· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κίμωνος τοῦ
Μιλτιάδεω, παρεὼν αὐτῷ ὑπόσπονδον ἐξελθεῖν καὶ νοστήσαι ἐς
τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐκ ἐθέλησε, μὴ δειλὴν δόξειε περιεῖναι βασιλείῃ, ἀλλὰ
διακαρτέρει ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον· ὥς δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνὴν ἐν τῷ
τείχεϊ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἔσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναικα
καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας· καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ·
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τὸν
ἄργυρον ἔσπειρε ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα, ποιήσας δὲ
ταῦτα, ἑωυτὸν ἐπέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω μὲν οὗτος δικαίως αἰνέ-
εται ἔτι καὶ ἐς τότε ὑπὸ Περσέων³⁰⁹.

106

Anecdote
of the gal-
lantry of
Mascames.

107

Anecdote
of Boges,
the governor
of Eion.

³⁰⁴ τῷ μούνῳ Ξέρξης δῶρα πέμπεσκε. Mascames was perhaps the only Persian chief to whom the Greeks in these parts were cognizant of gifts of honour being sent. By i. 135 and iii. 160 it appears that there were certainly some others who received them yearly.

³⁰⁵ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξεω. This prince succeeded to the throne in the latter part of the year 465 B.C. CLINTON explains a slight diversity which is found in the different statements of the date of his accession.

³⁰⁶ κατέστασαν γὰρ . . . πανταχῇ. See note 111 on vi. 44.

³⁰⁷ πανταχῇ . . . τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. These words are omitted from the two

manuscripts S and F. The mistake apparently arises in the latter from the eye of the transcriber being deceived. But in S this is not the real cause; for that MS has immediately afterwards: πλὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐν Δορίσκῳ.

³⁰⁸ ἐδυνάσθησαν. This form, which is of very rare occurrence, is found in ii. 19: οὐδενὸς παραλαβὴν ἐδυνάσθη, and ii. 43: οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθη ἀκούσαι.

³⁰⁹ ὑπὸ Περσέων. THUCYDIDES, who mentions the capture of Eion as the first success of the allies after the transfer of the hegemony from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians, gives no hint of the heroic conduct of Boges, but simply states that the town was taken by blockade, and

108

March of Xerxes from Doriscus. He passes the Samothracian castles, the westernmost of which is Mesembria, in the immediate vicinity of Stryme, a Thracian town.

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε· ἐδεδούλωτο γάρ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, ἡ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας πᾶσα, καὶ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος³¹⁰, Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου³¹¹. παραμείβετο δὲ πορευόμενος ἐκ Δορίσκου, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Σαμοθρηϊκία τείχεα, τῶν ἐσχάτη πεπόλισται πρὸς ἐσπέρην πόλιν τῇ οὖνομά ἐστι Μεσαμβρίῃ· ἔχεται δὲ ταύτης Θασίων πόλις, Στρίμη· διὰ δὲ σφῶν τοῦ μέσου Λίσσος ποταμὸς διαρρέει· ὃς τότε οὐκ ἀντέσχε τὸ ὕδωρ παρέχων τῷ Ξέρξῳ στρατῷ, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε. ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη πάλαι μὲν ἐκαλέετο Γαλλαϊκὴ νῦν δὲ Βριαντική· ἔστι μέντοι τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν λόγων καὶ αὕτη Κικόνων. Διαβὰς δὲ τοῦ Λίσσου ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέεθρον ἀποξηρασμένον, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε παραμείβετο· Μαρώνειαν, Δίκαιαν, Ἀβδηρα· ταύτας τε δὴ παρεξήϊε, καὶ κατὰ ταύτας δὲ, λίμνας ὀνομαστάς τάσδε· Μαρωνείης μὲν μεταξὺ καὶ Στρίμης κειμένην Ἰσμαρίδα³¹². κατὰ δὲ Δίκαιαν, Βιστονίδα, ἐς

109

He crosses the Lissus, and passes Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera, and the lakes

the inhabitants sold as slaves (i. 98). He must have been quite familiar with the local accounts from his connexion with the neighbourhood; and his complete silence goes to confirm the inference from Herodotus's expression, that the authority of the latter was an Asiatic one. DIODORUS SICULUS (xi. 60) places the capture of Eion by the Athenians in the year 470 B.C.; but, as is remarked by Wesseling, he in that passage puts together transactions which took place at a considerable distance of time from each other. That the circumstance mentioned by Herodotus: ὥς οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἐνῆν, was a striking feature in the siege, seems likely from the fact of its appearing in the epigram cited by ÆSCHINES (c. Ctesiph. § 184):

ἦν ἄρα κἀκείνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων
παισίν, ἐπ' Ἡϊόνι Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοᾶς,
λιμόν τ' αἰθῶνα κρατερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες
Ἀρηα,
πῶῳτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμχανίην.

The starvation was no doubt effected by closing the straits, and thus stopping the transit of corn from the Euxine. In later times it was said that the city was taken by Cimon turning the course of the Strymon, so as to set the current against the

walls, which, being of unbaked bricks, gave way. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 8, 9.) But if this was the discovery of Cimon, as Pausanias states, it would hardly have been unnoticed by the epigram or by Herodotus. Agesipolis adopted the same stratagem at Mantinea; but the mountain streams of Arcadia would be much more efficient agents in undermining than an estuary.

³¹⁰ ἦν ὑπὸ βασιλέα δασμοφόρος. There is no trace of this in the Behistun Inscription, although Sparta and Ionia are there mentioned among the subject countries. (See note 278 on iii. 94.) It seems very unlikely that the Persian occupation of the country from the Hellespont to the Strymon was more than that effected by a line of strong military posts. If the country had been δασμοφόρος, they would hardly have made Elæus the base of operations when cutting the canal through the isthmus of Athos. See above, § 22, and the note 91.

³¹¹ Μεγαβάζου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον Μαρδονίου. See v. 1, 2, and vi. 43, 44, with the note 111 on the last passage.

³¹² Ἰσμαρίδα. In the view of the historian it would seem that the course of Xerxes was in a great degree determined by the opportunity which these lakes

τὴν ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσιείσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Τραυὸς³¹³ τε καὶ Κόμφατος· *Ismaris and Bistonis.*
κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα, λίμνην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐοῦσαν οὐνομαστὴν παρα-
μείψατο Ξέρξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέστον ῥέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. μετὰ
δὲ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἰὼν τὰς ἡπειρώτιδας πόλιν παρήϊε· τῶν ἐν
μῇ λίμνῃ ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει ὥσπερ τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη
τὴν περίοδον, ἰχθυώδης τε καὶ κάρτα ἀλμυρὴ· ταύτην τὰ ὑποζύγια *The salt lake near the town*
μοῦνα ἀρδόμενα ἀνεξήρηνε· τῇ δὲ πόλει ταύτῃ οὐνομά ἐστι Πίστυ- *Pistyrus.*
ρος· ταύτας μὲν δὴ τὰς πόλιν, τὰς παραθαλασσίας τε καὶ Ἑλλη-
νίδας, ἐξ εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἀπέργων παρεξήϊε. Ἔθνεα δὲ Θρηϊκῶν, **110**
δι' ὧν τῆς χώρας ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, τοσάδε· Παῖτοι, Κίκονες, Βίστονες, *The Thracian tribes*
Σαπαῖοι, Δερσαῖοι, Ἰδωνοὶ, Σάτραι· τούτων οἱ μὲν παρὰ θάλασ- *through which the*
σαν κατοικημένοι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν μεσό- *army passed*
γαιαν οἰκέοντες, καταλεχθέντες τε ὑπ' ἐμεῦ, πλὴν Σατρέων οἱ *were all*
ἄλλοι πάντες περὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι εἶποντο. Σάτραι δὲ οὐδενὸς *compelled*
κω ἀνθρώπων ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀλλὰ διατελευσι **111**
τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἔοντες ἐλεύθεροι, μῦνοι Θρηϊκῶν· οἰκέουσιν τε *force, except the*
γὰρ οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ, ἰδησί τε παντοίησι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ *Satraz, among*
εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. οὗτοι οἱ τοῦ Διόνυσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι *whom is the oracle*
ἐκτμημένοι³¹⁴. τὸ δὲ μαντήϊον τοῦτο ἔστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρέων τῶν *of Dionysus, and the*
Bessians.

afforded of watering his army. Stores would probably be supplied by sea, and magazines of grain formed at the towns on the coast which are mentioned. Abdera seems to have been a principal port of the Persians,—apparently a naval arsenal. (See vi. 46, 47.)

³¹³ Τραυός. There is no doubt some connexion between this river and the tribe (*Trausi*) mentioned above, v. 4.

³¹⁴ οἱ τοῦ Διόνυσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἐκτμημένοι, "these are the possessors of the celebrated temple of Dionysus." The use of the article, as in many similar cases, indicates that the author is speaking of a thing well known by common report,—doubtless derived originally from the traders on the coast. This is the *Dionysus* mentioned by EURIPIDES: ὁ Θρηϊκὸς μάντις εἶπε Διόνυσος τάδε. (*Hecuba*, 1267.) For the nature of this Dionysus, not the rustic deity, but the conquering leader, see note 15 on v. 7. His worship had in early times extended as far as Delphi, where he is invoked by the priestess in ÆSCHYLUS (*Eumenides*, 24) under the name of Bromius, a word sig-

nificant of orgiastic rites. From the time of EURIPIDES a syncretism of this deity with the wine-god seems to have been generally accepted, the connecting link being the physical excitement caused either by intoxication or by other means. Thus Tiresias says:

μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὅδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσι-
μον
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες μαντικὴν πολλὴν ἔχει·
ὅταν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμ' ἔλθῃ πολὺς,
λέγειν τὸ μέλλον τοὺς μεμνηνότες ποιεῖ.
(*Bacch.* 298.)

On this principle Hecuba (*Hecub.* 123) calls Cassandra μαντίπολος Βάκχα, although her inspiration proceeds from Apollo. In later times legends were coined to connect the Delphic Apollo with Dionysus mythically. One in the latest form is given by CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS. (*Protrept.* i. § 18.) When the Titans had destroyed Dionysus, and put his mangled fragments into a cauldron, Zeus appeared, scattered them with his thunderbolts, and gave the mutilated members to Apollo to bury. Apollo car-

ὑψηλοτάτων Βησσοί³¹⁵ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέουσα³¹⁶, κατὰπερ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλιώτερον.

112

He then passes by the *Pierian* castles, leaving Mount *Pangæum* on his left, and from

Παραμειψάμενος δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης τὴν εἰρημένην, δεύτερα τούτων παραμείβετο τείχεα τὰ Πιέρων· τῶν καὶ ἐνὶ Φάγρης ἐστὶ οὐνομα, καὶ ἐτέρῳ Πέργαμος· ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τείχεα τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο, ἐκ δεξιῆς χερὸς τὸ Πάγγαιον οὐρος ἀπέργων, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ὑψηλόν· ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνὶ μέταλλα³¹⁷, τὰ νέμονται Πιέρεις τε καὶ Ὀδομαντοί, καὶ μάλιστα Σάτραι.

113

thence through the territory of the *Pæonians*, *Doberes*, and *Pæopla*, to *Eion* on the Strymon, where the *Magi* offer a sacrifice of white

οικέοντας δὲ τὸ Πάγγαιον πρὸς βορέῳ ἀνέμου Παίονας³¹⁸ Δόβηράς τε καὶ Παιόπλας παρεξιὼν, ἥϊε πρὸς ἐσπέρην· ἐς ὃ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ποταμόν τε Στρυμόνα καὶ πόλιν Ἡϊόνα, τῆς ἔτι ζωὸς ἐὼν ἥρχε Βόγης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων λόγον ἐποιεύμην· ἡ δὲ γῆ αὕτῃ ἢ περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καλέεται Φυλλίς· κατατείνουσα, τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρην, ἐπὶ ποταμόν Ἀγγίτην ἐκδιδόντα ἐς τὸν Στρυμόνα· τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, τείνουσα ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα, ἐς

114

τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιρέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς³¹⁹. Φαρμα-

ried them to Parnassus, and there interred them. Compare PLUTARCH (*de Deo Delph.* § 9) and TZETZES (*on Lycoph.* 207). It is plain from the terms of this account that it implies a previous identification of Dionysus with Osiris, and perhaps also of each of these with the vitalizing power of nature symbolized by the sun,—all of which notions are (I believe) later than the time of Alexander.

³¹⁵ Βησσοί. The female votaries were called Βασσαρίδες, and *Bassareus* is the name under which the deity was invoked. (HORACE, *Od.* i. 18. 11.) This tribe appears to have stood in somewhat the same relation to the temple of Dionysus as the Selli to that of the Dodongean Zeus, and the Delphi to that of Apollo. Strictly speaking, Apollo (Loxias) was the *προφήτης* of Zeus at Pytho, but still the term was, as in the case of the Bessi, applied to the Delphians themselves. See EURIPIDES (*Ion*, 413. 416):

ΞΟΥΘ. τίς προφητεύει θεοῦ;
ΙΩΝ. Δελφῶν ἀριστῆς οὗς ἐκλήρωσεν πά-
λος.

See also note 158 on ii. 55. It is probable that this oracle was founded by settlers coming in remote times from the east. (See v. 9, and the notes thereon.) The

word *Bessus* is the name of the satrap of Bactria, who murdered Darius after the battle of Arbela.

³¹⁶ χρέουσα. The manuscripts S, V, P, K, F, b have χρέωσα, which (from the form χράω) is defensible by the analogy of *δρέωντες*, *δρέωσι*, from *δράω*.

³¹⁷ ἐν τῷ χρύσεά τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ἐνὶ μέταλλα. From here perhaps was derived that revenue which Herodotus mentions Pisistratus to have obtained 'from the Strymon' (i. 64). Hence his connexion with the king of Macedonia (v. 94).

³¹⁸ Παίονας. These and the *Pæopla* are represented (v. 15) as having been subjugated by the Persian forces and transported into Asia; but in the same place it is stated that the *Doberes* were not at that time conquered, although subsequently their subjection may have followed.

³¹⁹ ἐς τὸν οἱ Μάγοι ἐκαλλιρέοντο σφάζοντες ἵππους λευκοὺς. The victims were so placed that the jet of blood from the stab fell into the stream. See notes 35 and 37 on iii. 11. STRABO mentions that the Persians were very careful when they sacrificed a victim to a river, *not* to let the blood fall into it, but into a trench dug for the purpose (xv. c. 3, p. 326). The account in the text, therefore, if true, can

κεύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοισι, *horses to the river.*
 ἐν Ἑννέα Ὀδοῖσι³²⁰ τῇσι Ἡδωνῶν ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὰς γεφύρας, *He then crosses the*
 τὸν Στρυμόνα εὐρόντες ἐξενγμένον. Ἑννέα δὲ Ὀδοὺς πυνθανό- *Strymon by the bridge*
 μενοι τὸν χώρον τοῦτον καλέεσθαι, τοσούτους ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας τε *which he finds laid*
 καὶ παρθένους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ζώντας κατῶρυσσον. (Περ- *across at*
 σικὸν δὲ τὸ ζώντας κατορύσσειν³²¹. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμνηστριν τὴν Ἑξέρξει *"the Nine Ways."*
 γυναῖκα πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις ἑπτὰ³²² Περσέων παῖδας *Vivisepul-*
 ἑόντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῆς τῇ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι *ture of*
 θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι κατορύσσουσιν.) *eighteen of the natives.*

Ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατὸς, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς 115
 ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ αἰγιαλὸς, ἐν τῷ οἰκημένην Ἀργίλου πόλιν *Another in-*
 Ἑλλάδα παρεξήϊε· αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης καλέεται *stance of the*
 Βισαλτίνη· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδηΐου³²³ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς *same prac-*
tice.

hardly be of a pure Persian ritual. See note 322, below. Tiridates in after times sacrificed a horse to the Euphrates (TACITUS, *Annal.* vi. 37) when intending to pass that river; and the proceeding of Julius Cæsar (see SÜETONIUS, quoted in note 174 on ii. 65) was perhaps intended to be in honour of the Rubicon. But originally among the Persians the horse seems to have been a victim appropriated to the *sun-god*. See XENOPHON, *Anab.* iv. 5; *Cyrop.* viii. 3, compared with note 713 on Herodotus, i. 216. STRABO too says of the Persians: ὅτῳ ἂν θύσωσι θεῷ, πρῶτῳ τῷ πυρὶ εὐχονται. (l. c.)

³²⁰ ἐν Ἑννέα Ὀδοῖσι. This is the same place which was afterwards so celebrated under the name of *Amphipolis*. That Herodotus should not mention it, has been accounted for by the hypothesis that he was at Thurii when he wrote this part of his work, and had gone there before the new foundation, which took place B.C. 437.

³²¹ Περσικὸν δὲ τὸ ζώντας κατορύσσειν. This assertion is very suspicious, if it be intended to represent the practice as a part of the religious ritual of the genuine Ormuzd-worshippers. But it is very probable that under the reign of Xerxes, and possibly the latter part of that of Darius also, foreign religious ideas may have gained ground in the Persian court. See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 435. The proceeding of Amestris may perhaps be accounted for on this principle. She, and (through her) her husband, may have be-

come addicted to the mysteries imported by foreigners into Susa, just as the Roman ladies under the empire were devoted to the ritual of Isis or of Serapis; and if the Persians acted as described at 'the Nine Ways,' this may have arisen either from the desire to gratify the individual superstition of Xerxes, or may have been the act of a portion only of the multifarious army accompanying him, in accordance with *their* national ceremonies. It is to be observed that these words do not exist in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, although the following clause does. (See note 103 on iii. 35.)

³²² δις ἑπτὰ. Probably there were seven of each sex, and the same in the case of the sacrifice which Cyrus is said to have designed to offer (i. 86), for no where does *fourteen* ever appear to have been a sacred number. But if victims of both sexes were taken, the deity to which they were offered was most likely an union of two, a male and female. In this instance it would probably be a pair analogous to Hades and Persephone, in the other to Hecatus and Hecate, or Helios and Selene. See notes 308 and 506 on Book I., and also 219 on vi. 97.

³²³ κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδηΐου. The MSS have Ποσιδηΐου, but I have not hesitated to insert ε. The gulf is not named, but described by a landmark such as would be familiar to a navigator, and as such doubtless named after the sea-god.

Next he passes by *Argilus* and *Stagirus*, and halts at *Acanthus*, where the whole force is assembled.

116

Favour shown to the Acanthians.

χερὸς ἔχων, ἥϊε διὰ Συλῆος πεδίου καλεομένου, Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα³²⁴ παραμειβόμενος, καὶ ἀπίκητο ἐς Ἀκανθον ἅμα ἀγόμενος τούτων ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνέων, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος οἰκούντων ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν πρότερον κατέλεξα, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχων οἰκημένους ἐν νηυσὶ στρατευομένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης πεζῇ ἐπομένους· τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν ταύτην, τῇ βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τὸν στρατὸν ἤλασε, οὔτε συγχέουσι Θρηῖκες οὔτ' ἐπισπείρουσι, σέβονται τε μεγάλως τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἐς τὴν Ἀκανθον ἀπίκητο, ξεινὴν τε ὁ Πέρσης³²⁵ τοῖσι Ἀκανθίοισι προεῖπε καὶ ἐδωρήσατό σφεας ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ³²⁶, ἐπαίνεέ τε ὀρέων αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἔοντας³²⁷ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων.

117

Death of *Artachæas*, to whom the Acanthians pay the honours of a hero.

Ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἔοντος Ξέρξεω, συνήνεικε ὑπὸ νούσου ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίην³²⁸, δόκιμον ἔοντα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ καὶ γένος Ἀχαιμενίδην, μεγάλῃ τε μέγιστον ἔοντα Περσέων—ἀπὸ γὰρ πέντε πηχέων βασιλῆων³²⁹ ἀπέλιπε τέσσερας δακτύλους—φωνούντά τε μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων ὥστε Ξέρξεα, συμφορὴν ποιησάμενον μεγάλην, ἐξευεῖκαί τε αὐτὸν κάλλιστα καὶ θάψαι· ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή· τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχαίῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὡς ἥρωϊ, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὔνομα. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης, ἀπολομένου Ἀρταχαίεω, ἐποίεετο συμφορὴν.

118

Ruinous cost of entertaining Xerxes.

Οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπικέατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀνάστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου γε Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασιν Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργεὸς ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος

³²⁴ Στάγειρον πόλιν Ἑλλάδα. Both this town and Acanthus were colonized from Andros. (THUCYDIDES, iv. 84, 88.)

³²⁵ ὁ Πέρσης. The manuscripts S, V, P, F, a have Ξέρξης. See note on § 133, below. The phrase ξεινὴν προεῖπε does not mean "ordered a banquet," but "offered alliance." See viii. 120: ξεινὴν σφι συνθέμενος. Doubtless the honour entailed the cost of entertainment.

³²⁶ ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῇ. See iii. 84.

³²⁷ ὀρέων αὐτοὺς προθύμους ἔοντας. The commercial advantages resulting from the expenditure of the people employed in cutting the canal would no doubt make

their employer popular in any neighbouring town. It would be of great importance to Xerxes to conciliate the Acanthians, who by destroying the canal would have done him incalculable mischief; and they, for their parts, doubtless viewed the construction of such a work near their own town with the greatest satisfaction, knowing the impulse which would by it be given to their trade.

³²⁸ Ἀρταχαίην. He had a colleague. See above, § 22.

³²⁹ πηχέων βασιλῆων. See note 597 on i. 178.

ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστά, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα. Ὡς δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλησι πόλιν οἱ ἐπεστεῶτες ἀπεδείκνυσαν τὸν λόγον· τὸ γὰρ δεῖπνον τοῖονδε τι ἐγένετο, οἷα ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου προειρημένον καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενον· τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελόντων³³⁰, δασάμενοι σῖτον ἐν τῇσι πόλιν οἱ ἀστοὶ ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄλφита ἐποίουν πάντες ἐπὶ μῆνας συχνούς· τοῦτο δὲ, κτήνεα σιτεύεσκον ἐξευρίσκοντες τιμῆς τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔτρεφόν τε ὄρνιθας χερσαίους καὶ λιμναίους ἔν τε οἰκήμασι καὶ λάκκοις, ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ, χρυσεὰ τε καὶ ἀργύρεα ποτήριά τε καὶ κρητῆρας ἐποιεῖντο, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν τιθέαται πάντα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖσι ὁμοσίτοις μετ' ἐκείνου ἐπεποιήτο, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ τὰ ἐς φορβὴν μούνα τασσόμενα. ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκαιτο ἡ στρατιή, σκηνὴ μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα ἐτοίμη ἐς τὴν αὐτὸς σταθμὸν ποιέεσκετο Ξέρξης· ἡ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ ἔσκε ὑπαίθριος· ὡς δὲ δεῖπνον γίνοντο ὦρη, οἱ μὲν δεκόμενοι ἔχεσκον πόνον· οἱ δὲ, ὅκως πλησθέντες νύκτα αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπάσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλά πάντα λαβόντες, οὕτω ἀπελάυνεσκον, λείποντες οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ φερόμενοι· Ἐνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρί-
 120
 A bitter
 jest of
 Megacreon
 of Abdera
 on the sub-
 ject.
 τω ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτησι, παν-
 δημεὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ, ἵζεσθαι
 ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφι ἀπαμύνειν
 τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα³³¹. τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν
 σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης
 ἐνόμισε σῖτον αἰρέεσθαι· παρέχει γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτησι, εἰ καὶ
 ἄριστον προείρητο ὁμοῖα τῷ δεῖπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπο-
 μένειν Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα, ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώ-
 πων διατριβῆναι³³². οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὁμοίως τὸ ἐπιτασσό-
 μενον ἐπετέλεον.

³³⁰ τῶν κηρύκων τῶν περιαγγελόντων. These were sent out as soon as Xerxes had arrived at Sardis. See above, § 32.

³³¹ τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα. The Abderitan population was familiar with calamity; for the town itself had been founded by the population of Teos, who left their native country *en masse* to avoid falling under the power of Harpagus

(i. 163). But both the phrase which Herodotus there uses: *Τῆϊον τῶν ἐν Ἀβδηρίοις*, and the close alliance formed by Xerxes with the town (viii. 120), would induce the belief that the bulk of the population consisted of others than the original colonists.

³³² παρέχει γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτησι, . . . διατριβῆναι. These words are not to be

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From Acanthus Xerxes proceeds across by land to Therme,

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ πορεύεσθαι τὰς νέας· (Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει) ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι³³³. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Ἀκάνθου ὧδε τεταγμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ Δορίσκου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐποιέετο· τρεῖς μοίρας ὁ Ξέρξης δασάμενος³³⁴ πάντα τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, μίαν αὐτέων ἔταξε παρὰ θάλασσαν ἵεναι ὁμοῦ τῷ ναυτικῷ· ταύτης μὲν δὴ ἐστρατήγεον Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Μασίστης· ἑτέρη δὲ τεταγμένη ἦιε τοῦ στρατοῦ τριτημορίς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τῆς ἐστρατήγεον Τριτανταίχμης τε καὶ Γέργις· ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν μοιρέων, μετ' ἧς ἐπορεύετο αὐτὸς ὁ Ξέρξης, ἦιε μὲν τὸ μέσον αὐτέων, στρατηγοὺς δὲ παρείχετο Σμερδομένεά τε καὶ Μεγάβυζον.

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sending the fleet through the canal to sail round the Sithonian and the Pallanian peninsulas. Its course,

Ὁ μὲν νυν ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὡς ἀπείθη ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω, καὶ διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀθῷ γενομένην διέχουσαν δὲ ἐς κόλπον ἐν τῷ Ἀσσα τε πόλιν καὶ Πίλωρος καὶ Σίγγος καὶ Σάρτη οἰκηται· ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τουτέων τῶν πολλῶν στρατιὴν παρέλαβε, ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος ἐς τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον, κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον τὴν³³⁵ Τορωναίην ἄκρην³³⁶, παραμείβετο Ἑλληνίδας

considered as a part of the saying of Megacreon, but as an explanation, on the part of the author, of the thought which suggested his remark. The failure both here and in iv. 144, to observe where the actual saying ended, has caused a witty remark to be regarded as an insipidity by some modern critics.

³³³ συντομώτατον εἶναι, "was the shortest cut across."

³³⁴ τρεῖς μοίρας . . . δασάμενος. This is a similar expression to *δωδέκα μοίρας δασ.* Αἴγυπτον *πᾶσαν* (ii. 147), where see note 435. The regimen is the same as if the writer had said *τριχῇ δασάμενος*, a phrase which he uses in iii. 39. For the previous mention of the generals in command of these main divisions of the army, see above, § 82. Comparing the order in which they are there given with this passage, one may conjecture that Masistes, Gergis, and Megabyzus were subordinated to the generals with whom they are here respectively associated. Perhaps Masistes was placed with Mardonius on account of the recognized military skill of the latter, whose corps certainly had the most important work to do, and who had himself

experience of the region in which the movement took place. See above, note 250 on § 82.

³³⁵ ἔπλεε ἀπιέμενος . . . Ἀμπελον τὴν. These words are omitted in F.

³³⁶ κάμπτων δὲ Ἀμπελον τὴν Τορωναίην ἄκρην. As the text stands the meaning would be that *in* the rounding Ampelus, the fleet passed the Greek towns presently mentioned. This, however, is an impossibility. (See note 341, below.) If the MSS were not unanimous, I should be disposed to put a colon after *ἄκρην* and insert δὲ after the following word *παραμείβετο*. In this case the words (ἔπλεε . . . ἄκρην) would merely give the general direction of the course of the fleet. "It sailed off into the Thermæan gulf and round Ampelus, the headland of Torone,"—just such a description as an inhabitant of *Sane*, in the isthmus of Athos, would give of what he saw take place under his eyes. Then follows an account, which would naturally be derived from other sources, of the towns from which it levied contingents as it passed them.

τάσδε πόλις³³⁷ ἐκ τῶν νέας τε καὶ στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε· Τορώ-
νην, Γαληψὸν³³⁸, Σερμύλην, Μηκύβερναν³³⁹, Ὀλυνθον· ἡ μὲν νῦν
χώρη αὕτη Σιθωνίη³¹⁰ καλεῖται. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω, 123
συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Κανάστραιον ἄκρην³¹¹, τὸ δὲ
πάσης τῆς Παλλήνης ἀνέχει μάλιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν νέας τε καὶ στρα-
τιὴν παρελάμβανε ἐκ Ποτιδαίης, καὶ Ἀφύτιος, καὶ Νέης Πό-
λιος, καὶ Αἰγῆς, καὶ Θεράμβω, καὶ Σκιώνης, καὶ Μένδης, καὶ
Σάνης^{342 343}. αὗται γάρ εἰσι αἱ τὴν νῦν Παλλήνην πρότερον δὲ

and the
towns from
which it
obtained
reinforce-
ments,

³³⁷ Ἑλληνίδας τάσδε πόλις. By this expression being used here, one would suspect that Assa, Pílorus, Singus, and Sarta were *not* settlements of Greeks. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS describes each of them as πόλις πρὸς τῷ Ἀθῷ, or περὶ τὸν Ἀθῶν. It is probable that the Greeks would only know of them by hearsay at Sane, the Hellenic city on the isthmus, and would not willingly enter the gulf in which they lay. From the description of Herodotus it is impossible to say whether they were on the eastern or western shore. Σάρτη seems to be merely a dialectal variation of Σάτρη (a name which must certainly be Thracian, see above, § 111); and Assa is, according to STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, the name also of a Scythian village. Neither have the other two names at all a Hellenic character.

³³⁸ Γαληψόν. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (sub v.) calls this πόλις Θράκης καὶ Παιόνων, quoting as his authority the *Europe* of HECATÆUS. Both he and THUCYDIDES (iv. 107), who puts *Myrcinus*, *Galepsus*, and *Æsume* together, probably allude to a town to the east of the embouchure of the Strymon, assigned to that locality by STRABO (vii. *fragm.* 15). Thucydides knows of no Galepsus in the locality here ascribed to it by Herodotus. He calls Galepsus a Thasian colony (l. c. and v. 6), which would certainly not induce one to look for it to the west of Mount Athos. Stephanus also calls *Sermylia* πόλις περὶ τὸν Ἀθῶν, on the authority of Hecateus, which would bring it at any rate to the east of Point Ampelus. Thucydides speaks of a *Hermyle*, which is doubtless the same town (i. 65; v. 18), but not so as to decide whether it is to be looked for in the Toronean or the Singitic gulf.

³³⁹ Μηκύβερναν. STRABO calls this place the arsenal (ἐπίνειον) of Olynthus (vii. *fragm.* 13).

³⁴⁰ Σιθωνίη. S has Σιθονίη, which accords with the quantity of the word in Latin.

³⁴¹ συντάμνων ἀπ' Ἀμπέλου ἄκρης ἐπὶ Κανάστραιον ἄκρην, "after making a short cut from Point Ampelus to Point Canastræum." STRABO makes the opposite headland to *Canastrum* to be a point called *Derris* (vii. *fragm.* 15). There is some difficulty in reconciling the probable movements of the fleet with Herodotus's account. *Torone*, *Mecyberna*, and *Olynthus* at any rate could not have been visited by it until *after* Point Ampelus had been rounded. Perhaps we may regard the great bulk of the force as lying sheltered to the west of the headlands Ampelus or Derris, and a land force (possibly with the co-operation of light vessels) overrunning the Sithonian peninsula and pressing the inhabitants of the several cities. When these were collected, the whole armament would then make the short passage across to Point Canastræum, and take up a similar position while the operation was repeated with the towns of Pallene. It is not conceivable that the *whole* fleet should make the circuit of the Toronaic gulf, and afterwards return to Point Ampelus in order to cross it at the narrowest part.

³⁴² ἐκ Ποτιδαίης . . . Σάνης. SCYLAX gives the Pallenean towns in the following order: *Potidea*, *Mende*, *Aphytis*, *Thrambos*, *Scione*, after which comes "Canastræum the sacred headland." He names no others in that peninsula (§ 67, p. 26, Hudson).

³⁴³ Σάνης. There is no trace earlier than a fragment of STRABO (vii. *fr.* 12),—which is apparently founded on this passage,—of any town of this name in the peninsula of Pallene. The Sane, which THUCYDIDES speaks of (v. 18), is the town mentioned by Herodotus above (§ 22). See note 96 on that passage.

Φλέγρην καλεομένην νεμόμεναι. παραπλέων δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔπλεε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, παραλαμβάνων στρατιὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν προσεχέων πολίων τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ὁμουρεουσέων δὲ τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλῳ, τῇσι οὐνόματά ἐστι τάδε· Λίπαξος, Κώμβρεια, Λίσαι, Γίγωνος, Κάμψα, Σμίλα, Αἴνεια³⁴⁴. ἡ δὲ τουτέων χώρα Κροσσαίη ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε καλέεται. ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰνείης, ἐς τὴν ἐτελεύτων καταλέγων τὰς πόλεις, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη ἐς αὐτὸν τε τὸν Θερμαῖον κόλπον ἐγένετο τῷ ναυτικῷ στρατῷ ὁ πλόος καὶ γῆν τὴν Μυγδονίην· πλέων δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τε τὴν προειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σινδὸν τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην³⁴⁵, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν ὃς οὐρίζει χώραν τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαϊίδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στεῖνόν χωρίον πόλιν Ἰχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα³⁴⁶.

124 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν καὶ πόλιν Θέρμην καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ πόλιν τουτέων, περιμένων βασιλέα, ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἐπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου³⁴⁷, τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ, βουλόμενος ἐς

I believe it here, like Galepsus in the last section, to be introduced by an error.

³⁴⁴ Λίπαξος . . . Αἴνεια. These were probably mere hamlets. When Cassander founded the city *Thessalonica*, he transferred to it the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages (πολιχναί), of which *Aeneia* is mentioned by STRABO as one (vii. *fragm.* 10).

³⁴⁵ Χαλέστρην. HERCULEUS stated that this town was inhabited by a pure Thracian population; *Therme* by Thracian Hellenes. (STEPH. BYZ. v. Χαλ.)

³⁴⁶ Πέλλα. It is to be remarked that at this time Pella is not even Macedonian. It owed its importance to Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, after he became king; he having been brought up there. SCYLAX (§ 67) mentions a Πολύγυλις, where there was a royal palace, and from the site it seems almost certain that this was at Pella; for that (see STRABO, vii. *fr.* 8) was ninety *stades*' sail up the river Lydias. Voss wishes to alter the text of Scylax to Πέλλα πόλις, but perhaps the form in Scylax is the old Bottiæan name. Another suggestion is, that ΠΟΛΑΓΙΛΙΣ is a corruption from ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΙΓΑΙ, *Ægæ* being the residence of the Macedonian kings before the time of Philip. But *Ægæ* was high up in the mountains, and would never be mentioned in a descrip-

tion of the coast. LIVING gives a very graphic description of Pella at the time it was occupied by the Romans in B.C. 168 (xliv. 46).

³⁴⁷ Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου.

These words must be taken with considerable allowance. It cannot be supposed that the whole land army of Xerxes deviated so far from the direct route to Macedonia as to go to Acanthus. The main division would doubtless have held that course which in subsequent times is marked in the ANTONINE ITINERARY, leading from Amphipolis (*The Nine Ways* where Xerxes crossed the Strymon, §14) to Thessalonica (*Therme*) through Apollonia. The distance is variously given as 67, 68, and 69 Roman miles, in the Antonine Itinerary, the Peutinger Table, and the Jerusalem Itinerary, which are compared by HOFFMANN (*Griechenland*, p. 119). From the head of the valley called *Arethusa* (where there was a station of the same name, and in which the town *Stagirus* lay) there was a steep mountain-road, called *Acontisma* from its precipitous character, which likewise led into Macedonia. (AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, xxvii. 4.) Both of these routes, (of which perhaps the latter ultimately fell into the former,) would have run along the northern side of the mountain ridge which formed the

until it finally reached *Therme*, *Sindus*, and *Chalestra* on the *Aaius*.

Xerxes with the army proceeds direct over-land to *Therme*

τὴν Θέρμην ἀπικέσθαι ἐπορεύετο δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιονικῆς καὶ through
 Κρηστωνικῆς ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐχειδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξά- *Paeonia and*
 μενος, ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας, καὶ ἐξίει ³⁴⁸ παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' *Crestonia,*
 Ἄξιῳ ποταμῷ. Πορευομένῳ δὲ ταύτῃ, λέοντες οἱ ἐπεθήκαντο τῇσι *in which*
 125
 σιτοφόροισι καμήλοισι· καταφοιτέοντες γὰρ οἱ λέοντες τὰς νύκτας, *passage his*
 καὶ λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἦθεα, ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄπτοντο οὔτε *baggage*
 ὑποζυγίου οὔτε ἀνθρώπου, οἱ δὲ τὰς καμήλους ἐκεραΐζον μούνας. *camels were*
 126
 θωμάζω δὲ τὸ αἴτιον ὃ τι κοτὲ ἦν, τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἀναγκάζον ἀπ- *attacked by*
 εχομένους τοὺς λέοντας τῇσι καμήλοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι· τὸ μῆτε πρό- *lions.*
 τερον ὁπώπεσαν θηρίον, μῆτ' ἐπεπειρέατο αὐτοῦ. Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ
 ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λέοντες πολλοὶ, καὶ βόες ἄγριοι τῶν τὰ κέρα
 ὑπερμεγάθεά ἐστι, τὰ ἐς Ἑλληνας φοιτέοντα. οὖρος δὲ τοῖσι
 λέουσί ἐστι ὃ τε δι' Ἀβδήρων ῥέων ποταμὸς Νέστος, καὶ ὁ δι'
 Ἀκαρνανίης ῥέων Ἀχελῷος· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τοῦ Νέστου
 οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθεν Εὐρώπης ἴδοι τις ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε
 πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελῷου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ ἡπείρῳ· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ
 μεταξὺ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκετο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἴδρυσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν *127*
 στρατιήν· ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδεύόμενος τὴν *Position of*
 παρὰ θάλασσαν χώραν τοσὴνδε· ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος *the Persian*
 καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης, μέχρι Λυδιῶ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, *army on*
 οἱ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαϊίδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν *forming a*
 ῥέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες ³⁴⁹. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν *junction*
 128
 τῇσι ποταμοῖς, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔκρινον ἐν τῇσι ποταμοῖς, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν *with the*
 ἔκρινον ἐν τῇσι ποταμοῖς, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔκρινον ἐν τῇσι ποταμοῖς, *fleet.*

boundary of Chalcidice, and by going to Acanthus, this would have been crossed and recrossed. This it is very likely might have been done by the king with the troops in immediate attendance on his person, but certainly not by the whole army. If we suppose the main force to have moved on the line of the road above mentioned, the circumstance of the large number of wild animals observed in the march may be explained. The whole country to the north will have been beaten by the troops moving through it, and the lions and other animals previously dispersed over it, λείποντες τὰ σφέτερα ἦθεα, will have been forced into the region which the king, on his route from Acanthus, would have to pass through. Considering the passion of the oriental sovereigns for the chase, and the provision made for it by taking hounds with the army (§ 187), it

is far from unlikely that one motive which carried Xerxes out of his way to Acanthus was to take advantage of this operation,—which would have secured him the pleasure of the sport during the whole passage. A similar reason may have induced him to take the course over Ida, while his army went round by the coast, as is suggested in the note 148 on § 42, above. It will be observed that all particulars of the course which he took are wanting, except the circumstances that he directed it to the river Echedorus, and that he found a very large number of wild animals, particularly lions, which were especially attracted by the camels. This would be a matter of talk at the Macedonian court when he arrived; and thus would get to the Greeks.

³⁴⁸ ἐξίει. See note 604 on i. 180.

³⁴⁹ οἱ οὐρίζουσι τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες. In the time of the compila-

128

Xerxes
visits the
embouchure
of the *Peneus*.

τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοισι οἱ βάρβαροι. τῶν δὲ καταλεχθέντων τούτων ποταμῶν, ἐκ Κρηστωναιῆς ῥέων Ἐχέιδωρος μῦνος οὐκ ἀντέχρησε τῇ στρατῇ πινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπέλιπε. Ἐέρξης δὲ ὁρέων ἐκ τῆς Θέρμης οὐρεα τὰ Θεσσαλικά, τὸν τε Ὀλυμπον καὶ τὴν Ὀσσαν, μεγάθει τε ὑπερμήκεα ἔοντα, διὰ μέσου τε αὐτῶν αὐλῶνα στεινὸν πυνθάνομενος εἶναι δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειὸς, ἀκούων τε εἶναι ταύτη ὁδὸν ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρουσαν, ἐπεθύμησε πλώσας θεῖσασθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ ὅτι τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν ἔμελλε ἔλαιν διὰ Μακεδόνων τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων³⁵⁰, ἐς Περραιβοὺς παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν³⁵¹. ταύτη γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ὥς

tion of SCYLAX's work, the two rivers seem to have found their way into the sea by separate channels; and the city *Alorus* (called by PLINY, iv. 10, *Olorus*) is placed between the two embouchures (§ 67, p. 26, Hudson). STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (sub v.) calls *Alorus* a Macedonian town at the very head of the Thermæan gulf. It is therefore obviously on the coast. An inference from this would be, either that the river *Lydias* had changed its direction between the time of Herodotus and the compilation of Scylax's work, or that the geography of the former was at fault. The first of these suppositions is by no means unlikely; for the enormous deposits of alluvium in this district, and the great variation in the amount of water brought down at different seasons, would very easily occasion the formation of a new mouth. In this case the Macedonian territory may have been conceived by Herodotus as the space in the fork between the *Haliacmon* and the *Lydias*, and the *Bottiaean* as the southern bank of the lower *Haliacmon* and the northern of the lower *Lydias*. Thus we may reconcile his statement with that of THUCYDIDES (ii. 99), who represents "Alexander" (the prince mentioned above, v. 17) "and his ancestors" as having expelled the *Pieræ* from *Pieria*, the *Bottiaei* from *Bottia*, the *Pæonians* from a narrow slip along the s.w. bank of the *Axius* down as far as *Pella* and the sea, and the *Edones* from the other side of the *Axius* as far as the *Strymon*. Considering the intrigues of Alexander with the Persian court (notes 56 on v. 21 and 110 on vi. 44), it seems not unlikely that the presence of the Persian armament on this occasion gave him the opportunity of completing his part of this revolution. (See note 45 on v. 17.) GROTE (*History of*

Greece, vol. iv. p. 18) rejects the account of Thucydides, which he regards as incompatible with that of Herodotus, and as not leaving sufficient room for the *Bottiaean* on the coast north of the *Pierians*. The circumstance of Herodotus not mentioning the original seats of the *Pierians*, but merely speaking of them as in *Mount Pangæus* (§ 112, above), is well accounted for by supposing their displacement to have been effected by "the ancestors" of Alexander.

³⁵⁰ τῶν κατύπερθε οἰκημένων, "the mountaineers," as opposed to those on the narrow strip of sea-coast, but not necessarily the inhabitants of *upper Macedonia*. The mountain defiles, which nearly proved fatal to a Roman consul (see next note) were only twelve miles from *Dium*. (LIVY, xliv. 4.)

³⁵¹ παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν. LIVY describes this town as in a narrow pass, and as a point from which a descent into *Thessaly* from *Macedonia* might be advantageously effected. "Ante ipsa Tempe in faucibus situm Macedoniae claustra tutissima præbet, et in Thessaliam opportunum Macedonibus decursum." The consul *Crassus* made an attempt upon it, but "quum et loco et præsidio valido inexpugnabilis esset, abstiit incepto" (xlii. 67). But the descent was in 169 B.C. so difficult as to be impossible if the pass were resolutely defended. In the narrowest part ten men could have maintained their ground against an army. (See the description in LIVY, xliv. 6.) But the *Aleuadæ* had probably secured the co-operation of the mountaineers with Xerxes, and the pioneering operations of the army (below, § 131) doubtless removed much of the natural difficulty. HAWKINS, who visited *Tempe* in 1797, seems inclined to place *Gonnus* on the south side of the *Peneus*, where

δὲ ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ἐποίηε ταῦτα· ἐσβὰς ἐς Σιδωνίην νέα, ἐς τήνπερ ἐσέβαινε αἰεὶ ὅκως τι ἐθέλοι τοιοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀνέδεξε σημήϊον καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνάγεσθαι, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆκετο καὶ ἐθεήσατο Ξέρξης τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέσχετο· καλέσας δὲ τοὺς κατηγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἶρετο εἰ τὸν ποταμόν ἐστι παρατρέψαντα ἐτέρῃ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξαγαγεῖν; (Τὴν δὲ Θεσσαλὴν λόγος ἐστὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι 129
λίμνην, ὥστε γε συγκεκληϊσμένην πάντοθεν ὑπερμήκεσι οὖρεσι· The whole of Thessaly was formerly a lake, τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἔχοντα τό τε Πήλιον οὖρος καὶ ἡ Ὕσσα ἀποκλήει συμμίσγοντα τὰς ὑπαρείας ἀλλήλοισι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέῳ ἀνέμου ὁ Οὐλυμπος³³², τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Πίνδος· τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἡ Ὀθρυς· τὸ μέσον δὲ τούτων τῶν λεχθέντων οὐρέων ἡ Θεσσαλίη ἐστὶ, ἐοῦσα κοίλῃ· ὥστε ὦν ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄλλων συχνῶν ἐσβαλλόντων, πέντε δὲ τῶν δοκίμων μάλιστα τῶνδε, Πηνειοῦ, καὶ Ἀπιδανοῦ, καὶ Ὀνοχώνου, καὶ Ἐνιπέος, καὶ Παμίσου, οἱ μὲν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τῶν περικληϊόντων τὴν Θεσσαλὴν οὐνομαζόμενοι, δι' ἐνὸς αὐλῶνος, καὶ τούτου στεينوῦ, ἔκρουον ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσγοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς τῶντό· ἐπεὰν δὲ συμμιχθῶσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη ὁ Πηνειὸς τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων, ἀωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιεῖν· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν λέγεται, οὐκ ἐόντος κω τοῦ αὐλῶνος καὶ διεκρούου τούτου, τοὺς ποταμοὺς τούτους, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι τοῦτοις τὴν Βοιβηίδα λίμνην, οὔτε οὐνομάζεσθαι κατὰπερ νῦν

he found some ruins of a fortification commanding the entrance into Thessaly along the Peneus (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 526). But this apparently arises from his imagining Livy (xlv. 6) to be describing the latter pass, which Xerxes did *not* take, and not the northern one, which both he and the Roman consul did. On the same grounds he considers Livy's description exaggerated, which it probably is. But it would seem likely that the pass by Gonnus had been made purposely much more difficult by the Macedonians between 191 and 169 B.C. In the former year Larissa, being besieged by Antiochus, was relieved by a Roman detachment proceeding by forced marches to a hill overhanging *Gonni*. When there, Claudius, who commanded it, caused fires to be made, as if a large body of men were assembled. This being seen from Larissa,

twenty miles off, produced an impression that the whole Roman army was at hand, and Antiochus raised the siege. (LIVY, xxxvi. 10.) If the pass had been then at all like what it is described in the latter year, the advance of any number might have been easily stopped. Hawkins speaks of a route between Thessaly and Macedonia as being commonly taken by travellers at this time, over the mountains, through the modern town *Rapsiani*. This is (I believe) the very route taken by Xerxes, and the more northern part of it that by which the Roman consul, Q. Marcius Philippus, descended upon Dium, finding the descent on Thessaly by Gonnus (which was his only alternative) utterly hopeless. (LIVY, l. c.)

³³² ὁ Οὐλυμπος. This is the reading of S, V, M, P. Gaisford, on the authority of F, omits the article.

to which an outlet was formed through *Tempe* by Poseidon.

130

Xerxes observes the facility of laying Thes-saly under water.

ῥέειν τε οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ νῦν ῥέοντας δὲ ποιέειν τὴν Θεσσαλίην
πᾶσαν πέλαγος· αὐτοὶ μὲν νῦν Θεσσαλοὶ φασὶ Ποσειδέωνα
ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα³⁵³ δι' οὗ ῥέει ὁ Πηνειὸς, οἰκότα λέγοντες·
ὅστις γὰρ νομίζει Ποσειδέωνα τὴν γῆν σείειν, καὶ τὰ διεσπεῶτα
ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου ἔργα εἶναι, καὶ ἂν ἐκείνο ἰδὼν φαίη
Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι· ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον³⁵⁴, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο
εἶναι, ἢ διάστασις τῶν οὐρέων·) Οἱ δὲ κατηγεόμενοι, εἰρομένον
Ξέρξεω εἰ ἔστι ἄλλη ἔξοδος ἐς θάλασσαν τῷ Πηνειῷ, ἐξεπιστά-
μενοι ὑπρεκέως, εἶπον· “ βασιλεῦ, ποταμῷ τούτῳ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη
ἐξήλυσις³⁵⁵ ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, ἀλλ' ἥδε αὐτή· οὐρεσι γὰρ
περιεστεφάνωται πᾶσα Θεσσαλίη·” Ξέρξεα δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν

³⁵³ Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αὐλῶνα. HUMBOLDT gives several instances both in South America and Central Asia of similar legends existing under similar circumstances, and remarks, “ ce qui se présente comme une tradition, n'est souvent que le reflet de l'impression que laisse l'aspect des lieux ” (*ap. Grote, History of Greece*, i. p. 536, note). The remark is a very true one, if it be taken as one particular application of the general principle, that in rendering an account of existing phenomena, every uncultivated people will unhesitatingly resort for an explanation to the traditions with which they are familiar. It is not that philosophical opinions are put *by choice* into the shape of narrative, when they could have been stated in their proper shape,—but that the narrative form is (under the existing conditions of culture) the only one in which they could be conveyed at all. The same necessity determines the particular features of the narrative. A people with only one history perforce refers all facts to *it*. Thus water-works, which in the time of Herodotus were ascribed to Semiramis or Nitocris, are by the inhabitants of the same locality at the present day ascribed to Nimrod. (See note 628 on i. 185.) LAYARD says that in the neighbourhood of *Bitlis* “several bridges and spacious khans, whose ruins still attest the ancient commerce and intercourse carried on through these mountains, are attributed, *like all other public works in the country*, to Sultan Murad during his memorable expedition against Baghdad (A.D. 1638). . . .” About five miles from *Bitlis* is a tunnel of about twenty feet in length, carried through a mass of calcareous rock. “There is no inscription to record by whom and at what period this

passage was cut. It is of course assigned to Sultan Murad, but is probably of a far earlier period. There are many such in the mountains.” (*Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 38.) Compare note 380 on ii. 128, above.

³⁵⁴ ἔστι γὰρ σεισμοῦ ἔργον. HAWKINS, who entirely confirms this view, says that he observed marks of similar revolutions in other parts of Greece, especially Arcadia. He mentions especially the river *Ladon*, which, at a short distance above the ruins of *Telphussa*, bursts its way through a vast chasm, which is reported to be several miles in length, and has the appearance of being inaccessible to a human being. Parallel instances to the *Peneus* are also afforded by the passage of the *Potomac* through the Blue Mountains in Virginia, and that of the *Elbe* through the sandstone of the Saxon Switzerland.

³⁵⁵ οὐκ ἔστι ἄλλη ἐξήλυσις. HAWKINS says that “the closure of *Tempe* would undoubtedly cause so extensive an inundation as to cover the whole eastern half of Thessaly (that is, *Perrhæbia* and *Pelagiotis*). In this state of things the first draught of the waters would be towards the *Pagasan* gulf. But were they to rise so much higher, in consequence of this stoppage, as to spread over the plains on the western side of Thessaly (*Hestiatotis*), they would ultimately find an issue between *Pelion* and *Ossa*, near the modern town of *Aia*. In this case I conceive that a range of hills which separates the two great level districts (connecting *Phere* and *Pharsalia* with *Tricca* and the towns which lie on the s.w. borders of Macedonia) would be the only part of the interior above water” (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 523).

πρὸς ταῦτα “σοφοὶ ἄνδρες³⁵⁶ εἰσὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ταῦτ’ ἄρα πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐφυλάξαντο γνωσιμαχέοντες, καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι χώρην ἄρα εἶχον εὐαίρετόν τε καὶ ταχυάλωτον.” τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πρήγμα ἂν ἦν μούνον ἐπεῖναί σφεων ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, χόματι ἐκ τοῦ αὐλῶνος ἐκβιβάσαντα, καὶ παρατρέψαντα δι’ ὧν νῦν ῥέει ῥέεθρων ὥστε Θεσσαλὴν πᾶσαν ἔξω τῶν οὐρέων ὑπόβρυχα γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεῦω παῖδας³⁵⁷, (ὅτι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων, ἑόντες Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔδοσαν ἑωυτοὺς βασιλέϊ,) δοκέων ὁ Ξέρξης ἀπὸ παντός σφεας τοῦ ἔθνεος ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι φιλήν· εἵπας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ θεησάμενος, ἀπέπλεε ἐς τὴν Θέρμην.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερὴν διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς³⁵⁸. τὸ γὰρ δὴ 131
οὖρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορίς, ἵνα ταύτῃ Pioneering
διεξή ἅπασα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐς Περραιβοὺς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ to facilitate
ἀποπεμφθέντες³⁵⁹ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν ἀπικέατο· οἱ of the army.
μὲν κεινοὶ, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα 132
ἐγένοντο οἷδε· Θεσσαλοὶ, Δόλοπες, Ἐνιήνες, Περραιβοὶ, Λοκροὶ, List of the
Μάγνητες, Μηλιέες, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι, καὶ οἱ Hellenes
ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπείων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοις who sub-
οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον³⁶⁰ οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον ἀειράμενοι mitted to
τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· “ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσάν σφεας αὐτοὺς the king.
Ἕλληνες ἑόντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὖ τῶν
πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ.” τὸ μὲν δὴ
ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. Ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ 133

³⁵⁶ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες. See note 99 on i. 30.

³⁵⁷ ἔχοντα ἔλεγε ἐς τοὺς Ἀλεῦω παῖδας, “with a reference to the sons of Aleuas.” For the sense of ἐσέχειν, see note 409 on ii. 138. Of the Aleuadæ, note 19, above.

³⁵⁸ περὶ Πιερὴν διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς. The Hellenic confederates proceeded to take up their position at Thermopylæ and Artemisium, on the intelligence arriving at the isthmus of the enemy’s arrival in Pieria (§ 177).

³⁵⁹ οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες. These messengers seem to have been those mentioned in § 32, above. The interval appears a long one if they be regarded as mere heralds; but perhaps we may conceive of them as commissioners entrusted with the power of making arrangements

for the transit of the expedition where they met with a favourable reception. In this case they would naturally not return until the army was at hand, when they would come to report on the state of the preparation for it.

³⁶⁰ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον. Herodotus does not say where the Hellenic congress took place on the occasion on which this oath was framed. In the time of PAUSANIAS a spot called *Hellenium*, near the temple of the Tænarian Poseidon, was said to be the spot (iii. 12. 6). But another tradition accounted for the name by placing there the congress of the suitors to avenge the rape of Helen by Paris. Most likely the congress really took place at the isthmus. See note on § 145, below.

Cause of no commission-ers being sent to Athens or Sparta.

134 Wrath of *Talthybius* in consequence of the violation of the law of nations shown in the story of Sperthias and Bulis.

ἀπέπεμψε ὁ Πέρσης³⁶¹ ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον³⁶² οἱ δὲ ἐς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα· τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὃ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεκε ἀνεθέλητον³⁶³ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι³⁶⁴, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδῆώθη· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι. Τοῖσι δὲ ὧν Λακεδαιμονίοισι μῆνις κατέσκηψε Ταλθυβίου τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος κήρυκος· (ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν³⁶⁵. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπόγονοι Ταλθυβίου, Ταλθυβιάδαι καλούμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ κηρυκηταὶ αἱ ἐκ Σπάρτης πᾶσαι γέρας δέδονται) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι καλλιερῆσαι θυομένοισι οὐκ ἐδύνατο³⁶⁶ τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἦν σφι· ἀχθομένων δὲ καὶ συμφορῇ χρεωμένων Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλῆς τε πολλάκις συλλεγομένης, καὶ κήρυγμα τοιοῦδε ποιευμένων, εἴ τις βούλοιτο Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθνήσκειν, Σπερθίης³⁶⁷ τε ὁ Ἀνηρίστου καὶ Βούλις ὁ Νικόλεω, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, φύσει τε γεγονότες εὖ καὶ χρήμασι ἀνήκοντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα, ἐβελονταὶ ὑπέδυσαν ποινὴν τίσαι Ξέρξῃ τῶν Δαρείου κηρύκων τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων· οὕτω Σπαρτιῆται τούτους ὥς ἀποθανευμένους ἐς Μήδους ἀπέπεμψαν.

³⁶¹ ὁ Πέρσης. The manuscripts S and V have Ξέρξης.

³⁶² ἐς τὸ βάραθρον. This pit is alluded to by ARISTOPHANES (*Knights*, 1362):

ἄρας μετέωρον ἐς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλῶ
ἐκ τοῦ λάρυγγος ἐκκρεμάσας Ὑπέρβολον.

³⁶³ ἀνεθέλητον. See note 261 on § 38, above.

³⁶⁴ οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι. In later times the misfortunes of the family of Miltiades were regarded as the divine vengeance for the crime of the Athenians, Miltiades being said to have persuaded his countrymen to commit the offence against the law of nations. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 12. 7.) But that this was not the common view in the time of Herodotus is plain not only from the expression in the text, but from the fact that he attributes the divine vengeance upon Miltiades to an offence of a different kind. See vi. 135.

³⁶⁵ ἐν γὰρ Σπάρτῃ ἐστὶ Ταλθυβίου ἱρόν. There was also a tomb of Talthybius near

Tænarum. It is to be observed that the ritual of Talthybius is ante-dorian, as he is a hero of the Agamemnonian cycle of legends. Accordingly, not only in Laconia, but in Achaia, in the agora of *Ægæ*, his tomb was shown. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 12. 7.) That is to say, his worship was carried thither by the Achæan population expelled by the Heraclides from the greater part of Peloponnese, or existed there among the primitive race.

³⁶⁶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο. The construction is the same as if, instead of καλλιερῆσαι, its equivalent καλὰ γενέσθαι ἱέρα had been used. See ix. 19: ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιερῆετο.

³⁶⁷ Σπερθίης. In SUIDAS, PLUTARCH, and other writers this tale is told of a *Sperchis*; and it has been conjectured that the poem Σπέρχιν τὸν ἰάλεμον, alluded to in THEOCRITUS (xv. 98), was a composition of which this self-devoted patriot was the hero. Compare the note 286 on i. 82.

Αὕτη τε ἡ τόλμα τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν θώματος ἀξίη, καὶ τάδε πρὸς 135
τούτοισι τὰ ἔπεα· πορευόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα, ἀπικνέονται παρὰ
Ἑδάρνεα· ὁ δὲ Ἑδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης³⁶⁸, στρατηγὸς δὲ
τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· ὅς σφεας, ξείνια
προθέμενος, εἰστία³⁶⁹. ξεινίζων δὲ, εἶρετο λέγων τάδε· “ἀνδρες
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τί δὴ φεύγετε βασιλεῖ φίλοι γενέσθαι; ὁρᾶτε
γὰρ ὡς ἐπίσταται βασιλεὺς ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, ἐς ἐμέ τε καὶ
τὰ ἐμὰ πρήγματα ἀποβλέποντες· οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰ δοίητε
ὑμέας αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ, δεδόξωσθε³⁷⁰ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνδρες εἶναι
ἀγαθοὶ, ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος, δόντος βασι-
λέος³⁷¹.” πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε· “Ἑδαρνες, οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου
γίνεται ἡ συμβουλίη ἢ ἐς ἡμέας τείνουσα· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πεπειρη-
μένος συμβουλεύεις, τοῦ δὲ ἄπειρος ἐών· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δοῦλος εἶναι
ἐξεπίσταται, ἐλευθερίας δὲ οὐκ ἔπειρήθης, οὗτ’ εἰ ἔστι γλυκὺ οὗτ’
εἰ μὴ· εἰ γὰρ αὐτῆς πειρήσαιο, οὐκ ἂν δόρασι συμβουλεύοις ἡμῖν
περὶ αὐτῆς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πελέκεσι.” Ταῦτα μὲν Ἑδάρνεα 136
ἀμείψαντο· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς Σοῦσα καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐς
ὄψιν ἦλθον, πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελεύοντων καὶ ἀνάγκην
σφι προσφερόντων προσκυνέειν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας, οὐκ
ἔφασαν, ὠθεόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν, ποιήσκειν ταῦτα
οὐδαμᾶ· οὔτε γάρ σφι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἀνθρωπον προσκυνέειν, οὔτε
κατὰ ταῦτα ἡκεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἀπεμαχέσαντο τοῦτο, δευτέρᾳ σφι λέγουσι
τάδε καὶ λόγου τοιοῦδε ἐχόμενα, “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, ἔπεμψαν
ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπολομένων κηρύκων,
ποινὴν ἐκείνων τίσοντας.” λέγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὑπὸ
μεγαλοφροσύνης οὐκ ἔφη ὁμοίος ἔσεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· κείνου
μὲν γὰρ συγχέαι τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα, ἀποκτείνοντας
κήρυκας· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ κείνοισι ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσκειν³⁷²,

³⁶⁸ ὁ δὲ Ἑδάρνης ἦν μὲν γένος Πέρσης. This description of Hydarnes would seem to show that he is not regarded as the person of the same name mentioned elsewhere,—whether he may or may not really have been so. (See note 254 on § 83, above.)

³⁶⁹ εἰστία. S, V, P, K have ἰστία, which is defended by the analogy of ἰστυτόριον (iv. 35). But in v. 20 the manuscript S has εἰστυῖσθαι, and M, K, and F ἡστυῖσθαι.

³⁷⁰ δεδόξωσθε. The same form appears

in ix. 48, below: ἐπεὶ τε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, and in viii. 124, ἐδοξώθη.

³⁷¹ ἕκαστος ἂν ὑμέων ἄρχοι γῆς Ἑλλάδος, δόντος βασιλέος. That is, they would be put in the position of ὑπαρχοι (see v. 20) or satraps to the Persian king, holding their governments as fiefs under him. See notes 315 on i. 90 and 110 on vi. 44.

³⁷² αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ κείνοισι ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσκειν. The same expression is used in iii. 142: τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω.

137

οὐδ' ἀνταποκτείνας ἐκείνους, ἀπολύσειν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς αἰτίας. Οὕτω ἡ Ταλθυβίου μήνις, καὶ ταῦτα ποιησάντων Σπαρτιητέων, ἐπαύσατο τὸ παραντίκα, καίπερ ἀπονοστησάντων ἐς Σπάρτην Σπερθιῶ τε καὶ Βούλιος· χρόνῳ δὲ μετέπειτα πολλῶ ἐπηγέρθη, κατὰ τὸν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων πόλεμον, ὡς λέγουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τοῦτό μοι ἐν τοῖσι θεióτατον φαίνεται γενέσθαι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κατέσκηψε ἐς ἀγγέλους ἡ Ταλθυβίου μήνις, οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἢ ἐξῆλθε, τὸ δίκαιον οὕτω ἔφερε· τὸ δὲ συμπεσεῖν ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων τῶν ἀναβάντων πρὸς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν μῆνιν, ἐς Νικόλαν τε τὸν Βούλιος, καὶ ἐς Ἀνήριστον τὸν Σπερθιῶ, ὃς εἶλε ὑλίας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος³⁷³, ὀλκάδι καταπλώσας πλήρεϊ ἀνδρῶν· δῆλον ὦν μοι ὅτι θεῖον ἐγένετο τὸ πρῆγμα ἐκ τῆς μῆνιος· οἱ γὰρ, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, προδοθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηϊκῶν βασιλέος³⁷⁴, καὶ Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πύθew ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω, ἥλωσαν κατὰ Βισάνθην τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ ἀπαχθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδειμάντου³⁷⁵, Κορίνθιος ἀνὴρ· ταῦτα μὲν νυν πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον³⁷⁶ ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέος στόλου· ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

138

Consternation of Hel-
las at the
approach of

Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλέος οὖνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ³⁷⁷ οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο· οἱ μὲν

³⁷³ ὃς εἶλε ὑλίας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος. In the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedæmonians destroyed all persons they could fall in with out at sea, considering them as favourable to the Athenian cause; and it was in retaliation for this savagery that the Athenians, on getting Anaristus, Nicolaus, and their colleagues into their power, put them to death. (THUCYDIDES, ii. 67.) These Tirythian fishermen were probably a notorious instance of the barbarous warfare which Thucydides describes.

³⁷⁴ Σιτάλκεω τοῦ Τήρεω Θρηϊκῶν βασιλέος. Herodotus mentions this chief before (iv. 80), but there does not think it necessary to describe him, just as if he was a person familiar to his hearers. See the note on that passage. Sitaces had, according to THUCYDIDES (ii. 29), married

a sister of Nymphodorus, and was entirely under his brother-in-law's influence.

³⁷⁵ Ἀριστέας ὁ Ἀδειμάντου. This Adimantus is probably the general mentioned in viii. 59. 61. 94. The success of the son against the Athenians at Potidæa (THUCYDIDES, i. 61, 62), perhaps contributed more to his being put to death than the conduct of the father at Salamis, to which Larcher most gratuitously ascribes it.

³⁷⁶ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον. The event of which Herodotus speaks took place in the second year of the Peloponnesian war. If this section proceeds from the pen of Herodotus, it is one of the many proofs existing that the work did not receive a last polish at his hands. See note 221 on vi. 98.

³⁷⁷ πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ.

γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος ὡς the army of Xerxes.
οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν
δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
ἀριθμὸν ἀξιωμαχῶν δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν
πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδίζοντων δὲ προθύμως.
Ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι³⁷⁸ γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπιφθονον 139
μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων· ὅμως δὲ, τῇ γέ μοι φαίνεται The author considers
εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχίσω· εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν that the decision of the
ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἣ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες Athenians
ἀλλὰ μέιναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν was the saving of
οὐδαμὸς ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλεῖ³⁷⁹· εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν
θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἡντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε
ἐγίνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ
Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοις, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν
συμμάχων, οὐκ ἐκόντων ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκῆς, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλίσκο-
μένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν·
μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν, καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα, ἀπέθανον γεν-
ναίως· ἢ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ, ὀρέωντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας μηδίζοντας, ὁμολογῇ ἂν ἐχρῆσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξεα·
καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι· τὴν
γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ
δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλέος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσ-
σης· νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλά-
δος, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὸ ἀληθές³⁸⁰· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρη-
γματῶν ἐτράποντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε· ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλ-
λάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο³⁸¹ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν,
ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες, καὶ βασιλέα
μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι· οὐδέ σφεας χρηστήρια φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα

This must refer to at least as far back as the year before the invasion actually took place. See § 146, below.

³⁷⁸ ἐξέργομαι. See note 106 on i. 31.

³⁷⁹ οὐδαμὸς ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλεῖ. See note on § 148, below.

³⁸⁰ τὸ ἀληθές. This is not to be taken after ἀμαρτάνοι, in which case a genitive would be required; but is equivalent to ἀληθῶς, "in good sooth."

³⁸¹ τοῦτο. S has τοῦ, and after the word Ἑλληνικὸν the participle ὄν. Also,

for αὐτοὶ in the next line, it has αὐτοῦ. There seems to be a corruption in the text somewhere or other. I am inclined to suspect the sentence originally ran: ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες. The word αὐτὸ, having dropped out of its place and been inserted in a wrong one, may have been changed into αὐτοῦ or αὐτοί, to make sense.

ἐκ Δελφῶν, καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα, ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀλλὰ κατὰμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

140

Two oracles were received by the Athenians from Delphi,

Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, χρηστή-
ριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι· καὶ σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομι-
ζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον³⁸² ἐσελθόντες ἵζοντο, χρῆ ἢ Πυθίῃ τῇ
οὔνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη τάδε·

ᾧ μέλεοι, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης
δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος³⁸³ ἄκρα κάρηνα.
οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,
οὔτε πόδες νέατοι, οὔτ' ὦν χεῖρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης
λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει· κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει
πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξυς Ἄρης Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.
πολλὰ δὲ κἀλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοῦ τὸ σὸν οἶον·
πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει,
οἳ πον νῦν ἰδρῶτι βρούμενοι³⁸⁴ ἐστήκασι,
δεῖματι παλλόμενοι· κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι
αἶμα μέλαν κέχυται, προῖδὼν κακότητος ἀνάγκας.
ἅλλ' ἵτον ἐξ ἀδύτοιο, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

141

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι, συμφορῇ τῇ
μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο· προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς³⁸⁵ ὑπὸ τοῦ

³⁸² ἐς τὸ μέγαρον. The inmost recess of the temple, where the sacred weapons were suspended, which no mortal hand was allowed to touch. See viii. 37.

³⁸³ πόλιος τροχοειδέος. An allusion to the circular fortification which enclosed the city.

³⁸⁴ ἰδρῶτι βρούμενοι. Drops of moisture standing upon the statues was considered a portent among the ancients, who were entirely ignorant of the physical cause of it. The original notion suggested seems to have been that sweat was produced by the influence of fear, or tears let fall under that of sorrow at an impending calamity: "maestum illacrymat templis ebur, aeraque sudant." (VIRGIL, *Georg.* i. 480.) Sometimes the credulity of the spectators, enhanced by superstitious terror, converted the moisture into blood. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS describes the panic which follows habitually:

ὅταν αὐτόματα ξόανα ῥέη ἰδρώοντα
αἵματι, καὶ μυκὰ σηκοῖς ἐνὶ φαντάζωνται,
ἥ καὶ ἥελιος μέσφ' ἡματι νύκτ' ἐπάγρησιν
οὐρανόθεν, τὰ δὲ λαμπρὰ δι' ἡέρος ἄστρα
φαείνῃ.

(iv. 1284.)

At the time of Alexander's march upon Thebes the statues in the agora were seen ἰδρῶτας ἀφιέντες καὶ μεγάλων μεστοὶ σταλασμῶν, and at the same time word was brought from Delphi that the shrine, which the Thebans had set up there out of the tithe of the spoils of the Phocians, ῥηματωμένην ἔχων τὴν ὀροφὴν ὀράται. (DIODORUS, xvii. 10.) Blood too burst out from the pavement of the temple of Here at Sybaris, shortly before the destruction of the city. See note 107 on v. 43.

³⁸⁵ προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς. It is not easy to say exactly what the notion is which is implied in these words; but I think the most plausible interpretation is "throwing their cause up," *lit.* "casting themselves away," as a gamester would dice out of his box. Hence the author of the *Rhesus* uses the expression ἐπ' ἀξίοις πονεῖν Ψυχὴν προβάλλοντ' ἐν κύβοις δαίμονος. The Athenians appear to have thought that their case was one in which no prudence could avail, and that nothing remained but to give themselves up passively to the course of events. Schweighäuser seems to think the expression

κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου, τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοία τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ σφι ἱκετηρίην λαβούσι, δεύτερα αὐτὶς ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἱκέτας· πειθόμενοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ λέγουσι· “ὦναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τὰς τοι ἤκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν, ἔστ’ ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν.” ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε·

Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δι’ Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι,
 λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.
 σοὶ δὲ τόδ’ αὐτὶς ἔπος ἔρέω, Ἀδάμαντι³⁸⁶ πελάσσας·
 τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλικομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος
 ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμῶν τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο,
 τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
 μῶνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ’ ὀνήσει.
 μῆδὲ σύ γ’ ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα
 πολλὰν ἀπ’ ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἡσυχος, ἀλλ’ ὑποχαρεῖν
 νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοι κοτὲ κἀντίος ἔσση.
 ὦ θεῖη Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,
 ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος, ἢ συνιούσης³⁸⁷.

Ταῦτά σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, 142
 συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες from the
 οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γινῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ latter of
 ἐγίνοντο διζημένων τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ αἶδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα³⁸⁸. which they
 τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι, δοκέειν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν of hope.
 ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πύλαι τῶν

might mean “prostrating themselves on the ground”—as in despair.

³⁸⁶ Ἀδάμαντι. This word seems to me to be an epithet denoting the supreme deity, the Olympian Zeus. Compare ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον (iv. 163), and ἐς Πολύφημον (v. 79). Pallas was unable “*entirely* to appease him” (ἐξιλάσασθαι), but gained as a boon from him all within the wooden wall.

³⁸⁷ ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος, ἢ συνιούσης, “either in seed-time or harvest.”

³⁸⁸ συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα, “most opposed to one another.” The metaphor is taken from the matching of two athletes, who stand up together to put their strength to trial. The opposite of συνεστηκυῖαι

would be ἐπαλλάττουσαι. Thus ARISTOTLE uses the phrase λόγοι ἐπαλλάττοντες for opposing arguments in which a real issue is not joined (*Polit.* i. p. 1255), and ὁδόντες ἐπαλλάττοντες are teeth which do not meet fairly, but fall into the intervals of each other. In iv. 132 the opinion of Gobryas ran counter to that of Darius, and hence the phrase συνεστήκεε ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ. The opinion of Croesus (i. 208) was at direct issue with the common judgment of the Persians, and Herodotus says γινῶμαι μὲν αὐταὶ συνέστασαν. See also vi. 108, συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι, and viii. 78, 79, where the expressions ὥθισμός λόγων and συνεστηκῶτων τῶν στρατηγῶν are derived from the same idea.

Ἀθηνέων ῥηχῶ³⁸⁹ ἐπέφρακτο· οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συν-
εβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας
σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα
ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος
ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης·

ὦ θεῖη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,
ἣ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συννιούσης.

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνώμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας
τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμ-
βανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμῖνα δεῖ σφέας ἐσσωθῆναι, ναυμαχίην παρα-
σκευασαμένους. **143** Ὡς δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους
νεωστὶ παριῶν, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεο-
κλέος ἐκαλέετο· οὗτος ὦν ἦρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμο-
λόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιάδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ
πάθος³⁹⁰ εἰρημένον ἐόντως³⁹¹, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως
χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε· ὦ σχετλίη Σαλαμῖς· ἀντὶ τοῦ ὦ θεῖη
Σαλαμῖς· εἴπερ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκῆτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον,
συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους, παρα-
σκευάζεσθαι ὦν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχῆσοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου
ἐόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου,
Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτά σφι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον³⁹² ἢ τὰ
τῶν χρησμολόγων· οἱ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν
εἶναι, οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταίρεσθαι ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττι-
144 κὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν. Ἐτέρῃ τε Θεμιστοκλεῖ γνώμη ἔμπροσθε
ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἡρίστευσε· ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων
μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ³⁹³, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετᾶλλων σφι προσήλθε τῶν

143
Themistocles
interprets
the oracle
of the ships.

144
Former at-
tempt of
Themisto-
cles to

³⁸⁹ ῥηχῶ, "a palisade." PAUSANIAS says, that the Troezenians gave the name of ῥηχὸς to the wild olive (ii. 32. 10). This being a tree indigenous to the country, it is likely that its wood would be common, and being generally used in fences of this kind would give its name to them, just as the outer door of students' rooms at Oxford is called an "oak."

³⁹⁰ πάθος. S and V have this reading instead of ἔπος, which is printed by Gaisford on the authority of the rest.

³⁹¹ ἐόντως. This is a conjectural reading adopted by Schaefer and Bekker. The MSS have ἐὼν κως, to which no sense can be given.

³⁹² αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον. Compare μᾶλλον ὀλβιώτερος (i. 32), κερδαλεώτερον μᾶλλον (ix. 7).

³⁹³ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ. The substantive understood is ταμείω. Similarly the Romans said "in publicum redigere," understanding the word "aerarium."

ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν ³⁹⁴ ἕκαστος δέκα δρα- create a
navy.
χμᾶς· τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύ-
της παυσαμένους νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκο-
σίας ³⁹⁵, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων ³⁹⁶. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ
πόλεμος συστὰς ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους
γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιοῦνθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν
ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐταὶ τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι
Ἀθηναίοισι προποιοῦνθαι ὑπῆρχον, ἐτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπη-
γέεσθαι· ἔδοξε τε σφί, μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι, ἐπι-
όντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεῖ,
τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι. τὰ μὲν
δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγεγόνεε.

Συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τῶντ' ³⁹⁷ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλήνων 145
τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, Proceedings
of the Hel-
lenic con-
gress.
ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοκε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι, πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων
πάντων καταλλάσσεσθαι τὰς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἄλλήλους
έοντας πολέμους· ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ
δὲ ὢν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήτησι μετὰ δὲ, πυνθανό-
μενοι Ξέρξεα σὺν τῷ στρατῷ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο
κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγμάτων, ἐς They send
commission-
ers to Argos,
Sicily, Cor-
cyra, and
Crete, for
succour,
Ἄργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμίην συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσῃν
καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος,
ἔς τε Κέρκυραν, κελεύοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς Κρήτην
ἄλλους· φρονήσαντες εἰ κως ἐν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ εἰ
συγκύψαντες ³⁹⁸ τῷτ' ὁ πρῆσσοιεν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων

³⁹⁴ ὀρχηδὸν, "every grown man."

³⁹⁵ νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσα-
σθαι διηκοσίας. PLUTARCH (*Themist.*
§ 4) gives one hundred as the number of
gallies constructed out of this fund, a
number which appears the more probable,
as the whole Athenian navy did not
amount to more than two hundred ships
at the time of the battle of Salamis. (See
note 2 on viii. 1.) And independently
of this batch of gallies, they had at least
fifty others when the war with Ægina was
going on (vi. 89).

³⁹⁶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας
λέγων, "for the war against the Ægine-
tans (he said)." THUCYDIDES, by the
way he speaks of the matter, entirely con-

firms the statement of Herodotus: ὁπέ
τε ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεισεν
Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρ-
βάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῖς ποιή-
σασθαι αἷσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν (i. 14).
The Æginetan war was the main argu-
ment, the probable invasion an additional
reason. These ships (Thucydides remarks)
had not decks running their whole length.

³⁹⁷ Συλλεγομένων ἐς τῷτ'. Where
the place of congress was does not appear
from this passage (see also § 132, above);
but from § 172, below, it would appear to
have been at the isthmus,—which in later
times was the rendezvous for the members
of the Lacedæmonian hegemony.

³⁹⁸ συγκύψαντες. The metaphor is

ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἕλλησι. τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μεγάλα ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῶν οὐ πολλὸν μέζω.

146

and spies to
Sardis, who
are detected.

Ὡς δὲ ταυτά σφι ἔδοξε, καταλυσάμενοι τὰς ἔχθρας, πρῶτα μὲν κατασκόπους πέμπουσι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἄνδρας τρεῖς· οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τε ἐς Σάρδις καὶ καταμαθόντες τὴν βασιλέως στρατιὴν, ὡς ἐπαῖστοι ἐγένοντο, βασανισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπήγοντο ὡς ἀπολεύμενοι καὶ τοῖσι μὲν κατακέκριτο θάνατος· Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, μεμφθεὶς³⁹⁹ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν γνώμην, πέμπει τῶν τινας δορυφόρων, ἐντειλάμενος, ἥν καταλάβωσι τοὺς κατασκόπους ζῶντας, ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν· ὡς δὲ ἔτι περιέοντας αὐτοὺς κατέλαβον καὶ ἤγον ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, πυθόμενος ἐπ' οἷσι ἦλθον, ἐκέλευέ σφεας τοὺς δορυφόρους περιάγοντας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πάντα τε τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον⁴⁰⁰. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα θηεύμενοι ἔωσι πλήρεις, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς

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Magnani-
mity of
Xerxes to
these

τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐθέλωσι χώραν ἀσινέας. Ἐπιλέγων δὲ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, ὡς εἰ μὲν ἀπώλονται οἱ κατάσκοποι, οὔτε ἂν τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πρήγματα προεπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔοντα λόγου μέζω, οὔτ' ἂν τι τοὺς πολεμίους μέγα ἐσινέατο ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπολέσαντες· νοστησάντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, δοκέειν (ἔφη) ἀκούσαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ἐωυτοῦ πρήγματα, πρὸ τοῦ στόλου τοῦ γινομένου παραδώσειν σφέας τὴν ἰδίην ἐλευθερίην, καὶ οὕτω οὐδὲ δεήσειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηλατέοντας πρήγματα ἔχειν. οἴκε δὲ αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἡ γνώμη τῇ γε ἄλλῃ· ἐὼν γὰρ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὁ Ξέρξης, εἶδε πλοῖα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σιταγωγὰ διεκπλῶνonta τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον, ἔς τε Αἴγινα καὶ Πελοπόννησον κομιζόμενα⁴⁰¹. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάρεδροι αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπύθοντο πολέμια εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα, ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν αἰρέειν αὐτὰ, ἐσβλέποντες ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ὁκότε παραγγελέει· ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης εἶρετο αὐτοὺς, ὅκῃ πλέοιεν; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· “ἐς τοὺς σοὺς πολεμίους, ὧ δέσποτα⁴⁰², σῖτον ἄγοντες.” ὁ δὲ

was of a
piece with
his for-
bearance to
the corn
ships from
the Euxine
to Ægina
and Pello-
ponnesus.

taken from the rowers of a galley, who all bend to their oars together to increase the steadiness and force of the stroke. The same expression is used in iii. 82.

³⁹⁹ μεμφθεῖς. See note 267 on i. 77.

⁴⁰⁰ ἐκέλευέ σφεας . . . καὶ τὴν ἵππον. A similar piece of contemptuous magnanimity is ascribed to Scipio by Livi (xxx. 29).

⁴⁰¹ ἔς τε Αἴγινα καὶ Πελοπόννησον

κομιζόμενα, “bound for Ægina and Peloponnese.” The centre of the traffic between Pontus and European Greece at this time would probably be Calauria, a little island in the immediate neighbourhood of Træzen, and not far from Ægina. See note on viii. 41: οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα.

⁴⁰² ὦ δέσποτα. S has ὦ βασιλεῦ!

ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη· “οὐκ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πλέομεν ἔνθαπερ καὶ οὗτοι τοῖσι τε ἄλλοισι ἐξηρτυμένοι⁴⁰³ καὶ σίτῳ; τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσι οὗτοι⁴⁰⁴ ἡμῖν σιτία παρακομίζοντες;” οἱ μὲν νυν κατὰσκοποι οὕτω θεησάμενοί τε καὶ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐνόστησαν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην.

Οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων, δεύτερα ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἄργος ἀγγέλους. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ’ ἐωυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὧδε· πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ’ ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δὲ, καὶ μαθύντες ὥς σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες⁴⁰⁵ ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφούς, τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους ὥς σφι μέλλει ἄριστον ποιεῦσι γενέσθαι; νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἑξακισχιλίου⁴⁰⁶ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδου· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα πέμπειν τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε·

Ἐχθρὲ περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ’ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον⁴⁰⁷ ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἦσο,
καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα σαώσει.

ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα· τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι, ὥς ἐτοίμοι εἰσι Ἀργεῖοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπείσάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίας· καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἐωυτῶν⁴⁰⁸, ἀλλ’ ὅμως σφι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ

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Embassy
to Argos.

The Argive account of the conference throws the blame of its failure entirely on the arrogance of the Lacedæmonians; although the Delphic oracle had recommended neutrality to the Argives.

⁴⁰³ ἐξηρτυμένοι. SUIDAS remarks that this word is used by Herodotus in the sense of κατεσκευασμένοι. The same expression is used above: ὕδασι τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους (ii. 32).

⁴⁰⁴ τί δῆτα ἀδικέουσι οὗτοι. Xerxes had perhaps sagacity enough to be aware that any interference with the corn trade of the Euxine would be most prejudicial to his own interests. His own supplies from thence must have been enormous.

⁴⁰⁵ πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες. Herodotus habitually uses the verb πειράσθαι with a participle, where in other authors an infinitive would be found. Thus: ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιῶν ὁ Κύρος (i. 77). οὐδαμῶς

ἀν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλεῖ (§ 139, above). ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοὶ τινα σωτηρίην μηχανεώμενοι (§ 172, below).

⁴⁰⁶ τεθνάναι ἑξακισχιλίου. See note 188 on vi. 83.

⁴⁰⁷ τὸν προβόλαιον, “the spear,” a weapon which in warfare would be advanced forward. The term πρόβολος, for ‘a boar spear,’ is used by Herodotus (§ 76, above).

⁴⁰⁸ καίτοι κατὰ γε τὸ δίκαιον . . . ἐωυτῶν. Schweighäuser considers that this plea has reference to the supremacy of Agamemnon at the time of the Trojan war. But the seat of Agamemnon’s dominion was not Argos, but Mycenæ; and the Mycenæans did actually send eighty auxiliaries

149 ἡγεομένοισι. Ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνασθαι, καίπερ ἀπαγορεύοντός σφι τοῦ χρηστηρίου μὴ ποιέεσθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας συμμαχίην· σπουδὴν δὲ ἔχειν σπονδὰς γενέσθαι τριηκονταετίδας καίπερ τὸ χρηστήριον φοβεομένοισι, ἵνα δὴ σφι οἱ παῖδες ἀνδρωθῶσι ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἔτεσι· μὴ δὲ σπονδέων ἐουσέων, ἐπιλέγεσθαι, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλάβῃ πρὸς τῷ γεγονότι κακῷ ἄλλο πταῖσμα πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι⁴⁰⁹. τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης πρὸς τὰ ῥηθέντα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσδε· περὶ μὲν σπονδέων ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας· περὶ δὲ ἡγεμονίης αὐτοῖσι ἐντετάλθαι ὑποκρίνασθαι, καὶ δὴ λέγειν, σφὶ μὲν εἶναι δύο βασιλέας, Ἀργείοισι δὲ ἓνα· οὐκὼν δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης οὐδέτερον παῦσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίης· μετὰ δὲ δύο τῶν σφετέρων ὁμόψηφον τὸν Ἀργεῖον⁴¹⁰ εἶναι κωλύειν οὐδέν. οὕτω δὴ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι φασὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων τὴν πλεονεξίην, ἀλλ' ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχεσθαι ἢ τι ὑπέῖξαι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· προειπεῖν τε τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι, πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, περιέψεσθαι ὥς πολεμίους.

150

A report current in Hellas accuses the Argives of really favouring the Persian cause.

Αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι τοσαῦτα τούτων πέρι λέγουσι. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς Ξέρξης ἔπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἀργὸς πρότερον ἢ περ ὀρμῆσαι στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον λέγεται εἰπεῖν “ ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τάδε ὑμῖν λέγει· ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν Πέρσην εἶναι, ἀπ’ οὗ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν, παῖδα Περσέος τοῦ Δαναός, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Κηφέας θυγατρὸς Ἀνδρομέδης· οὕτω ἂν ὦν εἴημεν ὑμέτεροι

to assist Leonidas at Thermopylae,—a circumstance which is said to have in the sequel induced the Argives to destroy the city. (Diodorus, xi. 65.) I should rather consider it as based upon the tradition of Temenus being the eldest of the three Heraclide brothers, who were said to have conquered the Peloponnese.

⁴⁰⁹ μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔωσι Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκοοι. This clause is governed by the sense φοβεῖσθαι, which is not contained in the word ἐπιλέγεσθαι (to perpend), but implied in the *act* under such circumstances. See note 520 on iv. 203.

⁴¹⁰ τὸν Ἀργεῖον. The word βασιλέα would naturally have to be supplied; but there seems to be no trace of the regal office in Argos at this time. Perhaps the polemarch for the time being would be regarded as representing the kingly office. But as this would only be in the field, the answer of the Lacedæmonians squares very ill with the circumstance asserted by Herodotus above (v. 75), that after the joint expedition of Cleomenes and Demaratus to restore the Pisistratids, a law was passed that only *one* Spartan king should take the command at once.

ἀπόγονοι⁴¹¹. οὐτέ ὦν ἡμέας οἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους ἐκστρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε ὑμέας ἄλλοισι τιμωρέοντας ἡμῖν ἀντιξέουσιν γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖσι ἡσυχίην ἔχοντας κατῆσθαι· ἦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ γένηται κατὰ νόον, οὐδαμὸς μέζοντας ὑμέων ἄξω." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας Ἀργεῖους λέγεται πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι⁴¹², καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτεειν⁴¹³. ἐπεὶ δέ σφεας παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω δὲ, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι οὐ μεταδώσουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μεταίτεειν, ἵνα ἐπὶ προφάσιος ἡσυχίην ἄγωσι. Συμπεσεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον λέγουσιν τινες Ἑλλήνων, πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι ὕστερον γενόμενον τούτων· τυχεῖν ἐν Σούσοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοις⁴¹⁴ ἔοντας ἐτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα⁴¹⁵ ἀγγέλους Ἀθηναίων, Καλλίην τε τὸν Ἴππονίκου καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτου ἀναβάντας· Ἀργεῖους δὲ, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον πέμψαντας καὶ τούτους ἐς Σούσα ἀγγέλους, εἰρωτᾶν Ἀρταξέρξεα⁴¹⁶ τὸν Ξέρξεω εἰ σφί ἔτι ἐμμένει τὴν πρὸς Ξέρξεα φιλήν συνεκεράσαντο, ἢ νομιζοίατο πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι πολέμιοι; βασιλέα δὲ Ἀρταξέρξεα μάλιστα ἐμμένειν φάναι, καὶ οὐδεμίαν νομίζειν πόλιν Ἀργεὸς φιλιωτέρην. Εἰ μὲν νυν Ξέρξης τε ἀπέπεμψε ταῦτα λέγοντα κήρυκα ἐς Ἀργος, καὶ Ἀργείων ἀγγελοὶ ἀναβάντες ἐς Σούσα ἐπειρώτων Ἀρταξέρξεα περὶ φιλίης, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν· οὐδέ τινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνομαι ἄλλην

151

Story of what Cal-lias, son of Hipponicus, heard years afterwards at Susa, confirming the charge.

152

Remarks of the author on the subject.

⁴¹¹ ἡμεῖς νομιζομεν, κ.τ.λ. That this genealogy was Hellenic, not Persian, appears from what the author himself says elsewhere. See the notes on vi. 54, and note 194 on vii. 61. It is likewise obviously absurd that genuine Persian legends should derive their own ancestor from Argos.

⁴¹² πρῆγμα ποιήσασθαι, "considered it a thing of importance." Compare vi. 63: τοῦτο ἤκουσαν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι, πρῆγμα μέντοι οὐδὲν ἐποίησαντο τὸ παραντίκα.

⁴¹³ παραχρῆμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαγγελλομένους μεταίτεειν, "at the moment made no demand in their overtures."

⁴¹⁴ ἐν Σούσοις τοῖσι Μεμνονίοις. Gaisford, following S, V, P, F, prints Μεμνονίοις, but the majority of MSS, both here and in v. 54, give the reading Μεμνονείοις. STRABO (xv. p. 317) says that the acropolis of Susa was called Memnoneum.

⁴¹⁵ ἐτέρου πρήγματος εἵνεκα. It really was no other than the concluding a peace

with Persia. (DIODORUS, xii. 4.) The reason of Herodotus not mentioning the business expressly in this passage is obvious. To make terms, however honourable, with the foreigner, no doubt called forth taunts; and the Athenians would be very glad to show, if they could, that Argos had throughout been treacherous to the Hellenic cause. The immediate cause of the peace was the success of Cimon and his successors in Cyprus (449 B.C.). On the other hand the Athenians had suffered a severe loss in Egypt three years before (THUCYDIDES, i. 110), and had been forced by want of supplies to raise the siege of Citium. (THUCYDIDES, i. 112.) Peace, therefore, was to the mutual advantage of the belligerents, although it could hardly have been regarded in those times as any thing but a blot upon Hellenic patriotism to make it.

⁴¹⁶ Ἀρταξέρξεα. The manuscript S has here Ἀρτοξέρξεα, but in the next section Ἀρτοξέρξην.

γε ἢ τήνπερ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι. [ἐπίσταμαι δὲ τοσοῦτο, ὅτι, εἰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὰ οἰκήϊα κακὰ ἐς μέσον συνενείκειεν ἀλλάξασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῖσι πλησίοισι, ἐγκύψαντες ἂν ἐς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ἀσπασίως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἀποφεροῖατο ὀπίσω τὰ ἐσενείκοντο⁴¹⁷.] οὕτω δὲ οὐκ Ἀργείοισι αἰσχιστα πεποίηται ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὴν οὐ παντά-
 πασι ὀφείλω· καί μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον·
 ἐπεὶ καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται, ὥς ἄρα Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι
 τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐπειδὴ σφι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαι-
 μονίους κακῶς ἡ αἰχμὴ ἐστήκεε, πᾶν δὲ βουλόμενοί σφι εἶναι πρὸ
 τῆς παρεούσης λύπης. τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀργείων εἴρηται.

It is even
 said that the
 Argives in-
 vited the
 Persian
 invasion.

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Embassy to
 Sicily.

Family
 history of
 Gelon.

Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σικελίην ἄλλοι τε ἀπικάτο ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ τῶν συμ-
 μάχων συμμίζοντες Γέλωνι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
 Σύαγρος. τοῦ δὲ Γέλωνος τούτου πρόγονος, οἰκήτωρ ἐὼν Γέλῃς⁴¹⁸,
 ἦν ἐκ νήσου Τήλου τῆς ἐπὶ Τριοπίῳ κειμένης· ὃς κτιζομένης Γέλῃς
 ὑπὸ Λινδίων⁴¹⁹ τε τῶν ἐκ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀντιφήμεν, οὐκ ἐλείφθη·
 ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπόγονοι γενόμενοι ἱροφάνται τῶν χθονίων
 θεῶν διετελέον ἐόντες, Τηλίνεω ἐνός τευ τῶν προγόνων κτησαμένου

⁴¹⁷ [ἐπίσταμαι . . . ἐσενείκοντο.] This reflection has nothing at all to do with the matter in hand, which relates to the crimes which people impute to each other, not to the troubles of which they complain. The passage is, I believe, an interpolation. If it be removed, the following words, οὕτω δὲ, refer to the explanation of their conduct which was given by the Argives themselves (γνώμην τήνπερ αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσι). They were enjoined to neutrality by an oracle; and in spite of this, if they could have had what they deemed their rights, they would have joined the Hellenic confederacy. "In this view, then, the conduct of the Argives was not utterly base. But I am bound to say what is said, although not altogether bound to believe it—a principle which must be extended to my whole story—for it is even said, that, after all, the Argives were those who invited the Persian to invade Hellas," i.e. not the Pisistratids or Demaratus. See note on ix. 12: ὑποδεξάμενοισχρήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην μὴ ἐξιέναι.

⁴¹⁸ Γέλῃς. This city was built on the bank of a river of the same name, so

called (according to STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.*): ὅτι πολλὴν πάχνην γεννᾷ· ταύτην γὰρ τῇ Ὀπικῶν φωνῇ καὶ Σικέλων γέλαν λέγεσθαι. The Oscan and Sicilian *gela* has left its trace in the Latin *gelu*, but it is more likely that the stream obtained its name from its temperature, than from any quality which could be described in the words used by Stephanus. It should not be overlooked that according to this statement one would expect the great bulk of the inhabitants of Gela to have been the aborigines. Else its name would have certainly been Hellenic. The proper ethnic adjective is Γελαῖος—not Γελῶς, the form which Herodotus uses, and which customarily prevailed. Stephanus says that perhaps the form Γελῶς is derived from γέλως,—not an unlikely proceeding on the part of Greek settlers, for the sake of the omen.

⁴¹⁹ Λινδίων. The place which was first enclosed, and where the town Gela existed in the time of THUCYDIDES, bore the name *Lindii* (vi. 4). Thucydides says that a portion of the original colonists were *Cretans* (l. c.).

τρόπῳ τοιῶδε· ἐς Μακτώριον πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Γέλης οἰκημένην ἔφυγον ἄνδρες Γελῶων, ἐσσωθέντες στάσι· τούτους ὦν ὁ Τηλίνης κατήγαγε ἐς Γέλην, ἔχων οὐδεμίαν ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν ἀλλ' ἰρὰ τούτων τῶν θεῶν· ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε⁴²⁰ ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτίησато, τοῦτο οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· τούτοισι δ' ὦν πίσυνος ἔων, κατήγαγε ἐπ' ᾧ τε οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ἱροφάνται τῶν θεῶν ἔσονται. θῶμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτον· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς⁴²¹ νενόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης ἀνδρική· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων, πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίας τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ⁴²². οὕτω μὲν νυν ἐκτίησато τοῦτο τὸ γέρας· Κλεάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Παντάρους τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, ὃς ἐτυράννευσε μὲν Γέλης ἑπτὰ ἔτεα ἀπέθανε δὲ ὑπὸ Σαβύλλου ἀνδρὸς Γελῶου, ἐνθαῦτα ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν μουναρχίην Ἰπποκράτης, Κλεάνδρου ἔων ἀδελφεός· ἔχουτος δὲ Ἰπποκράτεος τὴν τυραννίδα, ὁ Γέλων, ἔων Τηλίνεω τοῦ ἱροφάντεω ἀπόγονος, πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων καὶ Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταϊκοῦ⁴²³ ὃς ἦν δορυφόρος Ἰπποκράτεος⁴²⁴ μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀπεδέχθη πάσης τῆς ἵππου εἶναι ἵππαρχος· πολιορκέοντος γὰρ Ἰπποκράτεος Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους⁴²⁵,

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He distinguishes himself in the military service of Hippocrates,

⁴²⁰ ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὰ ἔλαβε. It may be reasonably supposed that he brought the ritual with him from the *Triopium* in Caria. That this was one adapted for stanching blood-feuds appears from the legend of Triopas, the eponymous founder. See DIODORUS, quoted in note 561 on i. 167. We may perhaps consider *Mactorium* as a city of refuge, to which the Geleans fled for sanctuary. If the root of the name be Oscan, which seems not unlikely, it is probably connected etymologically with 'mak,' the element of the Latin 'macto' and of the Greek μάχεσθαι, and consequently would signify something like "fort of the slayer." That Herodotus should be unfamiliar with this ritual is explained by the circumstance that Halicarnassus was excluded from all participation in the Carian *Triopium* (i. 144).

⁴²¹ πρὸς τοῦ ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς. One would expect either τοῦ τυχόντος or ἅπαντος without the article; but there is no variation in the MSS. It seems to me probable that the text is a confusion of the two

readings. Valcknaer conjectures πρὸς τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἀνδρὸς, comparing SOPHOCLES, *Œdip. Tyrant*. 401: καίτοι τόγ' αἰνιγμ' οὐχὶ τοῦπιόντος ἦν Ἄνδρὸς διειπεῖν.

⁴²² θηλυδρίας τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ. This is very much the way in which a tribe of warlike barbarians, like the Sicels, would describe a man of peace, such as the officiating priest of the *χθόνια θεὰ* naturally would be. It is, I conceive, the native hill tribes, and not the Hellenic settlers, whom the author means by *Σικελίης οἰκήτορες*.

⁴²³ Παταϊκοῦ. This name is very unlike any pure Hellenic one. See note 111 on iii. 37. One may suspect it to have come from Phœnicia through some of the Carthaginian settlements in Sicily.

⁴²⁴ Ἰπποκράτεος. After this word Bekker supposes a *lacuna* to exist.

⁴²⁵ Καλλιπολίτας τε καὶ Ναξίους. STRABO says that Callipolis (which in his time was in ruins) had been a colony from Naxos (vi. p. 34). Naxos itself was the earliest of the settlements in Sicily,

καὶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους⁴²⁶, καὶ πρὸς, Συρηκουσίους τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων συχνοὺς, ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι πολέμοις ἐὼν ὁ Γέλων λαμπρότατος· τῶν δὲ εἶπον πολίων, τουτέων πλὴν Συρηκουσέων οὐδεμία πέφενγε δουλοσύνην πρὸς Ἴπποκράτεος· Συρηκουσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο μάχῃ ἔσσωθέντας ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ἐλώρῳ. ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἴπποκράτει Καμάρινα⁴²⁷ Συρηκουσίους παραδοῦναι· Συρηκουσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

155 Ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἴπποκράτεα τυραννεύσαντα ἴσα ἔτα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Κλεάνδρῳ κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς πόλιν Ὑβλην, στρατευσάμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, οὕτω δὲ ὁ Γέλων τῷ λόγῳ τιμωρέων τοῖσι Ἴπποκράτεος παῖσιν Εὐκλείδῃ τε καὶ Κλεάνδρῳ, οὐ βουλομένων τῶν πολιητέων κατηκῶν ἔτι εἶναι, τῷ ἔργῳ, ὥς ἐπεκράτησε μάχῃ τῶν Γελῶν, ἦρχε αὐτὸς ἀποστερήσας τοὺς Ἴπποκράτεος παῖδας· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὔρημα, τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων (καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων⁴²⁸) ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος εἰς τὰς Συρηκούσας, ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ

and on his death succeeds him as king of Gela, to the exclusion of his sons.

founded at the same time with Megara, according to ERHODUS, in the fifteenth generation after the Trojan war. THUCYDIDES (vi. 3) says that the original founders, who were Chalcidians from Euboea under Theocles, erected the altar of *Apollo Archegetes* outside the city, on which in his day sacrifices were always made before the *theori* set sail from Sicily. But it seems that the coins universally have either the head of Dionysus on them, with Dionysiac emblems on the reverse also, or a Dionysiac emblem (a Silenus) on the reverse, where the laurel-crowned *Apollo* is on the obverse. (HOFFMANN, *Griechenland*, ii. p. 1987.) See note 432, below.

⁴²⁶ Ζαγκλαίους τε καὶ Λεοντίνους. The original settlement of Zancle was by some pirates from Cuma in Italy. The name is Oscan, and signifies 'a sickle.' Afterwards a new settlement of Chalcidians was made partly from Cuma in Italy, partly from Chalcis the metropolis of Cuma. This population again was expelled by Samians and other Ionians driven from their homes by the Persian invasion. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 5.) The Samian invasion is the one described by

Herodotus above (vi. 23). See note 62 on that passage, and note 64 on vi. 24. Leontini was a colony from Naxos five years after its own settlement.

⁴²⁷ Καμάρινα. It was the *land* belonging to Camarina that Hippocrates received, according to THUCYDIDES (vi. 5), as a ransom for his Syracusan prisoners. The town was a colony from Syracuse 135 years after the foundation of Syracuse itself, and the Syracusans had destroyed it in consequence of its revolting from their authority. Hippocrates rebuilt it and colonized it. It was again destroyed by Gelon, and by Gelon again re-settled. (THUCYDIDES, I. c.)

⁴²⁸ Κυλλυρίων. The manuscripts M, K have Κιλλυρίων. HESYCHIUS: Κιλλικύριοι· οἱ ἐπεισελθόντες γεωμόροι [Valcknaer emends γεωμόροις] δοῦλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ τοὺς κυρίους ἐξέβαλον. Hence Valcknaer would read Κιλλικυρίων in this passage. If this conjecture be well founded, we may expect that the root *κιλ* was the Greek pronunciation of an Oscan root. As the Oscans said 'pitpit' for 'quidquid,' and 'petora' for 'quatuor,' it seems not unlikely that 'pel,' the root of the Latin 'pello,' was the form in question.

δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκουσίων ἐπίοντι Γέλωνι παραδιδῶι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωυτόν. Ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε παρέλαβε τὰς Συρηκούσας, Γέλῃς 156 μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο⁴²⁹, ἐπιτρέψας αὐτῇν Ἰέρωνι ἀδελφεῷ ἑωυτοῦ· ὁ δὲ τὰς Συρηκούσας ἐκράτυνε, καὶ ἦσαν ἅπαντ' αἱ Συρηκούσαι⁴³⁰. αἱ δὲ παραντικά ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἀνέβλαστον⁴³¹. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Καμαριναίους ἅπαντας ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀγαγὼν πολίητας ἐποίησε, Καμαρίνης δὲ τὸ ἄστυ κατέσκαψε· τοῦτο δὲ Γελῶν ὑπερῆμίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν τῶντ' οἱσι Καμαριναίοισι ἐποίησε· Μεγαρέας τε τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ, ὡς πολιορκούμενοι ἐς ὁμολογίην προσεχώρησαν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παχέας, ἀειραμένους τε πόλεμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδοκούντας ἀπολέεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἄγων ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας πολίητας ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ δῆμον τῶν Μεγαρέων, οὐκ εἶντα μεταίτιον τοῦ πολέμου τούτου οὐδὲ προσδεκόμενον κακὸν οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι, ἀγαγὼν καὶ τούτους ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἀπέδοτο ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ ἐκ Σικελίης. τῶντ' οἱσι καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε⁴³², διακρίνας·

He becomes king of Syracuse, and effects an entirely new combination of civil interests.

⁴²⁹ Γέλῃς μὲν ἐπικρατέων λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο. Schweighäuser interprets this phrase as if instead of ἐπικρατέων the author had written ἐπικρατέειν: "he made it a matter of less importance to add Gela to his dominions." I should rather say that it was a compression into one of two clauses, Γέλῃς ἐπικράττει and αὐτῇς λόγον ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, and render it: "he made Gela a mere accession to his dominion, and cared less for it," i. e. he transferred the seat of government to Syracuse, in which consequently he might be said κρατεῖν, all outlying possessions being regarded as *additions* to his empire, so that the term ἐπικρατεῖν became applicable to them.

⁴³⁰ ἦσαν ἅπαντ' αἱ Συρηκούσαι. This is the conjecture of Valcknaer. Compare i. 122: ἦν οἱ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυρά. iii. 157: πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος. THUCYDIDES, viii. 95: Εὐβοία γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκλησμένης τῆς Ἀττικῆς πάντα ἦν. The MSS have αἱ Συρηκούσαι, which Gaisford prints.

⁴³¹ αἱ δὲ παραντικά ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον καὶ ἀνέβλαστον. Compare i. 66, where speaking of the Lacedæmonians, the author says: ἀνά τ' ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθνήθησαν.

⁴³² τῶντ' οἱσι καὶ Εὐβοέας τοὺς ἐν Σικελίῃ ἐποίησε. The object of Gelon, as

of Hippocrates before him, seems to have been to get rid as much as possible of the Chalcidian element in the population, and to foster the Peloponnesian, derived from Corinth and Megara. Hence the populations of Naxos, Callipolis, Zancle, Leontini, and Eubœa (a colony from Leontini) were reduced to slavery; but the aristocracy of Megara, who naturally would be the descendants of the original settlers, Dorians from Megara in Peloponnesus, were brought to Syracuse. The place of the Chalcidians would be naturally supplied by settlers belonging to the favoured race; and hence Hermocrates was able to say, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, in opposition to the Athenian arguments: καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ταῦτα παρόντα σοφίσματα, Λεοντινῶν τε ξυγγενῶν κατοικίσεις καὶ Ἐγεσταίων ξυμμάχων ἐπικουρίας, οὐ ξυστραφέντες βουλόμεθα προθυμότερον δεῖξαι αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἴσωνες τὰδε εἰσὶν . . . ἀλλὰ Δωριεῖς ἐλεύθεροι ἀπ' αὐτονομίου τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντες. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 77.) This policy explains the readiness of Hippocrates to accept the mediation of Corinth and its colony Corcyra (§ 151). The pride felt by the Syracusans of even three centuries later in their Corinthian blood and Doric brogue is humorously brought out by THEOCRITUS:—

ἐποίεε δὲ ταῦτα τούτους ἀμφοτέρους, νομίσας δῆμον εἶναι συν-
οίκημα ἀχαριτώτατον. τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ τύραννος ἐγεγόνεε
μέγας ὁ Γέλων.

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Address of
the commis-
sioners to
Gelon.

Τότε δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπῆκато ἐς τὰς Συρη-
κούσας, ἐλθόντες αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἔλεγον τάδε· “ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας
Λακεδαιμόνιοι⁴³³ καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι, παραλαμφομένους
σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν γὰρ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάντως
κου πυνθάνεαι· ὅτι Πέρσης ἀνὴρ μέλλει, ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλησ-
ποντον καὶ ἐπάγων πάντα τὸν ἡῶν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρα-
τηλατήσῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρόσχημα μὲν ποιούμενος ὡς ἐπ’
Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ’ ἐωντῷ
ποιήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ δυνάμιός τε ἡκεις μεγάλης, καὶ μοῖρά τοι τῆς
Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μέτα, ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης· βοήθει τε τοῖσι
ἐλευθεροῦσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ συνελυθέρου. ἀλῆς μὲν γὰρ
γινομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς χεῖρ μεγάλη συνάγεται, καὶ ἀξιόμαχοι
γινόμεθα τοῖσι ἐπιούσιν· ἦν δὲ ἡμέων οἱ μὲν καταπροδιδῶσι οἱ
δὲ μὴ θέλωσι τιμωρέειν, τὸ δὲ ὑγιαῖνον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ὀλίγον,
τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη δεινὸν γίνεται μὴ πέση πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς. μὴ γὰρ
ἐλπίσης, ἦν ἡμέας καταστρέψῃται ὁ Πέρσης μάχῃ κρατήσας, ὡς
οὐκ ἤξει παρὰ σέ γε· ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτου φύλαξαι βοηθέων γὰρ

ΞΕΝΟΣ. παύσασθ’, ὦ δύσταντοι, ἀνάνυτα
κατέλλοισαι,

τρυνγόνες· ἐκκναίσευντι πλατεῖαιδοῖσαι
ἅπαντα.

ΓΟΡΓΩ. Μῦ· πόθεν ὠνθρωπος; τί δὲ
τίν, εἰ κωτίλαι εἰμές;

πασάμενος ἐπίτασσε· Συρακοσίαις ἐπιτάσ-
σεις·

ὡς εἰδῆς καὶ τοῦτο, Κορίνθιαι εἰμὲς ἄνωθεν,
ὡς καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφῶν· Πελοποννασιστὶ
λαλεῖμεν·

δωρίσδεν δ’ ἔξεστι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωριέεσσι.
(*Idyll.* xv. 87—93.)

It seems not unlikely that the altar of *Apollo Archegetes* at Naxos, which THUCYDIDES attributes to the original colonists (see note 425, above), received increased honours at this time; and also that to the same revolution is to be ascribed the substitution of the head of Apollo for that of Dionysus on its coins. Gelon also professed an anxiety to revenge the death of the Lacedæmonian Dorieus (§ 158).

⁴³³ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. After this in V fol-

low the words καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, and in S τε καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, which Gaisford adopts. Bekker reads Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, which brings the text into a conformity with the usage of language, but seems a perfectly arbitrary change. All the rest of the MSS have the reading I have adopted. The problem seems rather to be, to account for the variations found in S and V, than to disturb the evidence of the other MSS. And it appears not unlikely that the words καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι crept in from a marginal note, written by some one who observed that in § 161 an Athenian commissioner was mentioned. I do not believe either that at the time of the embassy any other people would be coupled with the Lacedæmonians as of co-ordinate rank in the confederacy, or that at the time at which Herodotus wrote such a representation would be made. This perhaps might have been when the archetypal MS from which S is derived was written; and this was perhaps the feeling of the editor who inserted the copula τε.

ἡμῖν σεωυτῷ τιμωρέεις· τῷ δὲ εὖ βουλευθέντι πρήγματι τελευτῇ
ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν χρηστή ἐθέλει ἐπιγίνεσθαι.” Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον
Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο⁴³⁴ λέγων τοιάδε· “ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, λόγον
ἔχοντες πλεονέκτην ἐτολμήσατε ἐμὲ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον
παρακαλέοντες ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ, ἐμεῦ πρότερον δεηθέντος βαρ-
βαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπάνψασθαι ὅτε μοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους νεῖκος
συνήπτο, ἐπισκῆπτοντός τε τὸν Δωριέος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew πρὸς
Ἑγεσταίων⁴³⁵ φόνον ἐκπρήξασθαι, ὑποτεινοντός τε τὰ ἐμπόρια
συνελευθεροῦν⁴³⁶, ἀπ’ ὧν ὑμῖν μεγάλαι ὠφελίαι τε καὶ ἐπαυρέσεις
γεγόνασι, οὔτε ἐμεῦ εἵνεκα ἦλθετε βοηθήσοντες οὔτε τὸν Δωριέος
φόνον ἐκπρήξόμενοι, τό τε κατ’ ὑμέας τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβά-
ροις νέμεται· ἀλλὰ εὖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄμεινον κατέστη
νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περιελήλυθε ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀπὶκται ἐς ὑμέας, οὕτω
δὴ Γέλωνος μνήστις γέγονε. ἀτιμῆς δὲ πρὸς ὑμῶν κυρήσας οὐκ
ὁμοιώσομαι ὑμῖν ἀλλ’ ἐτοῖμός εἰμι βοηθεῖν, παρεχόμενος διη-
κοσίας τε τριήρεας καὶ δισμυρίους ὀπλίτας, καὶ δισχιλὴν ἵππον,
καὶ δισχιλίους τοξότας, καὶ δισχιλίους σφενδονήτας, καὶ δισχιλίους
ἵπποδρόμους ψιλούς· σῖτόν τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων στρατιῇ ἔστ’
ἂν διαπολεμήσωμεν ὑποδέκομαι παρέξειν· ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ τοιῷδε τάδε
ὑπὶσχομαι· ἐπ’ ᾧ στρατηγός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔσομαι
πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον· ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγῳ οὐτ’ ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθοιμι οὐτ’

158

Reply of
Gelon, spe-
cifying his
resources,
and claim-
ing the com-
mand of the
confede-
rates.

⁴³⁴ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο. See note 346 on i. 98.

⁴³⁵ πρὸς Ἑγεσταίων. Several of the MSS both here and in v. 46 have Αἰγε-
σταίων or Αἰγεστέων.

⁴³⁶ ἐμεῦ πρότερον. . . τὰ ἐμπόρια συν-
ελευθεροῦν. It is curious that in the
account which Herodotus gives of Do-
rieus's adventures (v. 42—46), there is
no hint whatever of any connexion with
Gelon, who here represents himself as
having been anxious to undertake a war
for the sake of avenging him. Neither is
there any mention of the policy which is
here asserted to have been proposed, of
driving out the Carthaginians from the
ports of Sicily. It seems likely therefore
that the two stories come from different
localities,—this (probably) from Magna
Græcia, the other from Lacedæmon. Still
there are points which serve to con-
nect the two. (1) Dorieus is at Sparta
the representative of the Heraclide or
Cadmaeo-dorian interests, against Cleo-

menes the champion of the Achæan (see
notes 100 on v. 41; 108 on v. 44; 111
on v. 45; 189 on v. 72; 172 on vi. 74);
while the policy of Gelon (see above,
note 432) seems to have been exclusively
favourable to the Dorian Greeks in the
Sicilian towns. (2) Dorieus, both in Libya
and at Segesta, is opposed by Carthagi-
nians (v. 42 and 46), the same parties
with whom Gelon asserts himself to have
been at war. (3) Dorieus sails on his
expedition to Sicily by the counsel of a
soothsayer, who expounded to him “the
oracles of Laius” (v. 43). This circum-
stance, and his connexion with Thera
(from whence he procured pilots to carry
him to Libya), would suggest the con-
jecture that he participated in the religious
traditions of the temple of the Ἐρίννης
Λαίου καὶ Οἰδιπόδew which existed at
Sparta (iv. 149), i.e. in the Cadmaeo-
dorian form of the worship of the *χθόνια*
θεὰ, the priesthood of which was heredi-
tary in the family of Gelon (above, § 153).

159 *ἂν ἄλλους πέμψαιμι.* Ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὔτε ἠνέσχετο ὁ Σύναγρος
 Indignation of the Spartan commissioner Syagrus.

160 *εἶπέ τε τάδε· “ἦ κε μέγ’ οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων⁴³⁷,
 A second proposition of Gelon to share the command with Lacedæmon
 πυθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαραιρήσθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός
 τε καὶ Συρηγκονσίων· ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μηκέτι μνησθῆς,
 ὅκως τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοι παραδώσομεν· ἄλλ’, εἰ μὲν βούλει
 βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσθι ἀρξόμενος ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ’ ἄρα
 μὴ δικαιοῖς ἄρχεσθαι, σὺ δὲ μὴ βοηθέειν⁴³⁸.”* Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ
 Γέλων, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους⁴³⁹ τοῦ Σύναγρου,
 τὸν τελευταῖόν σφι τόνδε ἐξέφαινε λόγον· “ὦ ξεῖνε Σπαρτιῆτα,
 ὄνειδεα κατιόντα⁴⁴⁰ ἀνθρώπῳ φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμόν· σὺ
 μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, οὗ με ἔπεισας
 ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι· ὅκου δὲ ὑμεῖς οὕτω περιέχεσθε
 τῆς ἡγεμονίης, οἰκὸς καὶ ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ὑμέων περιέχεσθαι, στρατιῆς
 τε ἔοντα πολλαπλασίης ἡγεμόνα καὶ νηῶν πολλὴν πλεούνων· ἄλλ’
 ἐπεὶ τε ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος οὕτω προσάντης κατίσταται, ἡμεῖς τι
 ὑπείξομεν τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου· εἰ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ ὑμεῖς ἡγέοισθε,
 τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ ἐγὼ· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἡδονὴ τοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν
 ἡγεμονεύειν, τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐγὼ θέλω· καὶ ἢ τούτοις ὑμέας χρέων
 ἐστὶ ἀρέσκεσθαι⁴⁴¹, ἢ ἀπιέναι συμμάχων τοιῶνδε ἐρήμους.”

⁴³⁷ μέγ’ οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων. The expression is a parody on the Homeric verse: ἦ κε μέγ’ οἰμώξειε γέρον ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐδης. (*Iliad*. vii. 125.) It will be observed that Syagrus, although he does not absolutely profess, like Cleomenes, to be “not a Dorian, but an *Achaean*” (v. 72), yet rests the dignity of Lacedæmon on its connexion with the *Achaean* or ante-dorian dynasty of the *Pelopids*. The party of Cleomenes therefore was obviously represented in his person. That it should at the time be predominant at Lacedæmon, in spite of Cleomenes’s own death, is not wonderful, as his daughter and heiress, Gorgo, was the wife of Leonidas (v. 48; vii. 205 and 239), and her celebrity for shrewdness indicates a woman of influence.

⁴³⁸ σὺ δὲ μὴ βοηθέειν. Compare iv. 126: σὺ δὲ στάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι. iii. 134: σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι.

⁴³⁹ ἀπεστραμμένους τοὺς λόγους. Wesseling suspects that the true reading is ἐπεστραμμένους, a form which occurs below in viii. 62: λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα (where see the note). But the reading

in the text gives a fair meaning, “that Syagrus’s views were averse to the proposal,” although undoubtedly the remark of Gelon in reply is a reproof of *violence*, which would be implied in the word ἐπεστραμμένους.

⁴⁴⁰ κατιόντα. Compare κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα (i. 212). The word ἀνθρώπῳ must be taken both with what goes before and what follows.

⁴⁴¹ ἀρέσκεσθαι. The manuscripts S and V have ἀρκέεσθαι, which is adopted by Bekker. Either word would give a good sense; but the reading in the text has more of caustic bitterness in it, which accords better with the spirit of Gelon’s answer. “You must either contrive to *make yourself happy* under these conditions, or take yourself off without the assistance I have described.” And the word ἀρέσκεσθαι is several times used by Herodotus: οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσει (iii. 34). διαίτη οὐδαμῶς ἡρέσκετο Σκυθικῇ (iv. 78). οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς πρήγμασι τοῖς ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιουμένοις (ix. 66). But the other expression occurs in ix. 33: οὐδ’ οὕτω ἔφη ἐτι ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοις μόνουσι.

Γέλων μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προτείνεται· φθάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἄγγελος 161
 τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀμείβετό μιν τοῖσδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ Συρηκου-
 σίων, οὐκ ἡγεμόνος δεομένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπέπεμψεν ἡμέας πρὸς σέ, is repelled
 ἀλλὰ στρατιῆς· σὺ δὲ ὅπως μὲν στρατιὴν πέμψεις μὴ ἡγεύμενος by the
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ προφαίνεις, ὥς δὲ στρατηγήσεις αὐτῆς γλίχσαι· Athenian
 ὅσον μὲν νυν παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλλήνων στρατοῦ ἐδέου ἡγέεσθαι, commis-
 ἐξήρκει ἡμῖν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἐπισταμένοισι ὥς ὁ sioner.
 Λάκων⁴⁴² ἱκανός τοι ἔμελλε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπο-
 λογούμενος⁴⁴³. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπάσης ἀπελαυνόμενος δέεαι τῆς ναυ-
 τικῆς ἄρχειν, οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐδ’ ἦν ὁ Λάκων ἐπὶ τοι ἄρχειν
 αὐτῆς, ἡμεῖς ἐπήσομεν· ἡμετέρη γὰρ ἐστὶ αὕτη γε, μὴ αὐτῶν
 βουλομένων Λακεδαιμονίων. τοῦτοισι μὲν ὦν ἡγέεσθαι βουλο-
 μένοισι οὐκ ἀντιτείνομεν, ἄλλω δὲ παρήσομεν οὐδενὶ ναυαρχείν·
 μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὦδε παράλον⁴⁴⁴ Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλείστον εἵημεν
 ἐκτημένοι, εἰ Συρηκουσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς
 ἡγεμονίης, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι μῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες
 οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων⁴⁴⁵. τῶν καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἄνδρα
 ἄριστον ἔφησε ἐς Ἴλιον ἀπικέσθαι, τάξαι τε καὶ διακοσμήσαι
 στρατὸν· οὕτω οὐκ ὄνειδος οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ λέγειν ταῦτα.” Ἀμεί- 162
 βετο Γέλων τοῖσδε· “ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ὑμεῖς οἴκατε τοὺς μὲν
 ἄρχοντας ἔχειν τοὺς δὲ ἄρξομένους οὐκ ἔχειν· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲν
 ὑπιέντες⁴⁴⁶ ἔχειν τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλετε, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε τὴν ταχίστην
 ὀπίσω ἀπαλλασσόμενοι καὶ ἀγγέλλοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ

⁴⁴² ὁ Λάκων, “the Laconian commissioner.” See note 511 on i. 152.

⁴⁴³ σὺ δὲ ὅπως . . ἀπολογούμενος. This entire paragraph is wanting in F.

⁴⁴⁴ παράλον. The manuscripts S and V have μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὦδε γε παρ’ ἄλλων. It seems to me not unlikely that the iambic line : μάτην γὰρ ὦδε παράλον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν is taken from some tragedian.

⁴⁴⁵ μῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων. The point of being aborigines was a favourite topic with the Athenians, although they had little more reason to despise foreign blood than those to whom DE FOE addressed his satire of “The true-born Englishman.” But they were probably right in considering that in Attica alone no invasion had altogether changed the character of the population.

(See note 179 on i. 56.) In this sense may be justified what EURIPIDES (*ap. Plutarch, de Exilio*, § 13) says of Athens :—

Ἡ πρῶτα μὲν λεὼς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν, αὐτόχθονες δ’ ἐφυμεν· αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι πόλεις, πεσσῶν ὁμοίως διαφορηθεῖσαι βολαῖς, ἄλλαι παρ’ ἄλλων εἰσὶν ἐξαγώγμοι.

⁴⁴⁶ οὐδὲν ὑπιέντες. Some MSS have οὐδὲν ἐπιέντες. But ὑφιέναι is used by Herodotus in several places : ὑπὲς τῆς ὀργῆς (i. 156 ; iii. 52) ; ὑπῆσεν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης (ix. 4) ; and the only reason of the genitive being used in those passages is that a merely partial remission is contemplated, such as would be expressed if the particle *τι* had been introduced. (See note 523 on i. 156, and 347 on iv. 135.)

Gelon puts an end to the conference with a sneer.

ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαραιρήται⁴⁴⁷.” οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήματος, τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν· δηλα γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐστὶ τὸ ἔαρ δοκιμώτατον, τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ στρατιήν· στερισκομένην ὦν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς ἑωυτοῦ συμμαχίης εἵκαζε, ὡς εἰ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξαραιρημένον εἴη.

163

Gelon's
temporizing
policy after
the depar-
ture of the
commis-
sioners.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγγελιοὶ τοσαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματι-
σάμενοι ἀπέπλεον· Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα, δείσας μὲν περὶ τοῖσι
“Ἑλλησι μὴ οὐ δυνέωνται τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ
καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν
ἡμέλησε, ὁ δὲ ἄλλης εἶχετο· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν
Πέρσην διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι
τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθew, ἄνδρα Κῶον, ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἔχοντα
χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, παραδοκῆσονται τὴν μάχην ἥ
πεσέεται· καὶ ἦν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ
διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων· ἦν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες,
ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν.

164

celebrated
for his pro-
bity.

Ὁ δὲ Κάδμος οὗτος, πρότερον τούτων παραδεξάμενος παρὰ
πατρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα Κῶων εὖ βεβηκυῖαν, ἐκὼν τε εἶναι⁴⁴⁸ καὶ
δεινοῦ ἐπιόντος οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης, ἐς μέσον Κῶοισι
καταθεὶς τὴν ἀρχήν, οἶχετο ἐς Σικελίην· ἔνθα μετὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε
τε καὶ κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην⁴⁴⁹ τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μετα-
βαλοῦσαν τὸ οὔνομα.

⁴⁴⁷ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ ἔαρ αὐτῇ ἐξαραι-
ρήται, “that out of her year springtide
has been cut away.” ARISTOTLE, in two
passages (*Rhetoric*, i. p. 1365, and iii. p.
1411), quotes this illustration as one of
Pericles's in his funeral oration, but its
employment there is much more appro-
priate: τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
ἀνερῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
εἰ ἐξαιρεθείη. EURIPIDES compares the
young and ardent citizens to the *spring
growth* of plants (*Suppl.* 447—9):

πῶς οὖν ἔτ' ἂν γένοιτ' ἂν ἰσχυρὰ πόλις,
ὔταν τις, ὡς λειμῶνος ἡρινὸν στάχυν,
τόλμας ἀφαιρῇ καπολωτίζῃ νέους;

and the orator DEMADES appears to have
called the ephebi: ἔαρ τοῦ δήμου (*ap.*
Athen. iii. p. 99).

⁴⁴⁸ ἐκὼν τε εἶναι. See note on viii. 30.

⁴⁴⁹ ἔνθα μετὰ Σαμίων ἔσχε τε καὶ κατ-
οίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην. This seems un-
doubtedly to be the enterprise described
in vi. 22—24, but the sources of the two
narratives can hardly be the same. Here
Scythes appears as tyrant of Cos, leaving
the sovereignty firmly established in the
hands of his son; while in the other pas-
sage Scythes is the tyrant of Zancle, and
being expelled by these very Samians
whom his son Cadmus is here represented
as joining, takes refuge at the Persian
court, and dies there in a good old age
and perfect prosperity. It is also curious
that both Scythes and Cadmus should be
celebrated for their probity (*δικαιοσύνη*),
exhibited in the one instance in the shape
in which that virtue would be most appre-
ciated in a monarchy (vi. 24); in the
other in that which would be most valued

Τοῦτον δὲ ὦν ὁ Γέλων τὸν Κάδμον καὶ τοιοῦτω τρόπῳ ἀπικό-
μενον, διὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν οἱ αὐτὸς ἄλλην συνήδεε ἐοῦσαν, ἔπεμπε·
ὃς ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δικαίοις τοῖσι ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ ἐργασμένοισι, καὶ
τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτων ἐλείπετο· κρατήσας γὰρ μεγάλων
χρημάτων τῶν οἱ Γέλων ἐπετράπετο, παρεὼν κατασχέσθαι, οὐκ
ἐθέλησε, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκράτησαν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, καὶ
Ξέρξης οὐχόκεε ἀπελαύνων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν
Σικελίην ἀπὸ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἄγων.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Σικελίῃ οἰκημένων, ὡς ὅμως καὶ
μέλλων ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Γέλων ἐβοήθησε ἂν τοῖσι
Ἕλλησι, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου⁴⁵⁰ Ἀκραγαντίνων
μουνάρχου ἐξελασθεῖς ἐξ Ἰμέρης Τήριλλος ὁ Κρινίππου, τύραννος
ἐὼν Ἰμέρης, ἐπῆγε ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Φοινίκων καὶ
Λιβύων καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Αἰγύων καὶ Ἐλισύκων⁴⁵¹ καὶ Σαρδονίων
καὶ Κυρνίων⁴⁵² τριήκοντα μυριάδας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἀμίλκαν
τὸν Ἀνωνος Καρχηδονίων ἐόντα βασιλέα· κατὰ ξεινίην⁴⁵³ τε τὴν
ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Τήριλλος ἀναγνώσας, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀναξίλειω⁴⁵⁴
τοῦ Κρητίνεω προθυμίην, ὃς Ῥηγίου ἐὼν τύραννος, τὰ ἑωυτοῦ
τέκνα δοὺς ὁμήρους Ἀμίλκα ἐπῆγγέ μιν ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίην, τιμωρέων
τῷ πενθερῷ Τηρίλλου γὰρ εἶχε θυγατέρα Ἀναξίλειως τῇ οὔνομα

165

Account of
the policy
of Gelon as
given by
the inha-
bitants of
Sicily,

by republican Greece. (See note 154 on vii. 46.) Respecting the Samians mentioned in the text, see note 64 on vi. 24.

⁴⁵⁰ Θήρωνος τοῦ Αἰνησιδήμου. This Theron is the subject of the second and third Olympic odes of PINDAR. His father Ænesidemus is mentioned above (§ 154). Theron derived his descent from Thersander, son of Polynices (*Olymp.* ii. 76—80); and this was also the case with Theras, the eponymous colonizer of Thera (iv. 147). Thersander's daughter *Argeia* was, according to pure Lacedæmonian traditions (vi. 52), the progenetrix of the Lacedæmonian Heraclide dynasty.

⁴⁵¹ Ἐλισύκων. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (on the authority of Hecateus) says that this is a Ligurian tribe.

⁴⁵² Σαρδονίων καὶ Κυρνίων. These are mountaineers from Sardinia and Corsica in the Carthaginian service. See note 307 on v. 106.

⁴⁵³ κατὰ ξεινίην. Most probably Terillus was supported by the influence of Carthage, between which and the Syracusan dynasty a continual struggle for the

possession of all Sicily lasted, until both fell before the power of Rome. Hamilcar would be his 'patronus,' and the great influence of that chief would cause him to be popularly considered by the Sicilians as the 'king' of Carthage. The Aleuadæ are called "kings of Thessaly" in § 6, above.

⁴⁵⁴ Ἀναξίλειω. This Anaxilaus is the person who persuaded the Samians to seize upon Zancle, which at that time was in alliance with Hippocrates, the predecessor of Gelon. (See note on vi. 23.) It may be reasonably supposed that the connexion of Terillus with him sprang out of political relations, for Himera was a colony from Zancle, and its inhabitants were mainly Chalcidians, intermixed with exiles from Syracuse; and the institutions were mainly Chalcidian, although the dialect was a mixture of Chalcidian and Doric. (THUCYDIDES, vi. 5.) Rhegium also was colonized by Chalcidians; so that here also the struggle appears to be between the two races. (See above, note 432, on § 156.)

166
and of the
battle in
which he
defeated
Hamilcar,
on the
same day
as the ac-
tion at
Salamis.

167
Carthagi-
nian ac-
count of
the matter.

They sacri-
fice to
Hamilcar
as a hero.

ἦν Κυνδίππη· οὕτω δὴ οὐκ οἶόν τε γενόμενον βοηθείην τὸν Γέλωνα τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀποπέμπειν ἐς Δελφοὺς τὰ χρήματα. Πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰδε λέγουσι, ὡς συνέβη τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης⁴⁵⁵ ἔν τε τῇ Σικελίῃ Γέλωνα καὶ Θήρωνα νικᾶν Ἀμίλκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὸν Πέρσην· τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν Καρχηδόνιον ἔοντα πρὸς πατρὸς μητροθέν δὲ Συρηκούσιον, βασιλεύσαντά τε κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην Καρχηδονίων, ὡς ἡ συμβολή τε ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς ἔσσοῦτο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀφανισθῆναι πυνθάνομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ζῶντα οὔτε ἀποθανόντα φανῆναι οὐδαμοῦ γῆς· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἐπεξελθεῖν διζήμενον Γέλωνα. Ἔστι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Καρχηδονίων ὁδε ὁ λόγος λεγόμενος εἰκότι χρεωμένων⁴⁵⁶, ὡς οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ ἐμάχοντο ἐξ ἡοὺς ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι δειλῆς ὀψίης· (ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται ἐλκύσαι τὴν σύστασιν) ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μένων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐθύετο καὶ ἐκαλλιρέετο, ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων⁴⁵⁷, ἰδὼν δὲ τροπὴν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ γινομένην, ὡς ἔτυχε ἐπισπένδων τοῖσι ἱροῖσι, ὥσε ἑωυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ· οὕτω δὴ κατακαυθέντα ἀφανισθῆναι. ἀφανισθέντι δὲ Ἀμίλκᾳ τρόπῳ εἴτε τοιούτῳ ὡς Φοίνικες λέγουσι, εἴτε ἑτέρῳ ὡς Συρηκούσιοι, Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦτο μὲν οἱ θύουσι, τοῦτο δὲ μνήματα ἐποίησαν ἐν πάσῃσι τῇσι πόλινσι τῶν ἀποικίδων, ἐν αὐτῇ τε μέγιστον Καρχηδόνη. τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα.

⁴⁵⁵ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης. DIODORUS says that the action took place on the same day with that at *Thermopylae*, adding: ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ δαιμονίου περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ποιήσαντος γενέσθαι τὴν τε καλλίστην νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐνδοξοτάτην ἦταν (xi. 24). ARISTOTLE mentions it as taking place *about the same time* (κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους) with Salamis. (*Poetic.* p. 1459.) Perhaps the exact identification of the *day* sprang from the disposition to draw a parallel between the Sicilian and Athenian commanders and their respective stratagems,—which Diodorus says was a favourite topic with the Sicilians.

⁴⁵⁶ εἰκότι χρεωμένων, “judging from probabilities.” This is a conjecture of Koen, the MSS having *εἰκόνη*. Gaisford prints *οἰκότι*. They had probably no direct evidence of Hamilcar having burnt himself; but only of what he was engaged in when the scale at last turned against

the Carthaginians. DIODORUS says that he was destroyed, while sacrificing, by some cavalry of Gelon's, who were mistaken for a friendly detachment from Selinus.

⁴⁵⁷ ἐπὶ πυρῆς μεγάλης σώματα ὅλα καταγίζων. This was with a view of propitiating Moloch, the tutelary deity of Carthage. (See DIODORUS, quoted in note 676 on i. 199.) The self-sacrifice of the general at last was an action having the same object as the devotion of the Roman consul Decius. (See note 555, below.) Diodorus, in the account he gives of the action, makes *Poseidon* the deity to whom the Carthaginian general was sacrificing. The origin of this diversity of statement is pointed out in note 130 on ii. 45. It was as foreign traders that the Sicilian Greeks knew the Carthaginians, and hence the tutelary deities of the latter would come under their notice as “domini navigantium.”

Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τάδε ὑποκρινάμενοι τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοιαύδε 168
 ἐποίησαν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους παρελάμβανον οἱ αὐτοὶ οἵπερ καὶ ἐς
 Σικελίην ἀπίκато, λέγοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ πρὸς
 Γέλωνα ἔλεγον· οἱ δὲ παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπίσχοντο πέμψειν⁴⁵⁸ τε καὶ
 ἀμυνέειν, φράζοντες ὡς οὐ σφί περιοπτή ἐστὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπολ-
 λυμένη· ἦν γὰρ σφαλῇ, σφέεις γε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δουλεύουσιν τῇ
 πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερέων· ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέον εἶη ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον.
 ὑπεκρίναντο μὲν οὕτω εὐπρόσωπα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει βοηθέειν, ἄλλα
 νοεῦντες ἐπλήρωσαν νέας ἐξήκοντα, μόγις δὲ ἀναχθέντες προσ-
 ἔμιξαν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ· καὶ περὶ Πύλον καὶ Ταίναρον γῆς τῆς
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνεκώχουν τὰς νέας, καταδοκέοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὸν
 πόλεμον ἢ πεσέεται· ἀελλπτεύοντες μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλέ-
 εσθαι, δοκέοντες δὲ τὸν Πέρσῃ κατακρατίσαντα πολλὸν ἄρξειν
 πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος· ἐποίουν ὦν ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἔχωσι πρὸς τὸν
 Πέρσῃ λέγειν τοιαύδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβανόντων τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τούτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ
 ἐλαχίστην, οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἂν, ἀλλὰ πλείστας
 μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους, οὐκ ἐθελήσαμεν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι, οὐδέ τι
 ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι” τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἡλπίζον πλεον τι τῶν
 ἄλλων οἴσεσθαι· τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει. πρὸς δὲ
 τοὺς Ἑλληνάς σφί σκῆψις ἐπεποιήτο, τῇπερ δὴ καὶ ἐχρήσαντο·
 αἰτιωμένων γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅτι οὐκ ἐβοήθεον, ἔφασαν πλη-
 ρῶσαι μὲν ἐξήκοντα τριήρεας ὑπὸ δὲ ἐτησιέων ἀνέμων ὑπερβαλέειν
 Μαλέην οὐκ οἶοί τε γενέσθαι· οὕτω οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Σαλαμίνα,
 καὶ οὐδεμιῇ κακότητι λειφθῆναι τῆς ναυμαχίης. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω
 διεκρούσαντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Κρήτες δὲ, ἐπεὶ τέ σφεας παρελάμβανον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις 169
 ταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· πέμψαντες κοινῇ θεοπρό-
 πους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρώτων, εἴ σφί ἄμεινον γίνεται
 τιμωρέουσι τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ ὑπεκρίναντο· “ὦ νῆπιοι, ἐπι-
 μέμφεσθε⁴⁵⁹ ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενέλεω τιμωρημάτων Μίνως
 ἔπεμψε μηνίων⁴⁶⁰ δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο

Treacherous policy of the Cretans, who were solicited by the same commissioners that applied to Gelon.

The Cretans consult the oracle of Delphi, and are deterred by the response from taking part in the war.

⁴⁵⁸ πέμψειν. S and V have πέμπειν.
⁴⁵⁹ ἐπιμέμφεσθε, “you are not content with.”

⁴⁶⁰ μηνίων. The anger of Minos was excited from the circumstance that the difficulties attending the siege of Camicus

should have induced his subjects to give up his quarrel, and stop short of exacting satisfaction (οὐκ ἐκπράσσειν) from his murderers; while, on the other hand, those who went to Troy persevered,—and that in a cause where the injury was done

αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμίκῳ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ κείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπαχθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου γυναῖκα." ταῦτα οἱ Κρήτες ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν, ἔσχοντο τῆς τιμωρίας. **170** Λέγεται γὰρ Μίνων ⁴⁶¹ κατὰ ζήτησιν Δαιδάλου ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σικανίην τὴν νῦν Σικελίην καλυμένην, ἀποθανεῖν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ· ἀνὰ δὲ χρόνον Κρήτας, θεοῦ σφε ἐποτρύναντος, πάντας πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων ⁴⁶² ἀπικομένους στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Σικανίην, πολιορκεῖν ἐπ' ἕτα πέντε πόλιν Κάμικον τὴν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι ἐνέμοντο· τέλος δὲ, οὐ δυναμένους οὔτε ἐλεῖν, οὔτε παραμένειν λιμῷ συνεστεῶτας, ἀπολιπόντας οἴχεσθαι· ὡς δὲ κατὰ Ἰηπυγίην γενέσθαι πλώοντας, ὑπολαβόντα σφέας χειμῶνα μέγαν ἐκβαλέειν ἐς τὴν γῆν· σιναραχθέντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων, οὐδεμίαν γάρ σφι ἔτι κομιδὴν ἐς Κρήτην φαίνεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα Ὑρίην ⁴⁶³ πόλιν κτίσαντας καταμεῖναι τε, καὶ μεταβυλόντας ἀντὶ μὲν Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους ⁴⁶⁴, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι ⁴⁶⁵ νησιώτας, ἡπειρώτας· ἀπὸ δὲ Ὑρίης πόλιος τὰς ἄλλας οἰκίσαι· τὰς δὲ Ταραντῖνοι χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐξανιστάντες προσέπταισαν μεγάλως· ὥστε φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο ⁴⁶⁶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, αὐτῶν τε Ταραντίνων καὶ

Legend of the death of Minos in Sicily.

Cretan origin of the Messarian Iapyges, who long afterwards destroyed an army of Tarentines

not to a Cretan, but to a foreigner—in prosecuting the quarrel to a successful issue, the capture and destruction of the city. Hence he was said *μηνίειν*, which is nearly the equivalent of *νεμεσᾶν*, although generally confined to the case of gods and heroes. (See note 226 on v. 84.) The Arcadians used the word *ἐρινύειν* in the same sense.

⁴⁶¹ *Μίνων*. Gaisford follows Schweighäuser in printing this form on the authority of two MSS only. Two others (S and B) have the anomalous form *Μίνεω*, and several more *Μίνεων*. Below (§ 171) almost all have *Μίνεω*.

⁴⁶² *πλὴν Πολιχνιτέων τε καὶ Πραισίων*. From THUCYDIDES (ii. 85) it appears that the territory belonging to *Polichne* was contemptuous to that of Cydonia; and that, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, there was hostility between the two towns. *Præsus*, according to STRABYLUS (*ap. Strabon.* x. c. 4, p. 371), was a town of the *Eteocreates*, whom he considered as an aboriginal population, occupying the southern part of the island. At *Præsus* was the temple of the Dictæan Zeus. Strabo calls it sixty *stades* from the sea;

and it is placed by PASHLEY in his map nearly at the western extremity of the island.

⁴⁶³ Ὑρίην. The manuscripts M and P have, both here and below, Ὑρηδίην. Others have Ὑρηλίην, which is either an error for Ὑρηδίην, or Ὑρηδίην for it. STRABO calls the place Οὐρία.

⁴⁶⁴ Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους. HERCATEUS asserted that there were two Iapygias, the one in Italy, the other in Illyria. (*ap. Steph. Byz.* v. Ἰαπυγία.)

⁴⁶⁵ ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι. Bekker reads ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ εἶναι. But all the MSS omit the article. See note 701 on i. 210.

⁴⁶⁶ φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος οὗτος δὴ ἐγένετο. It may be reasonably concluded that this passage was written before the annihilation of the Athenian expedition sent against Syracuse. Had that taken place, the writer could hardly have avoided some reference to it; and indeed the remark he makes would have been glaringly incorrect. The destruction of that armament took place in the month of September, B.C. 413. ARISTOTLE no doubt refers to this carnage of the Tarentines by the Iapygians, where he says that the de-

Ῥηγίνων, οἱ ὑπὸ Μικύθου τοῦ Χοίρου ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῶν ἀστῶν and Rhe-
καὶ ἀπικόμενοι τιμωροὶ Ταραντίνοισι, ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω⁴⁶⁷ gians, the
αὐτῶν δὲ Ταραντίνων οὐκ ἐπέην ἀριθμός. ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος⁴⁶⁸, οἰκέτης latter com-
ἐὼν Ἀναξίλειω, ἐπίτροπος⁴⁶⁹ Ῥηγίου καταλέλειπτο· οὗτος ὅσπερ served by
ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ Ῥηγίου καὶ Τεγέην τὴν Ἀρκάδων οἰκήσας, ἀνέθηκε ἐν Micylus,
Ῥολυμπίῃ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ῥηγίνους 171 who made
τε καὶ Ταραντίνους τοῦ λόγου μοι παρενθήκη γέγονε· ἐς δὲ τὴν are now at
Κρήτην ἐρημωθείσαν, ὡς λέγουσι Πραῖσιοι, ἐσοικίζεσθαι ἄλλους Olympiā.
τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάλιστα Ἑλληνας· τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνωα Crete was
τελευτήσαντα γενέσθαι τὰ Τρωϊκά· ἐν τοῖσι οὐ φλαυροτάτους twice depopu-
φαίνεσθαι ἐόντας Κρήτας τιμωροὺς Μενέλεω· ἀντὶ τούτων δέ σφι lated
ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοῖσι through the
καὶ τοῖσι προβάτοισι· ἔς τε, τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης, wrath of
μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρήτας. ἡ μὲν Minos, be-
δὴ Πυθίῃ ὑπομνήσασα ταῦτα, ἔσχε βουλομένους τιμωρέειν τοῖσι fore the
Ἑλλησι. present race
came in.

Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης τὸ πρῶτον ἐμήδισαν, ὡς διέδεξαν 172

struction of the γνῶριμοι on the occasion was so great as to cause the Tarentine constitution to be changed from the form of a *polity* to that of a *democracy*. (*Polit.* v. p. 1303.) He assigns it to a period soon after the Persian expedition against Greece. DIONODORUS, who puts it in the fourth year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad, relates that the division from Rhegium, after its defeat, was so closely pressed by the Iapygians, as to be unable to prevent the pursuers from entering the town at the same time with themselves and capturing it (xi. 52).

⁴⁶⁷ ἀπέθανον τρισχίλιοι οὕτω, "fell to the number of three thousand on the spot." For this use of the word οὕτω, see note 233 on vi. 104. The words τῶν ἀστῶν appear to me to have been inserted in the wrong place by some transcriber who had omitted them from their proper one,—which I take to be after ἀπέθανον.

⁴⁶⁸ ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος. PAUSANIAS, who calls this individual *Smicythus*, quotes this passage of Herodotus, as stating: ὡς Ἀναξίλα τοῦ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ τυραννήσαντος γενόμενος δούλος καὶ ταμίς τῶν Ἀναξίλα χρημάτων, ὕστερον τούτων ἀπὼν οἴχοιτο εἰς Τεγέαν τελευτήσαντος Ἀναξίλα (v. 26. 4). The statues were by two Argive artists; and from their numbers must have cost a great deal. Pausanias says

the inscription on them related that they were set up as a thank-offering for the recovery of a son from consumption.

⁴⁶⁹ ἐπίτροπος. The relation of Micylus to Anaxilaus seems to have been somewhat the same as that of Mæandrius to Polycrates. (See note 392 on iii. 142.) Mæandrius is called in one passage the γραμματιστής of Polycrates (iii. 123), as Micylus is called the ταμίς χρημάτων of Anaxilaus by PAUSANIAS. (See the last note.) From the word οἰκέτης one may conjecture that he was originally a freed-man,—a position which would not, in a monarchy, prevent him from holding the highest offices, although the Greek republicans would not fail to describe it in the most offensive terms. STRABO calls Hermias the slave of Eubulus of Atarneus (xiii. p. 126). DIONODORUS represents Micylus as being regent for the children of Anaxilaus, who had left him guardian during their minority, he himself dying in the first year of the seventy-sixth Olympiad, consequently three years before the battle related in the text (xi. 48). When they came of age he gave so faithful an account of his stewardship, that the young men pressed him to continue holding the reins of government;—which however he refused, and emigrated to Tegea (xi. 66).

The *Thes-*
salians at
first take
part with
the allies,

and at their
request

173

a Lacedæ-
monian and
Athenian
force takes
up a posi-
tion at
Tempe;

ὅτι οὐ σφί ἦνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμχανέωντο⁴⁷⁰. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἐπυθέατο τάχιστα μέλλοντα διαβαίνειν τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, πέμπουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγγέλους· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ⁴⁷¹ ἦσαν ἀλισμένοι πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀραιρημένοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεουσέων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ ἀγγελοι ἔλεγον· “ἄνδρες Ἑλληες, δεῖ φυλάσσεσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν⁴⁷², ἵνα Θεσσαλίη τε καὶ ἡ σύμπασα ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου⁴⁷³. ἡμεῖς μὲν νυν ἐτοῖμοι εἵμεν συμφυλάσσειν· πέμπειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν· ὥς, εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ· οὐ γάρ τοι προκατημένους τοσοῦτο πρὸ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, μούνους πρὸ ὑμέων δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι. βοηθέειν δὲ οὐ βουλόμενοι, ἀναγκαίην ἡμῖν οὐδεμίαν οἰοί τέ ἐστε προσφέρειν· οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης ἀνάγκη κρέσσων ἔφν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα αὐτοὶ τινα σωτηρίην μηχανεώμενοι⁴⁷⁴.” ταῦτα ἔλεγον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐς Θεσσαλίην πέμπειν κατὰ θάλασσαν πεζὸν στρατὸν, φυλάξοντα τὴν ἐσβολήν. ὥς δὲ συνελέχθη ὁ στρατὸς, ἔπλεε δι’ Εὐρίπουν ἀπικόμενος δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἐς Ἄλουν⁴⁷⁵, ἀποβὰς ἐπορεύετο ἐς Θεσσαλίην, τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν καὶ ἀπίκητο ἐς τὰ Τέμπεα ἐς τὴν ἐσβολήν, ἥπερ ἀπὸ Μακεδονίης τῆς κάτω ἐς Θεσσαλίην φέρει παρὰ Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν, μεταξὺ δὲ Οὐλύμπου τε οὐρέος ἐόντα καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ μυρίους ὀπλίται συλλεγόντες⁴⁷⁶. καὶ σφί προσῆν ἡ τῶν

⁴⁷⁰ τὰ οἱ Ἀλευάδαι ἐμχανέωντο. For a notice of this powerful family, see note 20 on § 6, above.

⁴⁷¹ ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. See note on § 145, above.

⁴⁷² τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν. By these words the Thessalians meant, I conceive, not only the entrance to Thessaly by Tempe, but also the road over the mountains which Xerxes really did take. The entrance by Tempe would not have required any great force to defend it; but in the time of Xerxes the pass over the mountains might perhaps have done so (see note 351 on § 128, above), and hence the demand of the Thessalians on the Hellenic confederates: πέμπειν χρὴ καὶ ὑμέας στρατιὴν πολλήν. But the congress, as Herodotus tells the story, seems

to have imagined that the only pass into Thessaly was the one along the bank of the Peneus.

⁴⁷³ ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. See note 487 on i. 143.

⁴⁷⁴ ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρησόμεθα . . . μηχανεώμενοι. See note 405 on § 148, above.

⁴⁷⁵ Ἄλουν. One MS (*d*) has Σάλον.

⁴⁷⁶ ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο . . . συλλεγόντες. The army seems to have taken up its position *along the bank* of the Peneus, as the most convenient point from which it could, when required, be moved to occupy the neighbourhood of the pass at *Goniuss*. The following extract from the journal of HAWKINS shows plainly that such numbers were not required (and indeed could not be brought into action) for the defence of the defile

Θεσσαλῶν ἵππος· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Εὐαίνετος ὁ Καρήνιον ἐκ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀραιρημένος, γένεος μέντοι ἔων οὗ τοῦ βασιλεῖος, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος. ἔμειναν δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνθαῦτα· ἀπικόμενοι γὰρ ἄγγελοι παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀμύντεω, ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνας⁴⁷⁷, συνεβούλευόν σφι ἀπαλάσσεσθαι, μηδὲ μένοντας ἐν τῇ ἐσβολῇ καταπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος· σημαίνοντες τὸ πλήθους τε τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ τὰς νέας· ὥς δὲ οὗτοί σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, (χρηστὰ γὰρ ἐδόκεον συμβουλευεῖν, καὶ σφι εὖνος ἐφαίνετο ἔων ὁ Μακεδών,) ἐπέιθοντο· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδὴ ἦν τὸ πείθον, ὥς ἐπύθοντο καὶ ἄλλην εἶδον ἐσβολὴν ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην διὰ Περραιβῶν κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν⁴⁷⁸. τῇπερ δὴ καὶ ἐσέβαλε ἡ στρατιὴ ἣ Ξέρξεω· καταβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ὁπίσω ἐπορεύοντο ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν. Αὕτη ἐγένετο ἡ ἐς Θεσσαλίην¹⁷⁴ στρατηγή, βασιλέως⁴⁷⁹ τε μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην^{and the Thessalians,}

of Tempe itself. "The road through the *Bogaz* [the gorge of Tempe] is chiefly the work of art, nature having left only sufficient room for the channel of the river. [This at the end of May, the time at which Hawkins visited it, is generally about fifty yards across.] The road is, nevertheless, broad enough for the use of wheel carriages, and in some parts of its course consists of a paved causeway, which has been laid on the bank of the river; whilst in others it is a solid terrace of rock, hewn out of the base of the mountain. It is carried on for a great way, at the height of twenty or thirty feet above the river; but towards the eastern end of the vale it rises much higher, in order to surmount the brows of some promontories which fall there precipitately, and without any basement, into the water." The *Bogaz* "answers to our description of a rocky dell; and is in length about two miles." The scenery "is distinguished by an air of savage grandeur, rather than by its beauty and amenity; the aspect of the whole defile impressing the spectator with a sense of danger and difficulty, not of security and indulgence." (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. pp. 519—522.)

⁴⁷⁷ ἀνδρὸς Μακεδόνας. It is striking that the heir apparent of the Macedonian king should be thus simply described, especially after the prominent part he has already occupied in the earlier part of the history (v. 19—22). Yet that he is the

person here mentioned seems not to admit a doubt. The Macedonian prince was the πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης of the Athenians (viii. 136); and the part of magnifying the Persian power is that for which his services were especially used (viii. 140). The most obvious solution of the difficulty is, in my opinion, the hypothesis that the last three books of Herodotus's history were, in the original design, an independent work. See note 1 on § 1, above, and that on viii. 104: δις ἥδη ἐγένετο.

⁴⁷⁸ ὥς ἐπύθοντο . . . κατὰ Γόννον πόλιν. That the reason assigned by Herodotus for the retreat of the allies was their real one may be doubted. The only real danger was, lest the enemy, having a navy as well as an overwhelming army, should land in large numbers at Alus in the Thermaic gulf, where they had left their transports, and thus take them in a trap if they remained in the defile. "The enormous numbers of the land force and the ships," of which news was brought, would have been quite unavailable (and the latter entirely inapplicable) for forcing the passes over Olympus and along the gorge of the Peneus. But by cutting them off from their base of operations, the enemy would infallibly have destroyed them.

⁴⁷⁹ βασιλέως. For the principle upon which the article is omitted, see the note on ix. 110: ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς.

unsup-
ported, join
the side of
Persia.

ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ ἑόντος ἤδη ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἐρημωθέντες
συμμάχων, οὕτω δὲ ἐμήδισαν προθύμως οὐδ' ἔτι ἐνδοιαστώσ' ὥστε
ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι ἐφαίνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ἑόντες χρησιμώ-
τατοι.

175 The allies
determine to
make their
stand at
Thermo-
pylae, with
a fleet sup-
porting
them at Ar-
temisium.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, ἐβουλεύοντο
πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἥ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον
καὶ ἐν οἷοισι χώροισιν ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο, τὴν ἐν Θερμο-
πύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στεινότερῃ γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα τῆς ἐς
Θεσσαλίην, καὶ μία⁴⁸⁰, ἀγχοτέρῃ τε τῆς ἐωυτῶν· τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν
δι' ἣν ἤλωσαν οἱ ἁλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ἤδεσαν
ἐοῦσαν πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπίθοντο Τρηχι-
νίων· ταύτην ὧν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσουντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν, μὴ
παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον· τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν
πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰσθμιαῖας⁴⁸¹ ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ
τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους ἑόντα.

176 Description
of the site.

Οἷ τε χώροι οὕτως ἔχουσιν τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον⁴⁸² ἐκ τοῦ
πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηϊκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στεινὸν πόρον, τὸν
μεταξὺ ἑόντα νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίης· ἐκ δὲ
τοῦ στεινοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός· ἐν
δὲ, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱρόν· ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσδοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
ἔστι, τῇ στεινότητι, ἡμίπλεθρον· οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γ' ἔστι τὸ
στεινώτατον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθὲ τε Θερμοπυλέων
καὶ ὀπισθε· κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνούς ὀπισθε ἑόντας ἐοῦσα ἀμαξιτὸς
μόννη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν, ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθηλῆς
πόλιος, ἀμαξιτὸς ἄλλη μοίννη· τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλέων τὸ μὲν πρὸς
ἐσπέρης, ὄρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατείνειν ἐς
τὴν Οἴτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ
τενάγεια· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρους
καλέονσι⁴⁸³ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἵδρυται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι·

⁴⁸⁰ καὶ μία. This is the reading of S and V. The rest of the MSS have καὶ ἑμα, which Gaisford adopts.

⁴⁸¹ γῆς τῆς Ἰσθμιαῖας. The *Histiæotis* here meant is the northern part of the island Eubœa; but above, i. 56, a portion of Thessaly is intended.

⁴⁸² τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. The *strait* is, according to Larcher, intended by this name; and it is not impossible that the term,

proper to the beach, should in common language also be given to the neighbouring roadstead. The English "Spithead" is a somewhat similar case.

⁴⁸³ τὰ Χύτρους καλέονσι. In the time of PAUSANIAS a large plunging bath (κολυμβήθρα) was formed to receive the water which issued from these springs, and the name of them was χύτροι γυναικεῖοι. Pausanias says the water was the brightest

ἐδέδμητο δὲ τείχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπῆσαν· ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τείχος δέσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τήνπερ νῦν ἐκτέαται. ἄτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαι σφεας ⁴⁸⁴, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπῆκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖ ὁ χώρος· πᾶν μηχανεώμενοι ὅπως μὴ σφί ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν. τὸ μὲν νυν τείχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλεόν αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο· τοῖσι δὲ, αὐτῖς ὀρθώσασι, ἔδοξε ταύτη ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δέ ἐστι ἀγχοτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ, Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες.

Οἱ μὲν νυν χώροι οὗτοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδευ· 177
ἅπαντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι, καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει The allies
ἔξουσι χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτη σφί ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι take up
τὸν ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ὥς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐόντα their position
ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ⁴⁸⁵, ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ on
μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτε- hearing of
μίσιον. the arrival
of Xerxes
in Pieria.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθειον διαταχθέντες. Δελφοὶ 178
δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐχρηστηριάζοντο τῷ θεῷ, ὑπὲρ ἐωυτῶν καὶ The Del-
τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταρρωδηκότες· καὶ σφί ἐχρήσθη ἀνέμοισι εὐ- phians, con-
χεσθαι ⁴⁸⁶. μεγάλους γὰρ τούτους ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμμάχους. sulting their
Δελφοὶ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὸ μαντήιον, πρῶτα μὲν, Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι oracle, are
βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐξήγγειλαν τὰ χρησθέντα αὐτοῖσι ordered to
καὶ σφί δεινῶς καταρρωδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον ἐξαγγείλαντες, χάριν pray to the
ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οἱ Δελφοὶ τοῖσι ἀνέμοισι Winds.
βωμόν τε ἀπέδεξαν ἐν Θυίῃ ⁴⁸⁷, τήπερ τῆς Κηφισοῦ θυγατρὸς

blue (γλαυκότατον) of any he had ever seen (iv. 35. 9).

⁴⁸⁴ ἄτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαι σφεας. It was apparently at this time that the Melians discovered the mountain pass which enabled Xerxes to take Leonidas in the rear. See § 215, below.

⁴⁸⁵ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ. The army of Xerxes was detained for some time in Pieria, for the purpose of carrying out the pioneering operations which were

requisite to make the pass into Thessaly available (§ 131, above). It may therefore be supposed that the allies were able to take up their position before it was again put in motion.

⁴⁸⁶ ἀνέμοισι εὐχεσθαι. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Stromm.* vi. c. 3, § 29) gives as the actual words of the oracle the hexameter line: ὦ Δελφοί, λίσσεσθ' ἀνέμους, καὶ λῳίον ἔσται. (See note 172 on i. 53.)

⁴⁸⁷ ἐν Θυίῃ. Thyia is mentioned by

Θυίης τὸ τέμενός ἐστι, ἐπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει· καὶ θυσίῃσιν σφεας μετήϊσαν. Δελφοὶ μὲν δὲ κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀνέμους ἱλάσκονται.

179

A Persian
advanced
squadron
of ten
ships sur-
prises three

180

Hellenic
vessels
posted in ob-
servation at
Sciathus,

181

Ὁ δὲ ναυτικός Ξέρξεω στρατὸς, ὁρμεώμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος, παρέβαλε ¹⁸⁸ νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου· ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουσαι νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροϊζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναιή καὶ Ἀττική· προῖδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν· τὴν μὲν δὲ Τροϊζηνίην, τῆς ἦρχε Πρηξίνος, αὐτίκα αἰρέουσι ἐπισπόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι· καὶ ἔπειτα τῶν ἐπιβατέων αὐτῆς τὸν καλλιστεύνοντα ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης ⁴⁸⁹ τῆς νηὸς ἔσφαξαν, διαδέξιον ποιούμενοι ⁴⁹⁰ τὸν εἶλον τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον καὶ κάλλιστον· τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὖνομα ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιο ⁴⁹¹. Ἡ δὲ Αἰγιναιή, τῆς ἐτρηιάρρχεε Ἀσωνίδης, καὶ τινὰ σφί θόρυβον παρέσχε, Πυθέω τοῦ Ἰσχενόου ἐπιβατεύνοντος ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου γενομένου ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἡ ναὺς ἠλίσκετο, ἐς τοῦτο ἀντείχε μαχό-

PAUSANIAS (x. 6. 2) as being made, in some of the local traditions of Delphi, the daughter of *Castalius*, an autochthonous inhabitant of the place. She was first of all a priestess of Dionysus (and from her the bacchants are called *Thyiades*), and she afterwards bore *Delphus* to Apollo. This is manifestly a mere frame-work pedigree to connect the different portions of the Delphic ritual,—the Pelasgian or autochthonous element-worship (see note 164 on i. 52), the orgies of the northern Dionysus (see note 15 on v. 7), and the anthropomorphism of the Dorian Apollo. Pausanias does not mention the genealogy of *Thyia* recorded in the text; but he does say that some accounts made *Delphus* the son of one *Melæna*, a daughter of *Cephi-sus*. And the name *Thyiades* was given to certain *Attic* women, who every year proceeded to Delphi and joined the Delphic women in bacchic orgies (x. 4. 2). It is not wonderful, therefore, that in *Athenian* traditions the Delphic *Thyia* should receive an *Athenian* parentage. But as she is here connected with an altar of the winds, perhaps she may have been identified with *Orithyia*, “the *Athenian* damsel,” carried off “by boisterous rape” in the arms of the north wind. See below, § 189.

¹⁸⁸ παρέβαλε, “made a cast.” The phrase is appropriate to a direct voyage

from point to point,—which, from the habits of navigators in ancient times, always had something of the nature of a venture in it. See note 493 on § 182, below.

⁴⁸⁹ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρης. S and V have ἐπὶ τὴν πρώρην.

⁴⁹⁰ διαδέξιον ποιούμενοι, “securing a good omen for themselves.” The maxim, “Who spills the foremost foeman’s life, That party conquers in the strife,”

seems to have prevailed very generally among the Indo-Germanic nations. TACITUS relates of the Germans of his time: “Est et alia observatio auspicioꝝ, quâ gravium bellorum eventus explorant: ejus gentis, cum quâ bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria hujus vel illius pro præjudicio accipitur.” (*Germania*, § 10.) And PROCOPIUS says of the Scandinavians (*Thulitæ*): τῶν ἱερῶν σφισιν τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνθρῶπός ἐστιν ὅνπερ ἂν δοριάλωτον ποιήσαιντο πρῶτον. (*De Bello Gotthico*, ii. 15.)

⁴⁹¹ τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιο, “and perchance he will gain something from his name,” i.e. his fate will the more remain in the memories of men, from the circumstance that he bore that name.

μενος, ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας· ὥς δὲ πεσὼν οὐκ ἀπέθανε ἀλλ' ἦν ἔμπνοος, οἱ Πέρσαι, οὔπερ ἐπεβάτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιῆσαι μιν περὶ πλείστου ἐποίησαντο, σμύρνησί τε ἰώμενοι τὰ ἔλκεα καὶ σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι⁴⁹² κατελίσσοντες· καὶ μιν, ὥς ὀπίσω ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἐωυτῶν στρατόπεδον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐκπαγλεόμενοι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ, περιέποντες εὐ· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τοὺς ἔλαβον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ περιεῖπον ὥς ἀνδράποδα. Αἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν νεῶν οὕτω ἐχειρώθησαν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη, 182 τῆς ἐτριηράρχεε Φόρμος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φεύγουσα ἐξοκέλλει ἐς τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πηνεῖου⁴⁹³, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σκάφεος ἐκράτησαν οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐ· ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐπώκειλαν τὴν νεά οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποθορόντες, κατὰ Θεσσαλὴν πορευόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Ἀθήνας. ταῦτα οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ στρατοπεδεύοντες πυνθάνονται παρὰ πυρσῶν ἐκ Σκιάθου· πυνθόμενοι δὲ καὶ καταρρωδίσαντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μετρωμίζοντο ἐς Χαλκίδα, φυλάζοντες μὲν τὸν Εὐριπον, λείποντες δὲ ἡμεροσκοπούς περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίης. Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρ- 183 βάρων τρεῖς ἐπέλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐν Σκιάθῳ τε καὶ Μαγνησίῃς, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης· τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο⁴⁹⁴, ἐὼν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα, Πάμμων Σκύριος· πανημερὸν δὲ πλώοντες⁴⁹⁵ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξα-

but the crew of one of the three escapes by beaching their ship at the mouth of the Peneus.

Three of the ten Persian ships strike on the *Ant* shoal; and the whole navy moves southward to the Magnesian shore.

⁴⁹² σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι. This phrase has been used before (ii. 86) of the bandages in which the mummies were swathed in Egypt.

⁴⁹³ ἐς τὰς ἐσβολὰς τοῦ Πηνεῖου. It is impossible that the Athenian galley should have taken such a course in order to escape the enemy's ships, unless these had come upon Sciathus from the seaward, so as to be, when descried, farther from the main than the Hellenic vessel was; and in order so to make Sciathus, they must have stood out a long way from the main. See above, note 488 on § 179. Several of the MSS have ἐμβολὰς instead of ἐσβολὰς.

⁴⁹⁴ κατηγήσατο, "pointed out," no doubt while sailing with them as a pilot. See note 141 on ii. 49. STRABO mentions

an individual named *Salganeus*, employed by the Persians to take the fleet along the coast on this occasion. His tomb stood by the side of the Euripus on the Chalcidian shore, and the story ran that he was put to death by his employers while they were under the erroneous impression that there was no passage; and that while pretending to carry them through a strait, he was really running their ships on shore at the head of a gulf. On the Sicilian promontory there was a "tomb of *Pelorus*," to which a similar legend attached (i. c. 1, p. 15).

⁴⁹⁵ πανημερὸν πλώοντες. The distance from Therme would be about ninety geographical miles, or 900 *stadēs*. Elsewhere Herodotus makes 700 *stadēs* a long

νύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἔοντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς.

184

Estimate of the numbers of the Persians brought into service at Sepias and Thermo-pylæ.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν, ἀπαθὴς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατὸς, καὶ πλήθος ἦν τηνικαῦτα ἔτι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, τόσον· τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἑουσέων ἑπτὰ καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ χιλίεων, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκάστων τῶν ἔθνέων ἔοντα ὁμίλον τέσσερας καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, καὶ πρὸς, χιλιάδα τε καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζόμενοισι ἐν ἐκάστη νηϊ· ἐπεβάτευν δὲ ἐπὶ τουτέων τῶν νεῶν, χωρὶς ἐκάστων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐπιβατέων ⁴⁹⁶ Περσέων τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακέων τριήκοντα ἄνδρες· οὗτος ἄλλος ὁμίλος γίνεται τρισμύριοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι, καὶ πρὸς, διηκόσιοί τε καὶ δέκα· προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτῳ καὶ τῷ προτέρῳ ἀριθμῷ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ποιήσας ⁴⁹⁷, ὃ τι πλέον ἦν αὐτέων ἢ ἔλασσον, ἀν' ὀγδῶκοντα ἄνδρας ἐνέειναι· συνελέχθη δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἰρέθη, τρισχίλια· ἡδὴ ὦν ἄνδρες ἂν εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι. τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ναυτικὸν ἦν, σύμπαν ἐὼν πεντήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ μία, χιλιάδες τε ἔπεισι ἐπὶ ταύτησι ἑπτὰ, καὶ πρὸς, ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ, καὶ δεκάς. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες ἐγίνοντο· τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὀκτὼ μυριάδες· προσθήσω δ' ἔτι τούτοισι τὰς καμήλους τοὺς ἐλαύνοντας Ἀραβίους, καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄρματα Λίβυας, πλήθος ποιήσας δισμύριους ἄνδρας. καὶ δὴ τό τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ πλήθος συντιθέμενον γίνεται διηκόσιαί τε μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα

The contingent from Asia amounted to 517,610 on board the fleet, and 1,800,000 land troops,

day's run for a vessel (iv. 86). But here he is apparently speaking of war-galleys, not, as in the other case, of merchantmen, whose rate of progress would be much slower than that of a trireme.

⁴⁹⁶ ἐπιβατέων. Gaisford puts the comma after this word. But ἐπιβάται are "marines,"—not "crews" (see above, § 96: ἐπεβάτευν δὲ ἐπὶ πασέων τῶν νεῶν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σάκαι); and it is impossible to suppose that this service was performed by the nations who supplied the crews, in addition to the thirty Persians whose special duty it was. In each of the Attic galleys which fought at Salamis the number of marines was only eighteen,—four archers and fourteen hoplites. (PLUTARCH, *Themist.* § 14.) Moreover, the calculated

sum total does not allow for more than 230 in each ship. There is no doubt an inelegance in the expression ἐπεβάτευν τριήκοντα ἄνδρες ἐπιβατέων, but not such as to give offence in this writer.

⁴⁹⁷ ποιήσας. The word ποιεῖν is here used as the Latin *facere* often is,—in the sense of "to suppose for the sake of argument." CICERO, *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 18: "Fac sane esse summum bonum non dolere." See below, § 186: καὶ δὴ σφεας ποίεω ἴσους ἐκείνοις εἶναι. DEMOSTHENES, *Lept.* p. 279: εἰσὶ τῶν ξένων ἀτελεῖς, δέκα θῆσω· . . . καὶ μὴν τῶν γε πολιτῶν οὐκ εἰσὶ πέντε ἢ ἕξ· οὐκοῦν ἀμφοτέρων ἑκαίδεκα; ποιήσωμεν αὐτοὺς εἴκοσι.

καὶ μία, καὶ πρὸς, χιλιάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ καὶ δεκάς. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἕξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀσίνης στράτευμα ἔξαναχθὲν εἴρηται, ἄνευ τε τῆς θεραπήνης τῆς ἐπομένης καὶ τῶν σιταγωγῶν πλοίων, καὶ ὅσοι ἐνέπλεον τούτοις. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀγόμενον 185
στράτευμα ἔτι προσλογιστέα τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ ἐξηριθμημένῳ ⁴⁹⁸, in addition to the European Hellenes, 24,000 in number, afloat, and the Thracian auxiliaries, probably 300,000.
δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν ⁴⁹⁹. νέας μὲν νυν οἱ ἀπὸ Θρηίκης Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἐκ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐπικειμένων τῇ Θρηίκῃ, παρείχοντο εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐκ μὲν νυν τούτων τῶν νεῶν ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι ⁵⁰⁰ γίνονται. πεζοῦ δὲ, τὸν Θρηίκης παρείχοντο, καὶ Παίονες, καὶ Ἑορδοὶ, καὶ Βοττιαῖοι, καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος ⁵⁰¹, καὶ Βρύγοι ⁵⁰², καὶ Πίερες, καὶ Μακεδόνες, καὶ Περραιβοὶ, καὶ Ἐνιῆνες ⁵⁰³, καὶ Δόλοπες, καὶ Μάγνητες, καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρηίκης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἐθνέων τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι αὐταὶ ὧν αἱ μυριάδες κείνησι προσ-
τεθεῖσαι τῇσι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίνης γίνονται αἱ πᾶσαι ἀνδρῶν αἱ μάχιμοι μυριάδες διηκόσιαι καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τέσσερες ⁵⁰⁴, ἔπεισι δὲ ταύτῃσι ἑκατοντάδες ἑκαίδεκα ⁵⁰⁵ καὶ δεκάς. Τοῦ μαχίμου δὲ τούτου ἔοντος 186
ἀριθμὸν τοσούτου, τὴν θεραπήνην τὴν ἐπομένην τούτοις, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖσι σιταγωγοῖσι ἀκάτοις ἔοντας, καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις πλοίοις τοῖσι ἅμα πλέουσι τῇ στρατιῇ, τούτους τῶν μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν οὐ δοκέω εἶναι ἐλάσσονας, ἀλλὰ πλεῦνας· καὶ δὴ σφεας
ποιέω ἴσους ἐκείνοις εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε πλεῦνας, οὔτε ἐλάσσονας οὐδέν· ἐξισούμενοι δὲ οὗτοι τῷ μαχίμῳ, ἐκπληροῦσι τὰς ἴσας μυριάδας ἐκείνησιν οὕτω πεντηκοσίας τε μυριάδας καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτῶ, καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς, καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο, καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν ἡγάγε Ἑέρξης ⁵⁰⁶ ὁ Δαρείου μέχρι Σηπτιάδος καὶ Θερμοπυ-

⁴⁹⁸ τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης . . . ἐξηριθμῆναι, "but now there is the army brought from Europe still to be added to all this number which has been calculated." See note 6 on i. 1.

⁴⁹⁹ δόκησιν δὲ δεῖ λέγειν. The manuscript P has δόκησιν δὲ δὴ λέγειν, and M, δόκησιν δὲ δὴ δεῖ λέγειν, which is probably an union of two variants. SOPHOCLES uses the expression δόκησιν εἰπεῖν in opposition to ἐξακριβῶσαι λόγον. (*Trachiniae*, 432.)

⁵⁰⁰ δισμύριοι. S and b have τρισμύριοι, and F μύριοι.

⁵⁰¹ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος. See note on

viii. 127: τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει.

⁵⁰² Βρύγοι. See the note 113 on vi. 45, and 231 on § 73, above.

⁵⁰³ Ἐνιῆνες. One manuscript (S) has Αἰνιῆνες.

⁵⁰⁴ τέσσερες. S has πέντε.

⁵⁰⁵ ἑκατοντάδες ἑκαίδεκα. S has χιλιάς καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἕξ.

⁵⁰⁶ οὕτω πεντηκοσίας . . . ἡγάγε Ἑέρξης. The manuscript S has for these words: ὡς συμβαίνειν γίνεσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατὸν μυριάδας πεντακοσίας καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ χιλιάδας τρεῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάδας δύο καὶ δεκάδας δύο ἀνδρῶν, τὸν ἡγάγεν ὁ Ἑέρξης.

187 λέων. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος ἀριθμός· γυναικῶν δὲ σιτοποιέων, καὶ παλλακέων, καὶ εὐνούχων, οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀτρεκέα ἀριθμόν· οὐδ' αὖ ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτηνέων τῶν ἀχθοφόρων· καὶ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομέων ⁵⁰⁷, οὐδ' ἂν τούτων ὑπὸ πλήθεος οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἀριθμόν. ὥστε οὐδέν μοι θῶμα παρίσταται προδοῦναι τὰ ρέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι τῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως τὰ σιτία ἀντέχρησε, θῶμά μοι,

Their daily consumption of corn may be calculated at 111,340 *medimni*. Xerxes himself was the handsomest man in the whole host.

188

The fleet, while riding off *Sepias*, is terribly crippled by a storm,

μυριάσι τοσαύτησι· εὐρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος, εἰ χοίρικα πυρῶν ἕκαστος τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλεόν, ἔνδεκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων τελεομένας ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη, καὶ πρὸς, τριηκοσίους τε ἄλλους μεδίμνους καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ⁵⁰⁸. γυναιξὶ δὲ καὶ εὐνούχοισι καὶ ὑποζυγίοισι καὶ κυσὶ, οὐ λογιζομαι. ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐουσέων τοσούτων μυριαδέων, κάλλεός τε εἵνεκα καὶ μεγάλθεος οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀξιουνικότερος ἦν αὐτοῦ Ξέρξεω ἔχειν τοῦτο τὸ κράτος.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπεὶ τε ὀρμηθεὶς ἔπλεε, καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησῆς χώρας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἑόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὥρμεον πρὸς γῆν, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ἄτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἑόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὀρμέοντο ἐς πόντον, καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ νέας ⁵⁰⁹. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω· ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρω, ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμῆς τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης, ἐπέπεσέ σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίνην καλέουσιν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. ὅσοι μὲν νυν

⁵⁰⁷ κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν τῶν ἐπομένων. See note 347 on § 124, above.

⁵⁰⁸ ἔνδεκα μυριάδας . . . τεσσεράκοντα. This quantity of corn, reckoning the *medimnus* at 48 *chaenices*, would give 5,296,320 rations daily, which is 13,100 more than the numbers adopted in the text require. It seems hopeless to attempt to discover the source of the miscalculation,—which likewise occurs in several other instances in which numbers are concerned in the course of the work.

⁵⁰⁹ πρόκροσσαι ὀρμέοντο ἐς πόντον, καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ νέας, “they rode at anchor head out seaward, and eight ships deep.” The word *πρόκροστος* has occasioned a good deal of discussion; but the derivation of it from *πρὸ* and *κόρση* (= κεφαλὴ) seems to give a sufficient clue to its meaning.

The griffin-heads which encircled the bronze bowl in the Heræum at Samos (iv. 152) stood out *in relief* (the VENETIAN SCHOLIAST on *Iliad*. xii. 258, says that some of the commentators explained *κρόσσαι* as *τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἐξέχοντας λίθους*); and the expression of AGATHOCLES (*ap. Athen.* i. p. 30), relative to the Cyzicenes (that they *ἐβροηδρόμουν, πρόκροσσοι φερόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον*), seems exactly to answer to the English “*rushing headlong into the thick of the battle.*” That the vessels should be arranged with alternate intervals is indeed very likely from the nature of the case, but it does not appear to be implied in the word *πρόκροσσαι*. See note 520 on iv. 203, and note 409, above. See also *Iliad*. xiv. 35: *πρόκροσσας ἔρυσαν*.

αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους⁵¹⁰ καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλῖῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον. Λέγεται δὲ λόγος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορῆν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφί ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν⁵¹¹ ἐπικούρου καλέσασθαι· Βορῆς δὲ, κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον, ἔχει γυναικα Ἀττικὴν Ὠρείθυιαν τὴν Ἐρεχθέος· κατὰ δὲ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς φάτις ὥρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφί τὸν Βορῆν γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα, (ἡ καὶ πρὸ τούτου,) ἐθύοντό τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορῆν καὶ τὴν Ὠρείθυιαν, τιμωρῆσαι σφί καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθων. εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ὀρμέουσι ὁ Βορῆς ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοι σφί λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορῆν πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι· καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν⁵¹².

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι, τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε πλήθος ἄφθονον· ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλέϊ τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι, γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα, μεγάλως ἡ ναυηγίη ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὅς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα· θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εὔρε, ἄλλα τε χρύσεια ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλλετο. (ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν

189

which is, in a tradition, connected with an oracle given to the Athenians.

190

Four hundred galleys at least perished in the gale, and a vast amount of property.

⁵¹⁰ πρὸς Ἴπνους. One manuscript (V) has πρὸς Ἵπνους, and in some MSS of STRABO (ix. c. 5, p. 316) the reading πρὸς Ἵπνοῦντα has a variant, πρὸς Ἵπνοῦντα. But the reading in the text is apparently the only genuine one.

⁵¹¹ τὸν γαμβρὸν. This word is used in the general sense of κηδεστήν, "connexion by marriage."

⁵¹² παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν. PLATO makes Socrates, in his conversation with Phædrus, speak of an altar set up to Boreas in this spot, where, according to the tradition, the damsel was carried off.

(Phædrus, § 6.) On the other side of the river there was a spot called Ἄγρα (or Ἄγραι), and a fane of Artemis Agrotera (PAUSANIAS, i. 19. 6), to which, in the time of Pausanias, the legend attached, that in that spot the goddess first commenced hunting on her arrival from Delos, and the image was therefore represented with a bow in the hand. But Socrates speaks of Ἄγρα as the name of the goddess herself. Another Athenian legend made Orithyia carried off from the Areopagus. (Phædrus, § 7.)

191
Of trans-
ports, the
number
lost is not
known.

The storm
lasts for
three days.

192
On hear-
ing of the
enemy's
loss, the
allied fleet
moves to
*Artemi-
sium*.
The sur-
name *Pre-
server* is
from this
time given
to Posei-
don.

193
The Per-
sian fleet
sails to
Aphetae, in
the Pelas-
gian gulf,

τάλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων, εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος⁵¹³.) Σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμός· ὥστε δείσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ σφὶ κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλλοντο· ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε⁵¹⁴ τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ, ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταείδοντες γόησι⁵¹⁵ τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι, πρὸς τε τούτοισι, καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ· ἢ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε· τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθυον, πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπαντα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπτιάς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηϊδῶν· ὁ μὲν δὴ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην· οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι Σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι, καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες, τὴν ταχίστην ὀπίσω ἡπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμίσιον· ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινὰς σφὶ ἀντιξόους ἔσεσθαι νέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες, περὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχουν, Ποσειδέωνος Σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε νομίζοντες.

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὥς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπάσαντες τὰς νῆας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον· κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἰθείαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χῶρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἐνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταιρῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἴαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεύτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν· ἐπὶ

⁵¹³ συμφορὴ . . παιδοφόνος, "a misfortune by which a child of his was killed;"—not however necessarily by himself, as some both in ancient and modern times have assumed.

⁵¹⁴ ἐχείμαζε, "there was stormy weather." See notes on viii. 113 and 133 for the use of this word, and of χειμερίζειν, by Herodotus.

⁵¹⁵ καταείδοντες γόησι. If this reading is sound, the expression must be interpreted, "laying the wind by means of chants of sorcerers," the Magians not themselves reciting the sacred spells, but employing other subordinate functionaries for this purpose. Reiske proposed to read χοῆσι for γόησι, and Bekker γοῆσι in the sense of γόοισι.

τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὖνομα γέγονε Ἀφέται. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐποιεύντο.

Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τῶν νηῶν τουτέων ἔτυχόν τε ὕσταται πολλὸν 194
 ἐξαναχθεῖσαι, καὶ κως κατείδον τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 νῆας, ἔδοξάν τε δὴ τὰς σφετέρας εἶναι οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ πλέοντες
 ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους· τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης τῆς
 Αἰολίδος ὑπαρχος Σανδώκης ὁ Θαμασίον· τὸν δὲ πρότερον τούτων
 βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ἐπ' αἰτῇ τοιγδε λαβὼν ἀνεσταύρωσε, ἐόντα τῶν
 βασιληῶν δικαστέων⁵¹⁶. ὁ Σανδώκης ἐπὶ χρήμασι ἄδικον δίκην
 ἐδίκασε· ἀνακρεμασθέντος ὦν αὐτοῦ, λογιζόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος εὐρέ οἱ
 πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πεποιημένα⁵¹⁷ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασι-
 λῆιον· εὐρὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ταχύτερα αὐτὸς ἢ
 σοφώτερα ἐργασμένος εἶη, ἔλυσε. βασιλέα μὲν δὲ Δαρεῖον οὕτω
 διαφυγῶν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, περιῆν· τότε δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας κατα-
 πλώσας, ἔμελλε οὐ τὸ δεύτερον διαφυγῶν ἔσεσθαι· ὡς γάρ σφεας
 εἶδον προσπλέοντας οἱ Ἑλληνες, μαθόντες αὐτῶν τὴν γινομένην
 ἀμαρτάδα, ἐπαναχθέντες, εὐπετέως σφέας εἶλον. Ἐν τουτέων μὴ 195
 Ἀρίδωλις πλέων ἦλω, τύραννος Ἀλαβάνδων τῶν ἐν Καρίῃ· ἐν
 ἐτέρῃ δὲ, ὁ Πάφιος στρατηγὸς Πενθύλος ὁ Δημονόου, ὃς ἦγε μὲν
 δυνώδεκα νῆας ἐκ Πάφου, ἀποβαλὼν δὲ σφεων τὰς ἑνδεκα τῷ
 χειμῶνι τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Σηπιάδα, μὴ τῇ περιγενομένη κατα-
 πλέων ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίον ἦλω. τούτους οἱ Ἑλληνες, ἐξιστορήσαντες
 τὰ ἐβούλουντο πυθέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατιῆς, ἀποπέμπουσι
 δεδεμένους ἐς τὸν Κορινθίων Ἰσθμόν.

Ὁ μὲν δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς, παρέξ τῶν πεν- 196
 τεκαίδεκα νεῶν τῶν εἶπον Σανδώκεα στρατηγέειν, ἀπῆκετο ἐς
 Ἀφέτας. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς, πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ
 Ἀχαιῆς, ἐσβεβληκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιάς· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ
 μὲν ἄμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἀποπειρώμενος καὶ
 τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἶη τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνισι·
 ἔνθα δὲ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλίποντο πολλόν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν
 Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν, Ὀνόχωνος μούνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ

with the
 exception
 of fifteen
 vessels,
 which were
 captured by
 the allies
 at Artemi-
 sium.

Anecdote of
 Sandoces.

⁵¹⁶ τῶν βασιληῶν δικαστέων. Of these
 functionaries, answering pretty nearly to
 the *Ulemah* of the modern Turkish mo-
 narchy, see iii. 31, above.

⁵¹⁷ εὐρέ οἱ πλέω ἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀμαρτημά-
 των πεποιημένα. See note 421 on iii.
 154.

Xerxes
 arrives,
 after a
 march of
 three days
 through
 Thessaly
 and Achæa,
 in *Melis*.
 He finds th
 Thessalian
 cavalry very
 inferior to
 his own.

τὸ ῥέεθρον, πινόμενος· τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιΐῃ ποταμῶν ῥέοντων, οὐδὲ ὅστις ὁ μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἡπιδανός, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε, εἰ μὴ φλαύρως.

197

Local
legend
respecting
the temple
of Zeus
Laphystius
told to
Xerxes.

Ἐς Ἄλουν δὲ τῆς Ἀχαιΐης ἀπικομένῳ Ξέρξῃ, οἱ κατηγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ βουλόμενοι τὸ πᾶν ἐξηγέσθαι⁵¹⁸, ἔλεγόν οἱ ἐπιχώριον λόγον, τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Λαφυστίου⁵¹⁹ Διός· ὡς Ἀθάμας ὁ Αἰόλου ἐμηχανήσατο Φρίξῳ μόρον, σὺν Ἴνῳι βουλευσας· μετέπειτα δὲ, ὡς ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀχαιοὶ προτιθεῖσι τοῖσι ἐκείνου ἀπογόνοισι ἀέθλους τοιούσδε· ὅς ἂν ἦ τοῦ γένεος τούτου πρεσβύτατος, τούτῳ ἐπιτάξαντες ἔργεσθαι τοῦ πρυτανηίου, αὐτοὶ φυλακὰς ἔχουσι· (λήϊτον δὲ καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανηῖον οἱ Ἀχαιοί) ἣν δὲ ἐτέλθῃ, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως ἔξεισι πρὶν ἢ θύσεσθαι μέλλῃ. ὥστε ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, πολλοὶ ἤδη τῶν μελλόντων τούτων θύσεσθαι, δείσαντες, οἷχοντο ἀποδράντες ἐς ἄλλην χώραν· χρόνου δὲ προΐοντος ὀπίσω κατελθόντες, ἦν ἀλίσκονται ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ πρυτανηῖον, ὡς θύεται τε, ἐξηγέοντο, στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεῖς⁵²⁰ καὶ ὡς σὺν πομπῇ ἐξαχθεῖς· ταῦτα δὲ πάσχουσι οἱ Κυτισσώρου τοῦ Φρίξου παιδὸς ἀπόγονοι, διότι καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρας ποιευμένων⁵²¹ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἀθάμαντα τὸν Αἰόλου, καὶ μελλόντων μιν θύειν, ἀπικόμενος οὗτος ὁ Κυτίσσωρος⁵²² ἐξ Αἴης τῆς Κολχίδος ἐρρύσατο· ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, τοῖσι ἐπιγεγενομένοις ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε⁵²³. Ξέρξης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ὡς κατὰ

⁵¹⁸ οἱ κατηγεμόνες ἐξηγέσθαι. These words are omitted in S.

⁵¹⁹ Λαφυστίου. Some of the MSS have the form Ἀφυστίου.

⁵²⁰ στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεῖς. This was an essential part of the particular ritual, with which the Athenians were so familiarized through SOPHOCLES'S play of *Athamas*, as to suggest the allusion in ARISTOPHANES:—

ΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. καθίξε τοῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν ἱερὸν σκίμποδα.

ΣΤΡΕΨΙΑΔΗΣ. ἰδοὺ κάθημαι. ΣΟΚ. τουτονὶ τοῖνον λαβὲ τὸν στέφανον. ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἐπὶ τί στέφανον; οἶμοι, Σώκρατες, ὥσπερ με τὸν Ἀθάμανθ' ὅπως μὴ θύσετε. (*Clouds*, 256.)

The Scholiast on this passage says that Sophocles represented Athamas as sitting crowned and ready to be sacrificed at the

altar, and saved by Heracles just as the fatal blow was about to be given.

⁵²¹ καθαρμὸν . . . ποιευμένων. He was to be slain for the purpose of removing the plague of drought which had been brought upon the land by his injurious treatment of *Nephele*, the mother of his children Phrixus and Helle. (SCHOLIAST on *Aristoph. Nub.* 256.)

⁵²² ὁ Κυτίσσωρος. This personage appears in the local legend to take the part filled by Heracles in Sophocles's play.

⁵²³ μῆνιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέβαλε. He brought upon himself the anger of the deity by interrupting the course of vengeance. At *Psyllis* or *Phyllis* in Bithynia, the legend prevailed that Phrixus first landed there with the ram, and there also sacrificed him on the altar of Zeus *Laphystius*. (SCHOLIAST on *Apollonius Rhodius*, ii. 652.) The Scholiast adds: καὶ μέχρι νῦν νόμος εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἕνα

τὸ ἄλσος ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς τε ἔργετο αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ παρήγγειλε· τὼν τε Ἀθάμαντος ἀπογόνων τὴν οἰκίην ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσέβετο.

Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαΐῃ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων 198
τῶν χώρων ἥϊε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδι παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ Topography of the coast of the Me-
lian bay.
ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται· περὶ δὲ τὸν
κόλπον τοῦτόν ἐστι χώρος πεδινὸς, τῇ μὲν εὐρὺς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα
στεινός· περὶ δὲ τὸν χώρον οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληῖται
πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδι γῆν, Τρηχίνιαί πέτραι καλεόμεναι. πρώτη
μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπὸ Ἀχαΐης, Ἀντικύρη Anticyra
on the
brook
Spercheus;
παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σπερχηΐος ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιῶνων ἐς θάλασσαν, twenty
stadēs fur-
ther, the
brook
Dyras;
ἐκδιδοῦ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου, διὰ εἴκοσί κου σταδίων, ἄλλος ποταμὸς,
τῷ οὖνομα κεῖται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ καιομένῳ
λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου, δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων,
ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐστὶ, ὃς καλεῖται Μέλας. Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ 199
τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ twenty
stadēs fur-
ther, the
Blackwater;
εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασ- five stadēs
beyond
which is
Trachis, in
the widest
part of the
plain.
σαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχίς πεπόλισται· δισχιλία τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια
πλήθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί· τοῦ δὲ οὖρεος τὸ περικληῖται τὴν γῆν τὴν
Τρηχινίην, ἐστὶ διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος· διὰ δὲ τῆς
διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην τοῦ οὖρεος.
Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοίνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ 200
Ἀσωποῦ· ὃς ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ῥέων, ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοῦ· Gorge of
the Asopus,
to the south
of Trachis.
South of the
Asopus is
the Phae-
nix; and
fifteen stadēs
south of the
Phœnix,
Thermo-
pylae; be-
tween which
and the
κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοίνικα ποταμὸν στεινότατόν ἐστι· ἡμαξίτις γὰρ μία
μούνη δέδμηται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδιά
ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερ-
μοπυλέων κόμῃ τέ ἐστι, τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη κεῖται, παρ' ἣν δὴ
παρarrέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῦ, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτὴν
εὐρὺς, ἐν τῷ Δήμητρος τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἱδρύται, καὶ ἔδραι
εἰς Ἀμφικτυόσι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτυόνος ἱρὸν.

τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Διὶ. The ETYMOLOGICUM MAGNUM gives Λαφύστιος as a name of Dionysus. This must have been the Dionysus ὠμωστής or ὠμάδιος, to whom in ancient times a man used to be offered as a victim in Chios and Tenedos, the mode of sacrifice being the tearing him in pieces (PORPHYRY, *de Abstinētiā*, ii. 55); and to

whom Themistocles was said to have immolated three nephews of Xerxes immediately before the action at Salamis. (PHANIAS, *ap. Plutarch. Themist.* § 13.) The ritual of Ζεὺς Λυκαῖος in Arcadia was of the same kind with that mentioned in the text, and is coupled with it in the pseudo-platonic dialogue *Minos*, § 5.

201

Phœnix is the village *Anthèle*, and the temple of *Demeter Amphictyons*. Position of the Persians and Greeks.

Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ· οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες, ἐν τῇ διόδῳ· (καλέεσται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι.) ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοις· ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορῇν ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων, τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου.

202

Roll of the troops assembled at Thermopylae,

Ἦσαν δὲ οἶδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσην ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ· Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλίται, καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων· ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκადίης εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκადίης χίλιοι. τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων· ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι· καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιοῦντος διηκόσιοι· καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδώκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρήσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν, Θεσπιέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. Πρὸς τούτοις ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο ⁵²⁴ Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ, καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφεας ἐπεκαλέσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην· ἢ θάλασσά τε σφί εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρομένη καὶ Αἰγινήτεων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφί εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον· εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα, οὐδὲ ἔσσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη· τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν μέγιστα· ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὡς εἴντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν ἄν· οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβόηθον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα.

204

under *Leontidas*, son of *Anaxandrides*, king of *Lacedæmon*. His pedigree up to *Heracles*.

Τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστων· ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδω, τοῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδω, τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου, τοῦ Εὐρυκράτεος, τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος ⁵²⁵, τοῦ Τηλέκλου, τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω, τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω, τοῦ Δορύσσου ⁵²⁶, τοῦ Λεωβότew, τοῦ Ἐχεστράτου ⁵²⁷,

⁵²⁴ ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο. See note 201 on v. 75.

⁵²⁵ τοῦ Πολυδώρου, τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος. These two names are omitted in S.

⁵²⁶ Δορύσσου. Some of the MSS have Δορυάγου.

⁵²⁷ Ἐχεστράτου. One manuscript (b) has Ἀρχεστράτου.

τοῦ Ἥγιος⁵²⁸, τοῦ Εὐρυσθένης, τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ Κλεοδαίου, τοῦ Ὑλλου, τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιληίην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου. Διξὼν γάρ οἱ ἑόντων²⁰⁵ πρεσβυτέρων ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φροντίδος περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἑόντος ἀλλὰ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ⁵²⁹, οὕτω δὲ ἐς Λεωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιληΐη· καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγεγόνεε Κλεομβρότου, (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδew παῖς,) καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα⁵³⁰. ὃς τότε ἦγε ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους⁵³¹ καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἑόντες· παραλαβὼν δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου⁵³². τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούρους Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίζειν⁵³³. παρεκάλεε ὦν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψουσι, εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἑλληνῶν συμμαχίην· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.

His succession to the kingdom was unexpected, and occasioned by the death of two elder brothers, and a marriage with the daughter and heiress of one of them.

Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρῶτους ἀπέπεμψαν Σπαρ-²⁰⁶

⁵²⁸ Ἥγιος. S and some other MSS have Ἥγήσιος.

⁵²⁹ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ. See v. 42—46.

⁵³⁰ καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. By marrying the daughter, the only surviving child (v. 48) of his half-brother, Leonidas doubtless conciliated the party to which the family of his father's second wife belonged. If he were, as some accounts stated (v. 41), born a twin with his brother Cleombrotus, this marriage would decisively turn the scale in his favour. The importance of the fact is suggested by the particles καὶ δὴ καί. (See note 6 on i. 1.) Although the author here distinctly states that Cleombrotus was the youngest of the brothers, it is remarkable that where he mentions the report of the twins, he puts him *before* Leonidas. It seems therefore not improbable that Leonidas, when asserted to be a twin at all, was represented as the last born. His absence from Lacedæmon at the time of the festival of the *Carnea* (see note 534, below) was perhaps not an unwelcome compliment to the Achæan party.

⁵³¹ ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκοσίους. The guard of honour for a Lacedæmonian king seems to have been three hundred; and while acting in this capacity they were probably called his *knights*. See viii. 124, and compare THUCYDIDES, v. 72, where they form the body guard of the king Agis. What Leonidas appears to have done on this occasion was, to select his "regular guard" (ἄνδρας τοὺς κατεστεῶτας), to the number of three hundred, taking none for the purpose but men who had children. See note 130, a, on vi. 56.

⁵³² Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. PLUTARCH (*de Malign. Herodoti*, § 33) states on the authority of Aristophanes, the Alexandrine grammarian, that the commander of the Theban detachment was named, not *Leontiades*, but *Anaxander*. This he does simply for the purpose of shaking the credit of Herodotus in what he says of the temper of the Thebans.

⁵³³ ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο μηδίζειν, "because strong charges of sympathy with Median interests had been brought against them."

Cause assigned why only a small force was sent forward under *Leonidas*.

τιῇται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται· μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἣν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνονται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδὼν⁵³⁴, ἔμελλον ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεῖ. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνενῶντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσιν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τὸ Ὀλυμπιάς⁵³⁵ τούτοις τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὐκ ὄντος δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον, ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενενῶντο ποιήσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ δὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες, ἐβουλευόντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς· τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε, ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχέοντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ⁵³⁶, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ὥς ὄντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τῶν Μίδων ἀλέξασθαι.

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Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἵππέα, ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποιοίεν; ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι ἔων ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ὥς ἀλισμένη εἶη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ ὀλίγῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὥς εἶησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἔων γένος Ἑρακλείδης· ὥς δὲ προσέλασε ὁ ἵππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηετό τε καὶ κατῶρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειτο· ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγ-

A horseman sent by Xerxes to reconnoitre finds the Lacedaemonians exercising, and combing their hair in front of their lines.

⁵³⁴ Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδὼν. There was an especial reason why this festival should not have been interrupted. In it Apollo was celebrated under the title of "Leader of the army" (ἡγήτωρ), with a particular reference to the voyage from Naupactus to the Peloponnese on the occasion of the great invasion. To cut short the ritual of a deity viewed in such a relation would be more than an act of irreverence; it would be in itself an *ill omen* for the very expedition about to be undertaken. And for the extreme importance of this point, see notes on viii. 132 and ix. 92. But the absence of *Leonidas* from this festival was possibly not

undesigned in the existing crisis. See note 530, above, and note 555, below.

⁵³⁵ ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τὸ Ὀλυμπιάς. Hence the answer of the Arcadian refugees, below, viii. 26.

⁵³⁶ περισπερχέοντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ. Valcknaer proposes to read *περισπερχθέντων*, *EO* being substituted for *ΘΕ* by the negligence of the copyist, on the ground of the active form *σπέρχω* being nowhere used by Herodotus, but always the passive *σπέρχεσθαι*. Thus: *ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀριστογόρῃ* (v. 33). *Κροῖσος δὲ σπέρχθεις εἶπε* (i. 32). *SUIDAS* says: *σπερχθεις παρ' Ἡροδότῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ παραχθεις, θυμωθεις*.

μένοι τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους· ταῦτα δὴ θεώμενος ἐθώμαζε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε, μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπῆλανε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γάρ τις ἐδίωκε ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκέρησε⁵³⁷ πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα τάπερ ὁπώπее πάντα. Ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν, ὅτι παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἀπολεύμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιεῖν, μετεπέμψατο Δημήρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἔοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ἤκουσας μὲν μεν καὶ πρότερον, εὔτε ὀρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας δὲ, γέλωτά με ἔθεν⁵³⁸ λέγοντα τάπερ ὥρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθειῆν ἀσκέειν ἀντὶα σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι· ἀκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν· οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπικάται μαχεσόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται· νόμος γὰρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται· ἐπίσταιο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σέ, βασιλεῦ, ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλῆην τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι προσφέρειαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους.” κάρτα τε δὴ ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὄντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἔοντες τῇ ἐωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχέσονται; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστη⁵³⁹, ἣν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταῦτη ἐκβῇ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω.”

Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα· τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρ-
εξῆκε⁵⁴⁰ ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσεσθαι· πέμπτη δὲ,

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Conversa-
tion be-
tween
Xerxes
and De-
maratus
on the sub-
ject of the
Spartan
character.

210

Xerxes,
after four

⁵³⁷ ἐνεκέρησε. The use of the compound verb ἐγκύρειν in the regimen of the simple verb κυρεῖν is not easily explained. Perhaps the preposition has the force of the English “withal,” as it sometimes does when used without a case, in the manner of a conjunction. See note 63 on vi. 23, above. Bekker reads ἐκύρησε from conjecture.

⁵³⁸ γέλωτά με ἔθεν. Compare iii. 29: ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε.

⁵³⁹ ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστη. In the Persian view, falsehood was the lowest vice in the scale of depravity; so that the imprecation of the Spartan king on himself was as strong as if he had said ἀνοσιωτάτω. See i. 138: αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται· δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἴνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεῦδος λέγειν.

⁵⁴⁰ παρεξῆκε. S and V have παρῆκεν.

days' delay,
orders an
attack on
the pass,

211

which en-
tirely fails

ὥς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεῖς, ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ· ὥς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἐπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεσήϊσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπελαύνοντο καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίνοντες· δῆλον δ' ἐποίουν παντί τεω καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλέϊ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι' ἡμέρης. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιερίποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήϊσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήϊσαν τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἡρχε Ὑδάρνης⁵⁴¹, ὥς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι· ὥς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἅτε ἐν στεينوπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἥπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρῆσασθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρέωντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήϊσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισιν· μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἐπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνέατο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρεώμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τέλεα⁵⁴² καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλυνον ὀπίσω. ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θηεύμενον τρις ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου⁵⁴³, δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. Τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον· ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατετρωματῖσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἴους τε ἔσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι, συνέβαλλον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν

⁵⁴¹ Ὑδάρνης. See note 254 on § 83, above.

⁵⁴² κατὰ τέλεα, "by squadrons." See note on ix. 24, below.

⁵⁴³ ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου. This act expresses sudden consternation. So Darius

is described as ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας when Zopyrus presents himself mutilated before him (iii. 155). With the grave orientals nothing could so completely indicate an all-engrossing feeling of fear or horror as a gesture of this kind.

φυλάζοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν εὔρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ for two whole days.
Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνῶρων, ἀπήλυνον.

Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρήσεται ⁵⁴⁴ τῷ παρεόντι πρὶν 213
γματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδῆμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεύς ἡλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, The perplexity of Xerxes is put an end to by the treachery of a Melian, who shows him a path over the mountains.
ὥς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσσεσθαι ἔφρασε τε τὴν
ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος φέρουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ
διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων ὕστερον δὲ δέισας
Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην· καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν
Πυλαγόρων (τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλληγομένων)
ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατήλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντι-
κύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου· ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης
οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλτῃ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι
ὀπισθε λόγοισι ⁵⁴⁵ σημανέω· ἐτιμῆθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
οὐδὲν ἦσσαν. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε.

Ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὥς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω 214
ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυθαλλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσὶ οἱ εἶπαντες
πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους, καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος
τοῖσι Πέρσησι, οὐδαμῶς ἐμοί γε πιστός· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρὴ
σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκίρυνξαν οὐκ
ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυθαλλῷ ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιάλτῃ τῷ
Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ,
φεύγοντα τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἶδαμεν εἰδέειν μὲν
γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἐὼν μὴ Μηλιεύς, ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης
εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμικηκῶς εἶη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιάλτης γὰρ ἐστὶ
ὁ περιηγησάμενος τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἴτιον
γράφω.

Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρεσε ⁵⁴⁶ τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης κατεργά- 215
σασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα, καὶ τῶν Hydarnes and his division are despatched with Ephialtes by the mountain pass.
ἐστρατιῆγες Ὑδάρνης· ὠρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρα-
τοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεύρου μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μη-
λιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας τότε,
ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράξαντες τείχεϊ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ

⁵⁴⁴ χρήσεται. Gaisford has given this reading on the authority of one manuscript (S). The others are divided between χρήσεται and χρήσαιο. See note 34 on v. 12.

⁵⁴⁵ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι. Herodotus does not fulfil this promise. See note 620 on i. 184.

⁵⁴⁶ Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρεσε. S has Ξέρξη δὲ ἐπεὶ ἤρεσε.

216
Description
of it.

πολέμου⁵⁴⁷. ἔκ τε τόσου δὴ κατεδέδεκτο εἶδον οὐδὲν χρηστὴ
Μηλιεῦσι⁵⁴⁸. Ἔχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὐτῇ ἀρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ
τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ῥέοντος· οὐνομα δὲ
τῷ οὐρεὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῷ τὸντὸ κεῖται Ἀνόπαια· τείνει δὲ ἡ
Ἀνόπαια αὐτῇ κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ οὐρεος· λήγει δὲ κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν
πόλιν, πρῶτην εἶδον τῶν Λοκρίδων πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ
Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον λίθον⁵⁴⁹ καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας·

217
They reach
the top of
the moun-
tain at day-
break.

τῇ καὶ τὸ στενωτάτον ἐστι. Κατὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ
οὕτω ἔχουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες ἐπορεύοντο
πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὐρεα τὰ Οἰταίων ἐν
ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων· ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε⁵⁵⁰, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ’
ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὐρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὐρεος ἐφύλασσαν, ὥς
καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκῶν χίλιοι ὀπλῖται, ῥύομενοί τε
τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ
κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρητῶν· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος
ἀτραπὸν ἐθέλονται Φωκῆες ὑποδεξιόμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσαν.

218 Ἔμαθον δὲ σφεας οἱ Φωκῆες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες
γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ οὐρος πᾶν ἐὼν δρυὼν ἐπίπλεον· ἦν
μὲν δὴ νημεμία, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ ὥς οἰκὸς ἦν φύλλων
ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκῆες καὶ
ἔδυντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν⁵⁵¹. ὥς δὲ εἶδον

⁵⁴⁷ ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου. See note 487 on i. 143.

⁵⁴⁸ ἔκ τε τόσου . . . Μηλιεῦσι, “from so long back had the Melians been made aware of its capabilities for mischief.” The euphemism of οὐδὲν χρηστὴ in the sense of “extremely pernicious” is very common. There seems no record of any particular occasion on which the Thessalians succeeded, by means of this path, in turning the position of the Phocians. It was doubtless in the very early times, when the Thessalian tribes came first into the region which they inhabited in the time of Herodotus (above, § 176). The wall, said to be built by the Phocians on that occasion, had fallen with age.

⁵⁴⁹ Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον λίθον. *Melampyrgus* seems to have been a surname of Heracles, who is represented as having in wrath slain two brothers called Cercopes for ridiculing him. The term *κέρκωψ* appears to have been the name of a kind of monkey (into which one version

of the legend made the brothers to be metamorphosed: ZENOBIUS, *Proverb.* iv. 50), and hence the term is used both to denote a person of extreme cunning, and one who delights in mischievous annoyance. ÆSCHINES (*De falsâ legatione*, § 43) uses it in the former sense: ὁ τι μὲν οὖν ποῦ? ὁ Κέρκωψ, ἢ τὸ καλούμενον παιτάλημα, ἢ τὸ παλίμβολον, ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥήματα, οὐκ ᾔδειν πρότερον. Another version of the legend made the brothers changed into stone, a form of the story which probably prevailed in the locality described in the text, although the catastrophe is laid in Lydia at the court of Omphale. (See Gaisford’s *PARÆMIOGRAPHI GRÆCI: Bodleian Proverbs*, No. 537.)

⁵⁵⁰ ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, following P, F, and b, omits δὴ. S has ἡὼς τε δὴ ἔφαινε.

⁵⁵¹ ἀνά τε ἔδραμον . . . οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν, “just as the Phocians got on the

ἄνδρας ἐνδυνομένους ὄπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδέν σφι φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξοον ἐνεκύρησαν στρατῶ· ἐνθαῦτα Ἰδάρνης καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἴρετο τὸν Ἐπιάλτεια ποδαπὸς εἶη ὁ στρατός; πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως, διέτασσε τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἐς μάχην· οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὡς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσι τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν⁵⁵², καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτεια καὶ Ἰδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τάχος.

Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι εὐδῶσι Ἑλλήνων, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις 219
Μεγιστής ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρά ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα
ἡοὶ σφι θάνατον· ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦϊσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν
Περσέων τὴν περίοδον· οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμνησαν τρίτοι δὲ
οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ἤδη διαφαινούσης
ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφῶν ἐσχίζοντο
αἱ γνώμαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀν-
έτεινον· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ
διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα
Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρασκευάδατο. Λέγεται δὲ ὡς αὐτὸς
σφῶν ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ
Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρῶσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν
τάξιν ἐς τὴν ἡλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχὴν⁵⁵³. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ
γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι^a, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεὶ τε ἦσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους
έόντας ἀπροθύμους καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεύσαι
σφῶν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπίεναί οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν. μένοντι
δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξη-

The Greeks
in the pass
learn the
passage of
the moun-
tain by the
enemy

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and Leoni-
das sends
away most
of his
troops.

alert, and armed themselves, on that instant the barbarians were upon them." The synchronism of the two facts is indicated by the particles τε—καί, which connect the clauses; just as above: ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὐρεος, "just as day broke, now, they arrived on the summit of the mountain." See note 472 on iv. 181.

⁵⁵² ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, "that they were making an attack upon them in the first instance," i.e. that the crushing the Phocian force was the first object of the movement. See the next note.

⁵⁵³ ἐς τὴν ἡλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχὴν. The use of the word ἀρχὴν here and above (§ 218) is nearly, but not exactly, the same as that in i. 9; ii. 95, and iii. 39, which is illustrated in note 42 on i. 9. In these the English, "in the first instance," or "at all events," is an appropriate translation. Leonidas puts forward the duty of maintaining his post as the first thing which had to be done, whatever else might follow.

^a ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι. Compare i. 120: καὶ αὐτὸς, ᾧ μά-
γοι, ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμῃν εἰμί.

λείφετο· ἐκέχρητο⁵⁵⁴ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι, χρωμένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐγειρομένου, ἣ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἣ τὸν βασιλέα σφεων ἀπολέεσθαι⁵⁵⁵. ταῦτα δὲ σφί ἐν ἔπεσι ἐξαμέτροισι ἔχοντα χρᾶ, λέγοντα ὧδε·

Ἕμῃν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο,
ἣ μέγα ἄστυ ῥικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδῃσι
πέρθεται· ἣ τὸ μὲν οὐχί, ἀφ' Ἑρακλέους δὲ γενέθλης
πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.
οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων
ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδέ ἐ φημι
σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.

ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος καταθέσθαι μῦθον⁵⁵⁶ Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον, ἣ γνώμῃ διενεχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχεσθαι τοὺς

⁵⁵⁴ ἐκέχρητο. Here all the MSS, with scarcely an exception, have this form instead of the more usual ἐκέχρηστο. But see the note 437 on ii. 147.

⁵⁵⁵ ἣ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον . . . ἀπολέεσθαι. The notion which gave rise to this oracle seems to be the one, that in a dire extremity the anger of the deity was only to be propitiated by a most costly offering. (See note 676 on i. 199.) Leonidas is the Hellenic Decius, who, as LIVING describes it, seemed "sicut cœlo missus, piaculum omnis deorum iræ, qui pestem a suis aversam in hostes ferret." Compare the case of Hamilcar (above, § 167). It was no doubt this superstitious feeling, and not mere vanity (as some have interpreted the proceeding), which determined him to stay after his position was turned. Some of the stories which were current in after days proceed on the supposition that at the time he left Sparta he never expected to return. PLUTARCH, for instance, says that his wife asked instructions for her conduct in her widowhood from him; and that funeral games were performed, as over him, in his presence. (*De Malign. Herod.* § 32.) It may be observed that these human sacrifices belonged to a primeval system of religion, as may be seen by the formula with which the elder Decius devotes himself. (LIVY, viii. 9.) Now the attachment of Leonidas's father-in-law and half-brother Cleomenes to this religious system has been above remarked.

(See especially note 189 on v. 72, and notes 172, 177, 186, and 190 on Book vi.) And it is a curious circumstance, that to Leonidas it was allowed as a special favour by the Thebans to pass the night in their temple of Heracles, where he consulted the deity *by a dream*. (PLUTARCH, *Ibid.* § 31.) The mode of consultation proves that the religious ideas on which the service was originally founded belonged to the same system (see note 164 on i. 52), so that in the fact of the privilege conferred on Leonidas there is presumptive evidence that he shared the religious predilections of his half-brother, and on this account was perhaps allowed access to a temple which would have been otherwise closed against him. On the same principle we may perhaps account for his absence from the *Carnea*, the festival especially appropriate to the *Dorian* Apollo, and commemorative of the successful invasion of the Peloponnese. See notes 530 and 534, above.

⁵⁵⁶ μῦθον. PLUTARCH (*de Malign. H.* § 31) quotes this passage as if he found μῦθων in his copy, and censures Herodotus for attributing such unworthy motives to his hero. But all the MSS have μῦθον, and the sense afforded by that reading is more in accordance with the context. Leonidas wished the glorious story of the Spartan deed to remain pure and *unmixed* with any discordant incidents, such as those of flight or recusancy on the part of their companions.

οἰχομένους. Μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου 221
 πέρι γέγονε· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς ἄλλους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς
 εἶπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ, Μεγιστήν τὸν Ἀκαρνήνα λεγόμενον
 εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τοῦτον εἶπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν
 τὰ μελλοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων,
 ἵνα μὴ συναπόληται σφι· ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ
 ἀπελίπετο, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον ἔοντα οἱ μουνογενέα
 ἀπέπεμψε.

Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἰχοντό τε ἀπίοντες, 222
 καὶ ἐπέιθοντο Λεωνίδῃ· Θεσπιάες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν
 μόνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι· τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες
 ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατείχε γάρ σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων
 λόγῳ ποιεύμενος· Θεσπιάες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα⁵⁵⁷, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν
 ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ
 καταμείναντες συναπέθανον· ἐστρατήγηε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφιλος
 Διαδρόμεω.

Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπισχὼν 223
 χρόνον, ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην πρόσοδον ἐποιέετο· καὶ
 γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἑπιάλτεω οὕτω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὐρεος ἡ κατὰ-
 βασίς συντομωτέρη τέ ἐστι, καὶ βραχυτέρος ὁ χώρος πολλόν,
 ἥπερ ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἱ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ
 Ξέρξεα προσήϊσαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὥς τὴν ἐπὶ
 θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποιεύμενοι, ἤδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς
 ἐπεξήϊσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρμα τοῦ
 τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς
 τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν,
 ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες
 τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μάστιγας, ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα αἰεὶ ἐς
 τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὲ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν
 θάλασσαν, καὶ διεφθείροντο· πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῖνες κατεπατέοντο

⁵⁵⁷ Θεσπιάες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα. In later times the credit of a share in the action was attributed at Athens, not to the Thespians, but the *Plataeans*. The author of the *Oration against Neera* says of these:· μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν . . . μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Λεωνίδου ἐν Θερμοπύλαις παραταξάμενοι τῷ βαρβάρῳ ἐπιόντι συναπόλοντο. Half of the adult citizens, according to the orator, perished

in the pass; the other half embarked on board the Athenian galleys, and fought at Artemisium and Salamis (§ 125). Compare equally varying statements of facts which must have been notorious, in note 213 on i. 63, and 138 on iii. 47. PAUSANIAS, possibly by a slip of the memory, makes, instead of the Thespians, eighty *Mycenians* participators in Leonidas's exploit (x. 20. 1).

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ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόοντων τὸ οὖρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρῆμαί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες⁵⁵⁸. Δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλεόνεσιν αὐτῶν τηρικαῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας· καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίῳ γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα· ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων⁵⁵⁹, καὶ δὴ καὶ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης⁵⁶⁰, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρείῳ· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης⁵⁶¹ Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἀδελφεὸς, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεω παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδούς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ, τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνου οἱ εὐούσης ταύτης τέκνον. Ξέρξεώ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ⁵⁶² ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχεόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαι-

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⁵⁵⁸ ἀτέοντες. The meaning of this word appears to be something like "frantic," i.e. acting as if possessed by an *ἄτη*, a spirit of self-destruction. The true reading of *Iliad*. xx. 332 is probably ἀτέοντα, used in this sense. So too παραχρᾶσθαι is to act as having no care about the result: ἐκ παρέργου χρᾶσθαι. It is applied to the Egyptian soldiers, who, never having come into contact with Hellenes, thought they could overwhelm them without any difficulty (iv. 159), and to the conduct of the Lacedaemonians in not scrupling to force a dynastic form of government on their allies, although in their own case they would shrink from such a thing: παραχρᾶσθε ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους (v. 92).

⁵⁵⁹ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. In the time of PAUSANIAS there was a column standing at Sparta on which the names of all the combatants, together with those of their fathers, were inscribed (iii. 14. 1). This can hardly have existed in the time of Herodotus, or he would not have mentioned his knowledge of the names in the way he does. According to Pausanias (l. c.) the bones of Leonidas were brought to Sparta forty years after he fell at Thermopylae.

⁵⁶⁰ Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης. These

names, like *Phædime* (iii. 88), are obviously of Hellenic origin. The former of them is the name of the hero in the novel of XENOPHON OF ERPHESUS. It is however just possible that they may be the translation of Persian names or surnames.

⁵⁶¹ Ἀρτάνης. Some of the MSS have Ἀτάρνης. In § 66, above, three of the MSS have Ἀρτάνης in the place of Ἀζάνης, which is the reading of the rest.

⁵⁶² Ξέρξεώ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοί. These "brothers" of Xerxes cannot be brothers by both parents; for of the four sons of Atossa (vii. 2), Masistes was put to death by Xerxes after his return to Susa (ix. 113), and Achæmenes was killed by Inarus in Egypt at a much later period (iii. 12). Yet the way in which they are mentioned seems to indicate that in the mind of the narrator they were regarded as different persons from Abrocomas and Hyperanthes; and if so, it seems strange that they should not be described, like those, as sons of Darius, rather than simply as brothers of Xerxes. It is not impossible that Herodotus is here uniting, without suspecting the fact, two different versions of the same story. For the complete pedigree of the family of Darius according to Herodotus, see *Excursus*.

μονίων ὥτισμός ἐγένετο πολλός· ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο· ὥς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος⁵⁶³. ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στεῖνὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἴζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Θηβαίων· ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ· ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ⁵⁶⁴ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περι- and are all slain.
εῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρμα τοῦ τεύχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθε περισταδόν.

Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιδίων τοιούτων γενομένων, ὅμως 226
λέγεται ἡνὴρ ἄριστος γενέσθαι Σπαρτιότης Διηνέκης· τὸν τότε Anecdote of
φασὶ εἶπαι τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμίξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοισι, πυθό- Dieneses,
μενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὥς ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίεωσι τὰ the bravest
τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθεος τῶν ὀϊστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσιν of the three
τοσοῦτό τι πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέοντα τούτοις, hundred,
εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιεύμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλήθος, ὥς πάντα who was
σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξείνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν remarkable
Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ for his good
ἐν ἡλίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα ἔπεά φασι Διηνέκεα sayings.
τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀρι- 227
στεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοὶ, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ
Μάρων, Ὅρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπιδίων δὲ εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα
τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδεω.

⁵⁶³ ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος. Similarly below, ix. 102: ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα.

⁵⁶⁴ ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ. Diodorus (xi. 9) and Plutarch (*de Malign. H.* § 32) give an entirely different account of the particulars of the death of the Greeks. According to them, they, on finding themselves taken in the rear, broke up from their lines at night and advanced into the midst of the Persian camp, hoping to reach the quarters of the Persian king and to slay him. It is plain that such a proceeding is incompatible with the circumstances of time as given by Herodotus. But all the details of the affair must ne-

cessarily have been very uncertain if really none survived; and it is only to be expected that they should be varied in the current accounts. A parallel instance, singularly instructive as showing how the kernel of a true story remains while almost every particular is altered, is afforded by the heroic feat of the centurion, who alone preserved his fidelity to Galba at the time when he was assassinated. The accounts given by Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 43) and Plutarch (*Galb.* § 26) both seem to rest on the authority of actual eye-witnesses; and yet they differ remarkably from each other.

228

Inscriptions
over the
dead.

Θαφθεῖσι δέ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇπερ ἔπεσον ⁵⁶⁵, καὶ τοῖσι πρό-
τερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπι-
γέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες ⁵⁶⁶.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται· τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιήτησι
ιδίῃ·

ᾧ ξείν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο· τῷ δὲ μάντι, τόδε·

Μνῆμα τόδε κλεινοῦ Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι
Σπερχεῖδν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,
μάντιος, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἶδώς,
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπί-
γραμμα, Ἀμφικτυόνες εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ
μάντιος Μεγιστίω, Σιμωνίδῃς ὁ Λεωπρέπεός ἐστι κατὰ ξεινίην
ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

229

Story of two
individuals
among the
three hun-
dred Spar-
tans.

Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε καὶ Ἀριστό-
δημον, παρεὸν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησαμένοισι, ἢ
ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς μεμετιμένοι ⁵⁶⁷ τε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδεω, καὶ κατεκέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλ-
μιῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον· ἢ, εἴγε μὴ ἐβούλουντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν
ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι· παρεὸν σφι τούτων τὰ ἕτερα ποίειν, οὐκ
ἐθελῆσαι ὁμοφρονεῖν· ἀλλὰ γνώμη διενειχθέντας, Εὐρυτόν μὲν
πυθόμενον τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ
ἐνδύντα, ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεῦσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους·
ὅκως δὲ αὐτὸν ἦγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν
δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀριστόδημον δὲ
λειποψυχέοντα ⁵⁶⁸ λειφθῆναι. εἰ μὲν νυν ἦν μῦθον Ἀριστόδημον

⁵⁶⁵ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇπερ ἔπεσον. The bones of Leonidas were carried to Sparta forty years afterwards. See above, note 559.

⁵⁶⁶ χιλιάδες τέτορες. See viii. 25, below.

⁵⁶⁷ μεμετιμένοι. See note 309 on v. 108.

⁵⁶⁸ λειποψυχέοντα. This word appears to be used in the sense of "failing in courage," not in its usual meaning of "fainting" from physical exhaustion.

ἀλγήσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην ἢ καὶ ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφο-
 τέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτιήτας
 μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ, τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου,
 τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος οὐκ ἐθελήσαντος δὲ
 ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μηνίσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ.
 Οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ 230
 διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ⁵⁶⁹ ἐκ τοῦ στρατο-
 πέδου, ἐξέον αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι
 ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον
 αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν. Ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς 231
 Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ὄνειδός τε εἶχε καὶ ἀτιμίην, πάσχων
 δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε ⁵⁷⁰ Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε
 διελέγετο, ὄνειδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος· ἀλλ'
 ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσάν
 οἱ αἰτίην ⁵⁷¹. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς 232
 Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι
 Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο,
 ἀπάγξασθαι.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ 233
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔοντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς
 τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων
 γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων
 ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων, χεῖράς τε
 προέτεινον καὶ ἥϊσαν ἄσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀλη-
 θέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν

Fate of the
Thebans
who were
with Leo-
nidas.

⁵⁶⁹ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα. PLUTARCH (l. c.) relates that Leonidas, desirous of saving the lives of two persons of his own family who were with him, ordered them to take a report home of the state of things. The one answered that his office was that of a soldier, not a courier; the other took his arms, saying that the facts would report themselves. The ethopœic character of these stories is obvious. Who survived to report them?

⁵⁷⁰ οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε. This act symbolized the cutting him off from the people. (See note 187 on v. 72.) To refuse fire or water, or to show the right road to one who had lost it, or to pass by

a dead body without aiding to bury it, were offences against which a commination (attributed to a primeval legislator, Buzyges,) was formally pronounced at Athens.

⁵⁷¹ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενεχθεῖσάν οἱ αἰτίην. This expression is analogous to τοῦτο τὸ τῷμα ἀνέλαβον (v. 121), and ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα (viii. 109). The metaphor is taken from a person who recalls that which he has said, or takes up again what has been laid down. Such an act undoes that which has been done. Translate: "he did away with the whole of the blame which had been imputed to him."

πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλείῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίωτο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεῦ· ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες, περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας· οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὥς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆϊα⁵⁷², ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεοντιάδεω· τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες, στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων καὶσχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων⁵⁷³.

234

Xerxes much struck with the bravery of the Spartans, has another conversation with Demaratus,

Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο· Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον, εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε· “Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός· τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείῃ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω· νῦν δέ μοι εἰπὲ, κόσσοι τινὲς εἰσι οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες;” ὁ δ’ εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλήθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὸν καὶ πόλεις πολλαί, τὸ δὲ θέλεις ἐκμαθέειν εἰδήσεις· ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλεις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστά κη· οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἳ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· “Δημάρητε, τέφω τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο· σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων⁵⁷⁴,

⁵⁷² ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλῆϊα. The tatowing of slaves to indicate the property in them probably originated in those cases in which they were dedicated to some deity. See note 319 on ii. 113. The Persian sovereign would however in the time of Xerxes be regarded as sacro-sanct; and hence a mark would be set upon his slaves,—or those who were considered as such. I do not imagine that private individuals ever put their mark upon their serfs. PLUTARCH (*de Malign. Her.* § 33) adduces this statement of Herodotus as a presumptive proof of the falsehood of his story of the Theban disloyalty. The brand of Xerxes would, he considers, never have been set upon members of a state well affected to Persian interests.

⁵⁷³ σχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων. This expression refers to that surprise of Platæa

by the Thebans, which was the first overt act of the Peloponnesian war, and which THUCYDIDES describes at length (ii. 2, *seqq.*).

⁵⁷⁴ σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων. The same expression is used above, iii. 156. Translate: “for you are master of the ins and outs of their plans.” The words διεξόδοι, διεξελεῖν, and διεξοδεύω all rest on the same fundamental notion of a complicated system of paths leading to a given end,—such, for instance, as those in the labyrinth described ii. 148. Hence διεξελεῖν is the proper phrase for telling a story where there are several points to be taken up one after another, all bearing upon the main one, or for going through a scientific exposition of a theory; διεξοδεύειν, that for communicating knowledge discursively,

οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος.” Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὲν 235
 δὴ συμβουλευεαί μοι προθύμως, δίκαιόν μὲ σοί ἐστι φράζειν τὸ who advises
 ἄριστον. εἰ τῆς ναυτικῆς στρατιῆς νέας τριηκοσίας ἀποστείλειας him to oc-
 ἐπὶ τὴν Λάκαιναν χώραν· ἔστι δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐπικειμένη τῇ cupy Cy-
 οὐνομά ἐστι Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων, ἀνὴρ παρ’ ἡμῖν σοφώτατος thera,
 γενόμενος, κέρδος μέζον, ἔφη, εἶναι Σπαρτιήτησι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσ-
 σης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν, αἰεὶ τι προσδοκῶν ἀπ’
 αὐτῆς τοιοῦτο ἔσεσθαι οἷόν τι ἐγὼ ἐξηγέομαι· οὔτι τὸν σὸν στόλον
 προειδὼς, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως φοβεόμενος ἀνδρῶν στόλον· ἐκ
 ταύτης ὧν τῆς νήσου ὀρμεώμενοι ⁵⁷⁵, φοβεόντων ⁵⁷⁶ τοὺς Λακεδαι-
 μονίους· παροίκου δὲ πολέμου σφι ἑόντος οἰκῆϊου, οὐδὲν δεινὸν
 ἔσονται τοι, μὴ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀλiscoμένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ
 βοηθέωσι ταύτῃ· καταδουλωθείσης δὲ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος,
 ἀσθενὲς ἤδη τὸ Λακωνικὸν μῦνον λείπεται. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ
 ποιῆς, τάδε τοι προσδόκα ἔσεσθαι· ἔστι τῆς Πελοποννήσου
 ἰσθμὸς στενός· ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ πάντων Πελοποννησίων συν-
 ομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοί, μάχας ἰσχυροτέρας ἄλλας τῶν γενομένων
 προσδέκεο ἔσεσθαι τοι· ἐκεῖνο δὲ ποιήσαντι ἀμαχητὶ ὃ τε ἰσθμὸς
 οὗτος καὶ αἱ πόλεις προσχωρήσουσι.” Λέγει μετὰ τούτον Ἀχαι- 236
 μένης, ἀδελφεός τε ἐὼν Ξέρξῳ ⁵⁷⁷ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ but is op-
 στρατηγός, παρατυχῶν τε τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ δείσας μὴ ἀναγνωσθῇ posed by
 Ξέρξης ποιεῖν ταῦτα· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὄρέω σε ἀνδρὸς ἐνδεκόμενον Achæmenes,
 λόγους ὃς φθονεῖ τοι εὖ πρήσσοντι, ἣ καὶ προδιδόι πρήγματα
 τὰ σά· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρεώμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες
 χαίρουσι· τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι.
 εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῇσι παρεούσησι τύχησι, τῶν νέες νευαυηγῆκασι τετρα-
 κόσιαι, ἄλλας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τριηκοσίας ἀποπέμψεις περι-

—carrying the learner on through one path after another, hither and thither, till at last he finds himself master of the subject, —teaching διὰ μεθόδου and not δι’ ἐνδείξεως, by direct manifestation. Thus CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS uses the term διέξοδος for a chain of logical reasoning, leading step by step to a conclusion. (*Strom.* iv. 25.)

⁵⁷⁵ ἐκ ταύτης ὧν τῆς νήσου ὀρμεώμενοι. The Athenians fulfilled the apprehensions of Chilon in the eighth year of the Pello-

ponnesian war by capturing the island. It was the more important to the Lacedæmonians as being exactly in the run from Libya or Egypt to Laconia. (THUCYDIDES, iv. 53.)

⁵⁷⁶ φοβεόντων. Compare λεγόντων (i. 89).

⁵⁷⁷ ἀδελφεός τε ἐὼν Ξέρξῳ. Achæmenes was the son of Atossa as well as of Darius, and therefore *whole* brother of Xerxes (vii. 97).

πλώειν⁵⁷⁸ Πελοπόννησον, ἀξιόμαχοί τοι γίνονται οἱ ἀντίπαλοι· ἀλῆς δὲ ἔων ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς δυσμεταχείριστός τε αὐτοῖσι γίνεται, καὶ ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοί τοι ἔσονται· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ναυτικὸς τῷ πεζῷ ἀρήξει καὶ ὁ πεζὸς τῷ ναυτικῷ, ὁμοῦ πορευόμενος· εἰ δὲ διασπάσεις, οὔτε σὺ ἔσαι κείνοισι χρήσιμος οὔτε κείνοι σοί. τὰ σεωυτοῦ δὲ τιθέμενος εὖ, γνώμην ἔχε τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων⁵⁷⁹ μὴ ἐπιλέγεσθαι πρήγματα, τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, τά τε ποιήσουσι, ὅσοι τε πλήθός εἰσι· ἱκανοὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοί γε αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν πέρι φροντίζειν εἰσὶ, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡμέων ὡσαύτως. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἦν ἴωσι ἀντία Πέρσῃσι ἐς μάχην, οὐδὲ ἐν τὸ παρεὸν τρώμα ἀνιέννται.” Ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσδε· “Ἀχαίμενες, εὖ τέ μοι δοκέεις λέγειν, καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα. Δημάρητος δὲ λέγει μὲν τὰ ἄριστα ἔλπεται εἶναι ἐμοί, γνώμῃ μέντοι ἔσσοῦται ὑπὸ σεῦ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ κείνῳ γε ἐνδέξομαι, ὅπως οὐκ εὐνοέει τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι, τοῖσί τε λεγομένοισι πρότερον ἐκ τούτου σταθμώμενος, καὶ τῷ ἐόντι, ὅτι πολίτης μὲν πολίτῃ εὖ πρήσσοντι φθονέει, καὶ ἔστι δυσμενὴς τῇ σιγῇ· οὐδ’ ἂν, συμβουλευομένου τοῦ ἀστοῦ, πολίτης ἀνὴρ τὰ ἄριστα οἱ δοκέοντα εἶναι ὑποθέοιτο, εἰ μὴ πρόσω ἀρετῆς ἀνήκοι· σπάνιοι δ’ εἰσὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι· ξείνος δὲ ξείνῳ εὖ πρήσσοντί ἔστι εὐμενέστατον πάντων, συμβουλευομένου τε ἂν συμβουλεύσειε τὰ ἄριστα· οὕτω ὦν κακολογίης πέρι τῆς ἐς Δημάρητον, ἐόντος ἐμοί ξείνου, ἔχεσθαι τινα τοῦ λοιποῦ κελεύω.”

237

whose advice is followed.

238

Xerxes orders the dead body of Leonidas to be decapitated.

Ταῦτα εἶπας Ξέρξης διεξήϊε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὺς ὅτι βασιλεύς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι⁵⁸⁰. δῆλὰ μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἦκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμῃσε· ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώ-

⁵⁷⁸ περιπλώειν. S, V, K, F, and a have the common form περιπλέειν.

⁵⁷⁹ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων. See note 364 on iv. 140.

⁵⁸⁰ ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι, “to cut off the head and set it on a pole.” The practice of treating the bodies of conquered enemies in this way seems to have been common to every na-

tion of antiquity except the Hellenes. And it must be remembered how very recently even in England portions of the body of a rebel were placed on the gates of the principal cities. Xerxes, asserting a claim to universal sovereignty, would of course treat all resistance to this as a case of rebellion.

πων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίουν τοῖσι ἐπετέτακτο ποιεῖν.

Ἄνειμι δὲ ἐκείσε τοῦ λόγου, τῇ μοι τὸ πρότερον ἐξέλιπε. 239 ἐπύθοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς στέλλοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρῶτον καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμφαν, ἔνθα δὴ σφι ἐχρήσθη τὰ ὀλίγω πρότερον εἶπον⁵⁸¹. ἐπύθοντο δὲ τρόπῳ θωμασίῳ· Δημάρητος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρίστωνος φυγὼν ἐς Μήδους, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω καὶ τὸ οἶκός ἐμοὶ συμμάχεται, οὐκ ἦν εὐνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι⁵⁸². πάρεστι δὲ εἰκάζειν, εἴτε εὐνοίῃ ταῦτα ἐποίησε εἴτε καὶ καταχαίρων· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ Ξέρξης ἔδοξε στρατηλατέειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρητος⁵⁸³ καὶ πυθόμενος ταῦτα, ἠθέλησε Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐξαγγεῖλαι. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ οὐκ εἶχε σημῆναι· ἐπικίνδυνον γὰρ ἦν μὴ λαμφθεῖν· ὁ δὲ μηχανᾶται τοιαύδε· δελτίον δίπτυχον λαβὼν τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξέκνησε, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ δελτίου ἔγραψε τὴν βασιλέος γνώμην· ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ὀπίσω ἐπέτηξε τὸν κηρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ γράμματα, ἵνα φερόμενον κεινὸν τὸ δελτίον μηδὲν πρῆγμα παρέχοι οἱ πρὸς τῶν ὁδοφυλάκων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὶν γε δὴ σφι, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Κλεομένεος μὲν θυγάτηρ Λεωνίδεω δὲ γυνὴ, Γοργῷ, ὑπέθετο, ἐπιφρασθεῖσα αὐτῇ, τὸν κηρὸν κυὰν κελεύουσα, καὶ εὐρήσειν σφέας γράμματα ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ· πειθόμενοι δὲ εὗρον καὶ ἐπελέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι ἐπέστειλαν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται γενέσθαι.

⁵⁸¹ τὰ ὀλίγω πρότερον εἶπον. This seems a reference to the oracle which is given above (§ 220). favourably. See the citation from *Photius* in note 134 on vii. 37.

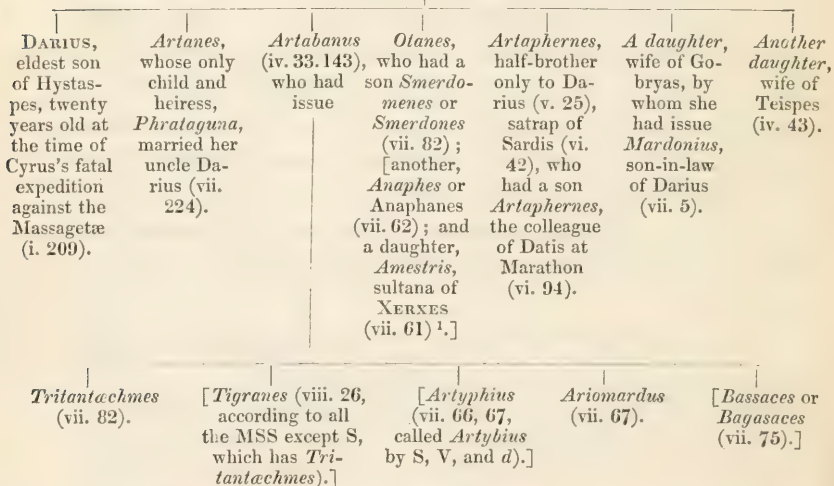
⁵⁸² οὐκ ἦν εὐνοος Λακεδαιμονίοισι. Ctesias seems to have represented him more ⁵⁸³ ἐὼν ἐν Σούσοισι ὁ Δημάρητος. See note 162 on vi. 70.

EXCURSUS ON VII. 225.

Ξέρξεω τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτονσι.

THE following tables show the pedigree of the royal family of Darius, exclusively according to the traditions embodied in the narrative of Herodotus.

HYSTASPES (an Achæmenid, i. 209).



Hystaspes had also a brother, whose name is not given, but who had a son *Megabates* (v. 32). The *Megabazus* of vii. 97, is probably the son of this *Megabates*.

¹ Where the connexion is not positively established, brackets are used. It is not certain that the *Otanes* who was the father of *Amestris*, or the *Artabanus* who was the father of *Artyphius*, *Bassaces*, and *Tigranes* (or *Tritantachmes* of viii. 26) are identical with the sons of *Hystaspes* who bore these names.

DARIUS, before his accession to the imperial throne, married a daughter of Gobryas, by whom he had issue—

- (1) *Artabazanes* (vii. 2).
- (2) *Ariabignes* (vii. 97).
- (3) A son, perhaps named *Arsamenes* (vii. 68).

After his accession he married—

First, *ATOSSA*, daughter of Cyrus, who had been before sultana of Cambyases, and of the Pseudo-Smerdis (iii. 88), and who was at the time immediately before his death (36 years afterwards), all-powerful (vii. 3, 4).

By her he had issue—

- (1) *XERXES*, his successor in the empire (vii. 2. 4).
- (2) *Hystaspes* (vii. 64).
- (3) *Masistes* (vii. 82), put to death by his brother Xerxes (ix. 107).
- (4) *Achæmenes*, satrap of Egypt (vii. 7), and commander of the Egyptian naval contingent in the expedition against Hellas (vii. 97), subsequently destroyed by Inarus at the time of the revolt of Egypt (iii. 12).
- (5) *Artazostra*, who married her cousin Mardonius, son of Gobryas (vii. 5), a young man five years before the battle of Marathon (vi. 43).

Secondly, *Artystone*, daughter of Cyrus (iii. 88), his favourite wife (vii. 69); by whom he had issue—

- (1) *Arsames* (vii. 69).
- (2) *Gobryas* (vii. 72).

Thirdly, *Parmys*, daughter of the true Smerdis (iii. 88), by whom he had issue—

- (1) *Ariomardus* (vii. 78).

Fourthly, *Phædime*, daughter of Otanes (son of Pharnaspes) the conspirator, previously an inmate of the harem of the Pseudo-Smerdis (iii. 88), by whom it does not appear from Herodotus whether he had, or had not, issue.

He also married, either before or after his accession, his niece *Phrataguna*, heiress of his brother Artanes, by whom he had issue two sons, *Abrocomas* and *Hyperanthes*, who fell at Thermopylæ (vii. 224).

Besides the above-named, he had a daughter married to *Daurises*

(v. 116), another to *Hymeas* (v. 116), a third to *Otanes* (v. 116), a fourth to *Arsamenes* (vii. 68), a fifth to *Artochmes* (vii. 73), and some others to some other officers in high command (v. 116); but there are no *data* for identifying the mothers of these with one another, or with any of the individuals who are more particularly specified.

The pedigree of the family down to *HYSTASPES* is given in vii. 11, and is explained in note 59 on that passage. If that explanation be well grounded, *Atossa* and *Artystone* will appear to have been second cousins of *Hystaspes*.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΟΓΔΟΗ.

ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ.

ΟΙ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε ¹ Roll of the naval force of the Hellenic confederates
 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν, νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑπτὰ¹ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν·
 ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιέες, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς
 ἔόντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας· Κορίνθιοι δὲ
 τεσσαράκοντα νέας παρέλχοντο· Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ Χαλ-
 κιδέες² ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας·
 Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα· Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ δυώδεκα· Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 δὲ δέκα· Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ· Ἐρετρίεες δὲ ἑπτὰ· Τροιζήνιοι δὲ
 πέντε· Στυρέες³ δὲ δύο· καὶ Κεῖοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέ-

¹ ἑπτὰ. One of the manuscripts (*d*) has ὀκτώ.

² Χαλκιδέες. These will no doubt be the Athenian settlers established upon the Chalcidian land (v. 77). Their number (four thousand) would give the exact complement for twenty galleys, at the rate at which the author reckons (vii. 184). They had retreated from Eubœa at the time of the invasion by Datis and Artaphernes (vi. 100), and there is no account of their having returned to the island, although they probably did so. But at the time of the former invasion they seem to have been regarded in the light of outlying Athenians; for when the Eretrians demanded aid from Athens, the Athenians οὐκ ἀπέπαινον τὴν ἐπικουρίην,

ἀλλὰ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους κληρουχέοντας τῶν ἱπποβοτέων Χαλκιδέων τὴν χώραν, τοὺτους σφι διδοῦσι τιμωροὺς (vi. 100). The notice of DIONORUS SICULUS (xv. 78), where he makes Epaminondas speak of the two hundred vessels furnished by the Athenians in the war against Xerxes, and the boast of Themistocles (§ 61, below), will be brought into exact harmony with the account of Herodotus by reckoning these Chalcidians as Athenians; for their whole contingent will then be 127 + 20 + 53 (see § 14, below).

³ Στυρέες. Styra is a small town in the immediate neighbourhood of Carystus (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.*). A little island belonging to the inhabitants

ρους δύο· Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβώθουν⁴, πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτά.

2 who mustered at Artemisium, in all 271 ships under Eurybiades the Spartan,

Ἦσαν μὲν ὧν οὗτοι οἱ στρατεύόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλήθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο· ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, μία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διηκόσιαι. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται, Εὐρυβιάδεα τὸν Εὐρυκλείδεω. οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ

3 the confederates having rejected the proposal that the navy should be under Athenian command.

λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσσεσθαι στρατεύμα. Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν⁵ ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἶη ἐπιτρέπειν ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων, εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεπονημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης ὡς ἀπολέεται ἢ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες. [στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιόν ἐστι, ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης⁶.] ἐπιστάμενοι ὧν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀντέτεινον, ἀλλ' εἶκον μέχρι ὅσον⁷ κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὡσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσέα περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡδὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῖντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πανσανίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχύμενοι⁸, ἀπειλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

called Ægilea, had served as a dépôt for the Eretrian captives during the time that the Persian fleet made the attempt on Attica (vi. 107).

⁴ ἐπεβώθουν. Gaisford prints this form on the authority of S, but the great majority of the MSS have the common form ἐπεβοήθουν. In § 72, below, the same MS has the common form βοηθήσαντες, and Gaisford retains it without the note of any variation whatever. In ix. 23, S and V have ἐβώθεε (which Gaisford adopts), but all the other MSS ἐπεβοήθεε, and in the same section, all, without exception, have the common form ἐπεβοήθησαν.

⁵ πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν. This is the embassy to Gelon related below (vii. 157—162).

⁶ [στάσις γὰρ . . . πόλεμος εἰρήνης]. I have placed this sentence in brackets, believing it to be an interpolation of a rhetorical common place. The στάσις

περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης was not an ἔμφυλος στάσις, for the contending parties would never have been regarded as ὁμοφύλοι.

⁷ μέχρι ὅσον, "until." So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS. But some have μέχρι οὐ or μέχρις οὐ, and others μέχρι ὅσον.

⁸ πρόφασιν τὴν Πανσανίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχύμενοι. THUCYDIDES agrees with the author in making the offensive conduct of Pausanias the moving cause for the allies rejecting the supremacy of Sparta: παραλαβόντες [οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ τὸ Πανσανίου μῖσος (i. 96). In later times the worth of Aristides was represented as having influenced them to the step even more than the faults of the Spartan general. (DIODORUS, xi. 44. NEPOS, *Aristid.* c. 2.) But there is no trace of such a tribute to virtue in the contemporary records.

Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι, ὥς 4
 εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς
 ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὥς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες,
 δρησμον ἐβούλευον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα·
 γνόντες δὲ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἐδέοντο Εὐρυ-
 βιάδω προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ
 τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται⁹. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν
 Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα
 ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται 5
 τὴν ναυμαχίην. Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπισχεῖν
 ὧδε ποιεῖν. Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε
 τάλαντα, ὥς παρ' ἐωυτοῦ δήθεν διδούς· ὥς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀν-
 επέπειστο, (Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου, Κορίνθιος στρατηγός, τῶν
 λοιπῶν ἡσπαίρε μῦνος¹⁰, φάμενος ἀποπλώσεσθαι¹¹ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμένειν,) πρὸς δὲ τούτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμι-
 στοκλῆς ἐπομόσας· “οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ
 μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μῆδων πέμπει ἀπολιπόντι
 τοὺς συμμάχους” ταυτὰ τε ἅμα ἡγόρευε, καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα
 τὴν Ἀδείμαντος τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες
 δάροισι¹² ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοέεσι ἐκεχάριστο·
 αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδην, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων

The allies at Artemisium are intimidated by the amount of the Persian force, and prepare to retire.

Themistocles, under the influence of a bribe, detains the fleet for a time, buying off the opposition of Eurybiades and Adimantus with a part of it.

⁹ ὑπεκθέωνται. Compare v. 65: ὑπεκτιθέμενοι γὰρ ἔξω τῆς χώρας οἱ παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἦλωσαν, and § 41, below: ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι. The word ὑπεκκομῖζεσθαι is used in the same sense, ix. 6: οὕτω δὲ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμίνα. The correlative of ὑπεκτιθέσθαι is ὑπεκκεῖσθαι, which is used below, § 60: Σαλαμὶς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες.

¹⁰ Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου . . . ἡσπαίρε μῦνος. While the reputation of Themistocles as a successful manager of secret service money seems to have been universally allowed, the details of the transaction were variously reported. Plutarch, following the authority of PHILEAS OF LESBOS, represents a countryman of Themistocles (one Architeles) who commanded the sacred ship Salaminia, as the principal obstacle to the plan of remaining. His crew dissatisfied at not

getting their pay, assaulted him at supper-time and took his provisions. Themistocles sent him a fresh supply in a box which had a talent at the bottom, and bade him make a good supper and pay his men the next day, menacing him with a false accusation if he did not take the hint. (Themist. § 7.) Of this story there is nothing in Herodotus; while, on the other hand, Plutarch does not mention Adimantus.

¹¹ ἀποπλώσεσθαι. This is the reading of S and V. All the other MSS have the common form ἀποπλεύσεσθαι. See note 409 on iv. 156.

¹² πληγέντες δάροισι. This expression is a very strange one, and without any parallel in the classical times. The later writers have something like it. PLUTARCH (Demosth. § 25) has πληγῆς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας, and THEMISTIUS (ii. p. 26), ταλάντοις οὐκ ἔτρωσε.

ἀλλ' ἡπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6 The Persians detach a squadron of 200 ships from *Aphetae* to circumnavigate Euboea and take the Hellenic fleet in the rear.

6 Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ, καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὥδε· ἐπεὶ τε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλῃν πρωΐην¹³ γινομένην ἀπικάτο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντὶς προσπλώειν οὐκ ὀφείκει τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μὴ κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλώνοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν, φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλάβοι καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι¹⁴, ἔδει δὲ μὴδὲ πυρφόρον, τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἐκφυγόντα

7 περιγενέσθαι¹⁵. πρὸς ταῦτα ὦν τάδε ἐμχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἕξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὥς ἂν μὴ ὀφθῶσι¹⁶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλῶνσαι Εὐβοίαν, κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν, ἐς τὸν Εὐρίπον ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσιν ὁδὸν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἕξ ἐναντίας· ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ

¹³ περὶ δείλῃν πρωΐην, "in the early part of the afternoon." See note on § 10, below.

¹⁴ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι. The employment of the word δῆθεν indicates a sort of irony in the writer, smiling at the fact which he is relating. See iii. 74: ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλλοντο, ὥς πιστοτάτῳ δῆθεν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι. And in the last section: ὥς παρ' ἐωντοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. It is used pretty much in the same way as the expression "si diis placet" by the Latin writers.

¹⁵ μὴδὲ πυρφόρον περιγενέσθαι, "not even a torch-bearer should escape." This proverbial expression is explained by the proverb collectors (DIOGENIANUS vii. 15. ZENOBIVS v. 34) as originating in the practice of each army to be preceded by a seer with a wreath of laurel and a fillet on his head. He was considered under all circumstances as having a claim to quarter. The SCHOLIAST on Euripides' *Phen.* 1386 gives another account of the matter. He says that anciently the signal to engage was given by torch-bearers throwing down a flambeau between the armies; and that the persons so employed were regarded as sacred to Ares, and consequently spared even when all others were put to death.

These explanations appear to me doubtful. There are many instances of seers perishing with their army, without any thing to intimate that such a catastrophe was a violation of the law of nations; and it seems more likely that the proverb arose from the fact, that the *πυρφόρος*, only having to carry fire, would, from the nature of the case, be less mixed up in the fray than any others; and not being encumbered with armour, would be more likely to save himself by flight than one of the rank and file. The duty of this functionary in the Lacedæmonian armies was to carry a light kindled at the altar of Zeus in Sparta along with the army. From this fire the pile was kindled on which the sacrifices were burnt. (XENOPHON, *Rep. Lac.* xiii. 3.)

¹⁶ ὀφθῶσι. The MSS appear to be nearly equally divided between this reading and the optative ὀφθείσαν. See note 40 on i. 8. The detachment rounded Sciathus in order to avoid the observation of the ἡμεροσκόποι of the allies, who, from the high points of the north end of Euboea, would have been able to signal their movements if they had taken the direct course.

ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐπιθήσεται, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεται¹⁷ παρὰ τῶν περιπλούντων ὡς ἰκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον· τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμὸν.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, 8
 ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλῆς Σκιωναῖος, δύτης τῶν Scyllias, a celebrated diver, brings information of the enemy's design and of his severe loss by the storm.
 τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος· ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι¹⁸, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλῆς ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε· ὅτε μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη¹⁹ ἀπῆκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως· θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐξ Ἀφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπῆκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κη τούτους²⁰ ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθών. λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω, πλοῖόν μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ὡς δὲ ἀπῆκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγόισι τὴν τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν. 9
 Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν· πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνῖκα, τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας, πορεύεσθαι, καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλουούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδεῖς σφι ἐπέπλωε²¹, δείλῃν

¹⁷ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεται. A similar combination of movements appears to have been attempted in Cyprus. See note 317 on v. 13.

¹⁸ πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι. In the time of PAUSANIAS, a statue of this person existed at Delphi, set up by the Amphictyons,—probably on account of the service rendered to the Hellenic cause by the information he conveyed. But Pausanias, no doubt following the prevalent tradition of his time, says that the services thus rewarded were those performed by himself and his daughter *Hydna* (whom he had taught to dive) in assisting the destruction of the Persian vessels during the storm off

Pelium, by loosening the anchors and other holdfasts! The statue of *Hydna* had been carried off to Rome by Nero. Pausanias adds, that the power of diving is possessed by females who continue virgins, but by no others (x. 19. 2).

¹⁹ ἦδη. Some MSS have ἔτι instead of this word, and one or two omit both.

²⁰ τούτους. This word is omitted in S and V.

²¹ ὡς οὐδεῖς σφι ἐπέπλωε. The adversaries whose advance they had expected were the two hundred galleys, which they learnt on the preceding afternoon had been sent on round Euboea. It is not, however, to be assumed that the allies actually made a retrograde movement to such an extent as themselves to reconnoitre the whole

the detach-
ment is
not near,

10

attack
the enemy
in front,

ὁψίην²² γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐπανεπλῶον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου. Ὅρέοντες δὲ σφεας οἱ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξῳ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλῶοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι, πύγῃ σφι μανίην ἐπενείكانτες, ἀνήγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐλπίσαντές σφεας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωυτῶν πλησίει τε πολλαπλασίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλωούσας· καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, ἐκκυκλῶντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον· ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὖνοοι τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορὴν τε ἐποιοῦντο μεγάλην, ὀρέοντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἄσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον²³, ἄμιλλαν ἐποιοῦντο ὅπως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν παρὰ βασιλέος δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ὥς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν, ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον²⁴.

11

in which
skirmish

channel north of Chalcis: for the words of the text are compatible with the view, that the intelligence of the enemy not being in sight was telegraphed to them. See note 16, above. On the other supposition, the exhaustion from rowing so far would have quite disqualified them for fighting in the evening. LEAKE (*Appendix II. to Athens and the Demi of Attica*, p. 245) maintains that these words apply to the Persian fleet at Aphetæ, and supposes that the engagement took place on the day on which the council was held. But there is nothing in the text to imply, or to justify, a change of opinion on the part of the allies. When they formed their plan, they could not possibly have expected the squadron at Aphetæ to attack them *the same day*; and consequently could not have changed their plan (which Leake's interpretation assumes) on finding that it did not. Leake's view is also irreconcilable with the position of the Persian detachment at the time the storm caught them. See note 36, below.

²² δελήν ὁψίην. Larcher considers this expression to mean "three o'clock in the afternoon." But it is an error to interpret such expressions as these as if the limits of the time denoted were at all de-

finitely fixed. The divisions of the day which *πρῶτῃ*, *ἑσπέρα*, *μεσημβρία*, *δείλη*, and the like indicate, are such as strike the sense of the common man, not certain portions of an artificial period. The confederates watched the time when it became *late in the afternoon*, i. e. when the descent of the sun became obvious. It should not be overlooked, that one effect of the time selected would be, that the sun would shine in the eyes of the steerers of the Persian ships.

²³ ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον. The same construction is used below (§ 14): *ὥς σφι ἡδομένοισι ἡμέρην ἐπέλαμψε*, and (ix. 461): *ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν . . . ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι*. So too TACITUS (*Agricola*, § 13): "quibus autem bellum volentibus erat."

²⁴ ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον. The operation denoted by these words seems to have been the backing the galleys in a direction which would have made their sterns (had the proceeding been continued) converge in a single point, the centre (τὸ μέσον) of the circle of which they occupied a segment while retreating with their beaks turned upon the advancing enemy. But when they changed this movement for a charge, it must not

δεύτερα δὲ σμήνην, ἔργον εἶχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμ- they take
φθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν thirty
βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεόν²⁵, gallies and
Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἔοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. make a pri-
πρώτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος soner of a
Λυκομήδης²⁶ Αἰσχροῦ, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήριον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' man of con-
ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως²⁷ ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα sequence.
διέλυσε· οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλων, οἱ
δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι.
ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος, μούνος τῶν σὺν βασι-
λεῖ Ἑλλήνων ἔοντων, αὐτομόλעי ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο 12
δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ A storm of
ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυίγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς rain and
Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον thunder
τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπῶν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες sets in
ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πᾶν γινώσκοντες ἀπολέσθαι, ἐς οἷα with night-
κακὰ ἦκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαί σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης falls and
καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίη alarms the
Persians.

be supposed that they diverged, "like rays," from the same centre; but that they moved in comparatively close order parallel to one another, and thus overwhelmed the small portion of the enemy opposed to them. The Persian line of battle had been greatly extended in order to surround the Greeks; and the effect of the movement of the latter was to render its flanks useless through their position in the circumference of too large a circle. Before the mistake could be remedied, a direct charge (κατὰ στόμα) upon the central ships had overwhelmed them. LEAKE's notion of the Hellenic force forming a *complete circle*, and actually surrounded by the Persian ships, is to me inconceivable.

²⁵ Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεόν. See v. 115. Possibly Philaon, if captured alive, may be the original source of the narrative which the author has given of the proceedings in Cyprus (v. 108—115).

²⁶ Λυκομήδης. PLUTARCH considers that Themistocles was connected by blood

with the family to which persons of this name belonged, arguing from the circumstance that a τελεστήριον in Phylæ which belonged to them, and was burnt by Xerxes, had been restored and decorated with paintings by him,—a fact recorded by SIMONIDES (*Themist.* § 1). He also makes this Lycomedes sink the first ship of the enemy in the engagement at *Salamis* (§ 15). Of course it is possible to suppose that he gained this distinction in both engagements; but it is not likely that, if this were the case, Herodotus should only mention the one, and Plutarch only the other. See note 185 on i. 57.

²⁷ ἑτεραλκέως. This is the reading of all the MSS here; but in ix. 103: ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκία τὴν μάχην, S and V have ὑπεραλκία. It has been interpreted to mean, "with doubtful issue;" but this sense seems an unsatisfactory one for a case where the one side loses thirty gallies and the other, so far as appears, none at all.

καρτερή· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίας, ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὠρμημένα, βρονταὶ τε σκληραὶ. καὶ τούτοις
 13 μὲν τοιαύτη νύξ ἐγίνετο. Τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλώειν
 Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτὴ περ' εὐῶσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ
 ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγει φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε. καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγένετο
 ἄχαρι²⁸. ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι²⁹ αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ
 ἐπεγίνετο, εὐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύ-
 ματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας.
 ἐποιεέτο τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως ἂν ἐξισωθῇ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ
 Περσικόν, μηδὲ πολλῶ πλέον εἴη.

The detach-
ment des-
patched
round Eu-
boea is to-
tally de-
stroyed.

14 Οὗτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας³⁰ διεφθείροντο· οἱ δ'
 ἐν Ἀφέτῃσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε,
 ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας, καὶ σφι ἀπεχρέετο κακῶς πρήσσουσι
 ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρέοντι· τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ἐπεβώθειον³¹ νέες
 τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. αὐταὶ τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν
 ἀπικόμεναι, καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίη ἐλθοῦσα ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ
 περιπλώνοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ
 γενομένου χειμῶνος· φυλάξαντες δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλώοντες
 ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι³². ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνη
 ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

The next
day the
allies are
reinforced
by fifty-
three Attic
ships, and
make a suc-
cessful at-
tack on the
Cilician
squadron.

15 Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ, δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω
 δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ
 παρακελευσόμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνήγον τὰς νέας· συν-

On the third
day the in-
vading fleet
makes the
attack,

²⁸ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγένετο ἄχαρι. Compare i. 41: συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, and vii. 190: ἦν γὰρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορῇ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος.

²⁹ πλώουσι. Gaisford prints this form on the sole authority of S and V, all the other MSS having the common form πλέουσι.

³⁰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας. This is the part of the coast between the promontories of Caphareus and Geræstus. It is this bay of which EURIPIDES speaks (*Troas*. 84): πλῆσον δὲ νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν. It may be observed with reference to the interpretation of Leake, discussed in note 21, above, that it is physically impossible for ships detached from Aphetae in the afternoon to have gone round Sciathus and arrived off this part of Euboea in the course of the same night.

Twenty-four hours later they would naturally be there. Caphareus obtained the name of *Ξυλοφάγος* (plank-swallower) from the number of ships wrecked upon it. (TZETZES, *ad Lycophron*. 373.) The current from the Dardanelles sets on to it. But even the s.w. shores of the island are extremely dangerous. See note 227 on vi. 99.

³¹ ἐπεβώθειον. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V, although the majority of MSS have *ἐπεβόηθειον*.

³² νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι. The Cilician contingent consisted of no less than a hundred gallees. It can hardly be supposed that the whole, or any thing like the whole, of them can be meant, as the author seems to represent them as being annihilated by the allied fleet.

ἐπιπτε δὲ ὥστε ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι· ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν· οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο, ὅπως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δ', ὅπως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες, τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. Ὡς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξῳ ἐπέπλων, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας 16 εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μνησοιδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ἐκυκλέοντο ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς· ἐνθεύτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανεπλώνον τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο³³. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξῳ στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάλῃ θεῷ τε καὶ πλήθει αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντέιχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποיעύντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλίγων ἐς φυγὴν τραπέσθαι. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες· πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλευνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἐκάτεροι.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξῳ στρατιωτέων 17 ἡρίστευσαν³⁴. οἱ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινὴς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδῳ, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκὴν παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκῇ νηϊ.

which issues in great loss to both sides.

The Egyptians in the invading fleet highly distinguish themselves, and so do the Athenians.

³³ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. Not "they had equal forces," but "they came to be on an equal footing;" i. e. the invaders were so confused by their own numbers that they could not bring a superior force to bear upon their enemies. On the other hand, the same circumstance prevented the Greeks from availing themselves of their superior skill. They were hemmed in before they had made a sufficient offing to be able to manoeuvre.

³⁴ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξῳ στρατιωτέων ἡρίστευσαν. DIODORUS (xi. 13), in relating this action, makes not the Egyptians but the Sidonians distinguish themselves above all others in the invading fleet. Possibly this is a confusion on his part with the distinction which

they obtained at the Hellespont (vii. 44), but it is more probable that he is following a distinct authority. From the description which is given of the armament of the crews of the Egyptian galleys (vii. 89), it is likely that in a mêlée (ταρασσομενέων τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας) they would have a great advantage. And if the ships, although manned by Egyptians, were of Sidonian build, and possibly commanded by a Sidonian chief (see notes 262 and 288 on vii. 89. 98), the statement of Diodorus is readily explained, and in its turn confirms the conjecture put forward in the notes referred to, as to the cause of the divergency of Æschylus and Herodotus in the numbers of the Persian fleet.

18

The allies,
having suffered
severely, de-
termine to

Ἦς δὲ διέστησαν³⁵, ἄσμενοι ἑκάτεροι ἐς ὄρμον ἡπείγοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναηγίων ἐπεκράτεον· τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἦκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἰ ἡμίσειαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι

19

retreat.
Themisto-
cles's plan
to keep
up the spi-
rits of the
men.

ἦσαν³⁶, δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Νόῳ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὡς, εἰ ἀπορραγείη ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἴωνικὸν φύλον καὶ τὸ Καρικὸν, οἰοί τε εἶησαν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ταύτῃ συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἔλεγε σφί ὡς δοκέει ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους· ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνον· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφί εἶναι ἔλεγε· τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν³⁷ καταθύνειν ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι (κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους)· παραίνεέ τε προειπεῖν τοῖσι ἐωυτῶν ἑκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν, ὥστε ἀσινέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρεσέ σφί ποιέειν καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτρίποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα. Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες³⁸ παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμὸν ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεάξαντο ὡς παρεσομένου σφί πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποίησαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα· Βάκιδι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμὸς·

Φράξεο βαρβαρόφωνον ὕταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἄλλα βάλλῃ
βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἴγας.

τούτοισι δὲ οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι τότε παρεούσι τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖσι, παρὴν σφί συμφορῇ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21

News is
brought of
the disaster
at Thermo-

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσον, παρὴν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος, Πολλῆας, γένος Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, (καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατήρης ἐτοῖμον,)

³⁵ ὡς δὲ διέστησαν. S and V have οἱ δὲ ὡς διέστασαν.

³⁶ τῶν αἰ ἡμίσειαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν. One cannot help suspecting considerable exaggeration here. The action off Salamis took place too soon afterwards to allow the supposition that there was time to refit their crippled vessels, and yet the Athenian contingent there was

180 strong at least.

³⁷ Εὐβοϊκῶν. Gaisford prints Εὐβοεικῶν, following the majority of MSS. But S and V have the form in the text, which is the reading of all in vii. 192.

³⁸ οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες, κ.τ.λ. Schweighäuser well remarks, that the proper place for this section appears to be immediately following § 4, above.

εἰ παλήσειε³⁹ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμο-
 πύλῃσι ἐοῦσι· ὡς δ' αὐτως ἦν Ἀβρώνυχος ὁ Λυσικλέος, Ἀθηναῖος, pylae, and
they make
an orderly
retreat.
 καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἐτοῖμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν
 τριηκοντέρῳ, ἣν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. οὗτος ὦν ὁ
 Ἀβρώνυχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδα⁴⁰
 καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς
 ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν· ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι
 ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀθηναίων **22**
 δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα, πλωούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς
 ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πτότμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι
 γράμματα⁴¹, τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ
 Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο· τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε· “ ἄνδρες
 Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεέτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι⁴², καὶ
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι· ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων
 γίνεσθε⁴³. εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι
 καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε⁴⁴ καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ τῶν Καρῶν
 δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶόν τε
 γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέζευχθε⁴⁵ ἢ ὥστε
 ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς γε ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκα-
 κέετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἢ ἔχθρη
 πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ἡμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε.” Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ

Device of
Themisto-
cles to sow
dissension
among the
enemy's
forces.

³⁹ παλήσειε. HESYCHIUS explains this word by διαφθείρειε, where the true reading has been supposed to be διαφθαρείη. The word παλέω appears to be an Ionic form of παλαίω, used in that sense in which the word κάμνω is ordinarily found. Valcknaer doubtfully puts forward the conjecture ΤΙΠΤΑΙΣΕΙΕ (τι πταίσειε) for ΠΑΛΗΣΕΙΕ.

⁴⁰ Λεωνίδα. F, both here and in § 15, above, has Λεωνίδην.

⁴¹ ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμματα. Compare iv. 87: ἐνταμὼν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά. Elsewhere the word ἐγκολάπτω is used in the same sense. i. 93: καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο. 187: ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. The latter word is found in the SEPTUAGINT (3 Mac. ii. 27) and elsewhere, but the former is peculiar to Herodotus.

⁴² ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι. See vii. 150: οὔτε ὦν ἡμέας οἰκὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους ἐκστρατεύεσθαι. A

similar plea on the part of the Phœnicians seems to have been allowed by Cambyses. (iii. 19.)

⁴³ γίνεσθε. S has ἔσεσθε, which is unquestionably no corruption, but a genuine variant.

⁴⁴ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε, “be neutral.” Compare iii. 83: οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφι οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθῆστο. iv. 118: ὑμεῖς ὦν μηδὲν τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιῴητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, and below, § 73: αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκατέατο. For the use of ἡμῖν in combination with this phrase, see note 318 on ii. 113. It is not pleonastic, for the interests of the European Greeks were much affected by the neutrality of the Ionians.

⁴⁵ ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέζευχθε. This expression has a very poetical colouring. Compare ÆSCHYLUS (*Prometh.* 108: ἀνάγκαις ταῖσδ' ὑπέζευγαμι τάλας. SOPHOCLES (*Philoct.* 1025): κλοπῇ τε κἀνάγκῃ ζυγεῖς ἔπλεις ἄμ' αὐτοῖς.

ταῦτα ἔγραψε, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νοέων ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλέειν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀνενεχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξea, *πισ* ἄπιστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας ⁴⁶ καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη.

23

The next day the invading fleet advances as far as *Histiæa*, and overrun the hamlets on the coast.

Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοῖφ ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαιεὺς, ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀπιστίας τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νῆας δὲ ταχείας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοφρομένας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ⁴⁷ ἅμα ἡλίφ σκιδναμένφ ⁴⁸ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἔπλωε *ἑλ* ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτφ τῷ χώρφ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπλων ἐς Ἰστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίνης μοίρης, γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαίητιδος ⁴⁹, τὰς παραθαλασσίας κώμας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

24

Xerxes allows leave of absence to visit the field of Thermopylae, after burying nineteen-twentieths of his own dead.

Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐόντων, Ξέρξης ἐτοίμασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς, ἔπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα· προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες· ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς, τάφρους ὀρυζάμενος, ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμνησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ· ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἰστιαίην ὁ κήρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε· “ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένφ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι, ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι ὅκως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ ἤλπισαν τὴν βασιλέος δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέεσθαι.” Ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο

25

πλοίων σπανιώτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἠθελον θεήσεσθαι διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηεύντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ

⁴⁶ ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας. See note on ix. 98.

⁴⁷ οὕτω δὴ, “then, at last.” See note 22 on i. 5.

⁴⁸ ἅμα ἡλίφ σκιδναμένφ. The metaphor is apparently the same as that which is expressed more fully by ÆSCHYLUS: πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ ἀκτῖνας (Pers.

502); and appears yet more distinctly in LUCRETIVUS’S “Sol lumine conserit arva,” and MILTON’S “Morn sowing the earth with orient pearl.”

⁴⁹ Ἰστιαίητιδος. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V, the other MSS having the form Ἰστιαιώτιδος. See note 63 on iv. 20.

Θεσπίας, ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς εἴλωτας· οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ γελοῖον ἦν· τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ, πάντες ἐκέατο ἄλεες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τὸν χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες⁵⁰. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θένν ἐτράποντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλων ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρμέατο.

Ἦκον δὲ σφι ^{deserunt} αὐτομολοὶ ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας ὀλίγοι τινὲς, βίου 26 τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἔνεργοι βουλόμενοι εἶναι· ἄγοντες δὲ τοὺτους ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέως, ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ ποιοίειν· εἰς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτέων αὐτοὺς ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ σφι ἔλεγον, ὥς Ὀλύμπια ἄγοιεν καὶ θεωροίεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν· ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἄεθλον εἴη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτεν ἀγωνίζονται; οἱ δ' εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον⁵¹. ἐνθαῦτα εἰπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου⁵², δειλίην ὥφλε πρὸς βασιλέως· πυρηνόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄεθλον ἔον στέφανον, ἀλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε ἡνέσχετο σιγῶν εἰπεῖ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε· “παπαὶ, Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἤγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οἷ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῖνται, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς.” τοῦτ' μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἶρητο.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ τε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα 27 ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἅτε σφι ἐνέχοντες⁵³ αἰεὶ χόλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα· ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιῇ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλέως στρατηλασίης, ἐσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκῶν καὶ

Anecdote of *Tritantechmes* and his tribute of admiration to the Greeks on hearing from some Arcadian mercenaries what was at that time occupying their attention.

The Thessalians, who at no long time back had suffered a severe loss from the Phocians

⁵⁰ τέσσερες χιλιάδες. It would seem from these numbers (which are the same as those of the inscription, vii. 228), that in the apprehension of the writer, the Spartans were attended by at least the full complement of Helots, seven to each hoplite; and also—a more difficult supposition—that these were animated by the same spirit as their masters.

⁵¹ τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. The use of the articles is not to be overlooked, showing the notorious character of the prize. “He asked further, what the prize was which they staked? and they told him of the olive crown which

is given. See note 490 on iv. 192.

⁵² Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. See note 251 on vii. 82. But the MSS, with the exception of S, which is followed by Valla, have *Τιγράνης*. I have given the reading of Gaisford, although by no means convinced that it is to be preferred to that of the majority of MSS. See note 494 on ii. 160, and 367 on iv. 144.

⁵³ ἐνέχοντες. This is the reading of S and V, and is adopted by Gaisford. The other MSS have *έχοντες*. In vii. 119, all without exception have *ἐνείχε σφι δεινὸν χόλον*. In i. 118 there is an equal unanimity for the anomalous form *ἐνείχεε*.

περιεφθησαν τρηχέως· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρ-
νησσὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην⁵⁴ τὸν Ἥλειον, ἐνθαῦτα
ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε· γυνώσας⁵⁵ ἄνδρας
ἐξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτοὺς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ
ὄπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσιν προείπας
αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἂν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται τοῦτον κτείνειν. τού-
τους ὦν αἱ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβή-
θησαν δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτῇ
ἢ στρατιῇ, οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν καὶ ἀσπί-
δων Φωκέας· τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς Ἄβας⁵⁶ ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ
ἐς Δελφοὺς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς
μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες⁵⁷,
ἐμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσιν· καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἀβησι
ἀνακέαται. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν
οἱ Φωκέες, πολιορκέοντας ἑωυτούς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώραν
τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ

28

on two oc-
casions

⁵⁴ Τελλίην. There appears to have been a family of *Telliadae* at Elis, one of whom, Hegesistratus, was also a seer (ix. 37).

⁵⁵ γυνώσας. It is an error to suppose that this device had *no other* object than that of terrifying the enemy. The instructions given: τὸν ἂν μὴ λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται τοῦτον κτείνειν, show plainly that the aim of Tellias was to give his troops the means of recognizing one another without using the watchword, which would have destroyed the *prestige* of their appearance.

⁵⁶ ἐς Ἄβας. See note 141 on i. 46.

⁵⁷ οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες. For the use of the article see note 490 on iv. 192. PAUSANIAS describes two groups of figures set up at Delphi in commemoration of the successes of the Phocians over the Thes-salians. The one of these was the work of Aristomedon the Argive (whom SILLIG places in the 74th Olympiad). Its subject is not named by Pausanias, but he describes it as containing statues of Apollo and Tellias the seer, of the leaders of the Phocian force, and some of the ἥρωες ἐπιχώριοι (x. 1. 10). But the occasion on which this group was set up was not, according to Pausanias, the defeat described by Herodotus in the text. That,

according to him, took place afterwards (x. 1. 11). In another passage he describes a second group, likewise set up by the Phocians in consequence of their success under Tellias. Apollo and Heracles are represented as contending for the tripod; while Athene is endeavouring to moderate the anger of Heracles, and An-temis and Leto that of Apollo. The figure of Athene was said to be the work of Chionis, the others of Diyllus and Amyclæus,—all three Corinthians (x. 13. 7). Sillig cannot with any certainty fix the dates of these three artists; but he assumes that the group was put up soon after the transaction. But if Herodotus had found *two* monuments of the *two* defeats, it is unlikely he should mention one, and only one. And if he only found one, it can scarcely have been any but the work of Aristomedon. (See note on ix. 81, below.) Supposing it to have been this, it will follow that between the time of Herodotus and that of Pausanias, the story of the Delphic *ciceroni* will have varied,—the same trophy being referred to different events. That such should be the case is very natural; but its likelihood is a matter often lost sight of in estimating the historical value of temple-traditions. See note 449 on ii. 148.

ἢ ἐστι κατὰ Τάμπολιν⁵⁸; ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες, ἀμφορέας κεινοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν· χοὺν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοίωσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ, ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας· οἱ δὲ, ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας, φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν. Τούτων δὴ σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον⁵⁹ οἱ Θεσσαλοί, 29 πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἡγόρευον τάδε· “ὦ Φωκέες, ἥδη τι μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχέετε μὴ εἶναι ὁμοιοὶ ἡμῖν· πρόσθεν τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι “Ελλήσι, ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἦνδανε, πλεόν αἰεὶ κοτε ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτον δυνάμεθα, ὥστε ἐπ’ ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς γῆς τε ἐστερηῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἡνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας· ἡμέες μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν· ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντ’ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποτρέψειν.”

Ταῦτά σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί· (οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μούνοι 30 τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον, κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν⁶⁰. εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠῦξον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμῆδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες·) ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα παρέχειν τέ σφι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μῆδιζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἐκόντες εἶναι⁶¹ προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι, ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ· ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδεῶν στεινὸς⁶² ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος

endeavour to extort a compensation of fifty talents from them.

The Phocians refuse,

31 and the Thessalians lead the invading army from Trachis, through Doris and Phocis.

⁵⁸ ἢ ἐστι κατὰ Τάμπολιν. This is the high road which led from *Opus* in Locris over the mountains to *Orchomenus* in Boeotia. There was a branch from it near Hyampolis which led to Abæ, lying at a short distance on the right hand. (PAUSANIAS x. 35. 1.)

⁵⁹ ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον. Exactly the same expression is used below (ix. 110): τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον. The word *ἐγκότος* is a substantive, exactly equivalent to *κότος*. See vi. 133: ἀτὰρ τινα καὶ ἔγκοτον εἶχε τοῖσι Παρίοις.

⁶⁰ κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν, “in

accordance with their hatred of the Thessalians.” Compare ix. 37: κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.

⁶¹ ἐκόντες εἶναι. Compare ix. 7: οὐ μὲν οὐδ’ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες εἶναι, and above (vii. 104 and 164), ἐκὼν εἶναι.

⁶² ποδεῶν στεινὸς, “a narrow spur.” The same word (*ποδεῶν*) is used of the protruding corners of the wineskins (ii. 121), which, being the legs of the animal whose skin is used, jut out from the body in the same way that the ridge on which the Doric Tetrapolis lay does from the main range.

καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας, ἥπερ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς⁶³. ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων⁶⁴ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι

32 ἐμῆδιζόν τε γὰρ, καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκῶν ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδὴ δέξασθαι ὄμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφὴ κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν^a κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς⁶⁵. Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀννηνείκαντο⁶⁶, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν· οἱ δὲ πλευνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν, τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκομένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὅκοσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά⁶⁷.

The Phocians themselves mostly escape, some to Parnassus, but most to Amphissa.

The invaders over-run the whole of Phocis,

33 and taking the line of the valley of the Cephissus, burn the towns

Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτῃ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν, ἐδήϊον πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρύμον πόλιν, κατὰ δὲ Χαράδρην, καὶ Ἐρωχον, καὶ Τεθρώνιον, καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν⁶⁸, καὶ Νέωνα, καὶ Πεδιέας, καὶ Τριτέας, καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, καὶ Ὑάμπολιν⁶⁹, καὶ Παρα-

⁶³ Δρυοπίς. The manuscripts S and V have Δρυοπίης. But in i. 56 the form in the text is supported by all the MSS.

⁶⁴ ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων. The meaning of the writer is, apparently, not that this district was the primitive seat of the Peloponnesian Dorians, but that they came into Peloponnesus from thence. Any stricter interpretation would be quite incompatible with the ethnographic notice in i. 56, from which it would appear that the reputed primitive seat of the Dorian race was Phthiotis in Thessaly. Compare too the expression: ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες, § 43, below.

^a κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν. PAUSANIAS, who in his description of Phocis continually refers to this part of Herodotus's work, remarks, that in the "oracles of Bacis" the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are called *Tithoreans*: and he conjectures that the town Tithorea (which existed in his time) was formed by the aggregation of their hamlets, and that its name extruded the one of *Neon*. As Neon was burnt by the invaders, this is not an improbable conjecture; but the expression of Herodotus indicates that the town Neon existed in his time. In the time

of Pausanias there was a fair held here twice a year in honour of *Isis*,—a circumstance which indicates considerable communication with Egypt. The staple of the place seems to have been perfumes made from the oil and the herbs grown in the vicinity (x. 32. 8—19).

⁶⁵ κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, "insulated." Compare ii. 2: ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν κέεσθαι.

⁶⁶ ἀννηνείκαντο. The words τὰ χρήματα, or τὴν οὐσίαν, or some analogous expression, are understood. Compare iii. 148: ἀπικόμενος δ' ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνενηνείκμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε. A similar ellipse of the accusative appears below (§ 36).

⁶⁷ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά. Instead of these words, S has κατέκαιον.

⁶⁸ Ἀμφίκαιαν. PAUSANIAS calls this town Ἀμφικλεία, but intimates that it was corrupted by the local pronunciation into *Ophitea*, which Amphiclaea might, but Amphiclea hardly could have been. A legend was given for this corrupted name, connected with the worship of a Dionysus-Æsculapius (x. 33. 9).

⁶⁹ καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, καὶ Ὑάμπολιν. The road from Elateia to Hyampolis and Abæ was a mere mountain-path. It is scarcely

ποταμίους⁷⁰, καὶ Ἀβας· ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, and temples, among
θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ which is the
καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ, χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν Abæ.
συλήσαντες ἐνέπρῃσαν⁷¹, καὶ τινες διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκῶων
πρὸς τοῖσι οὔρεσι· καὶ γυναικῶν τινες διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ
πλήθεος.

Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀπίκοντο ἐς 34
Πανοπέας· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη⁷² διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν The main
ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἅμα army then
αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας, ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς ἐς enters Bæo-
γῆν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλήθος ἐμήδιζε· τὰς δὲ ticia by Or-
chomenus,

conceivable that more than a detachment of the Persian army could have accompanied the Thessalians through Phocis. PAUSANIAS mentions the very great scarcity of water both at Charadra and at Hyampolis. In the latter place there was only one spring, and at the former the people were obliged to fetch what they wanted from the *Charadrus*, three *stadæ* off. The Panopeans likewise had no spring (x. 4. 1).

⁷⁰ Παραποταμίους. PAUSANIAS questions the fact of there ever having been a town of this name, and says that the people called by the name were the inhabitants of the banks of the Cephissus,—by far the most fertile land in all Phocis. He adds, that neither are there any ruins of *Parapotamia*, nor any tradition of its former site (x. 33. 7). But the description of Herodotus does not seem to imply a town. Probably the invaders burnt all the hamlets.

⁷¹ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρῃσαν. This outrage was perhaps mainly owing to the hatred of the Thessalians, who remembered the defeat they had suffered in the neighbourhood (§ 27, above). But the temple may also have had some importance as a military position; for in the sacred war some fugitive Phocians took refuge in its ruins, and the Thebans burnt them, temple and all, which they would hardly have been obliged to do, had not the place proved a strong fortification. The emperor Hadrian built a smaller temple by the side of the old one. (PAUSANIAS, x. 35. 3.)

⁷² ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη. It is not easy to conceive that this statement is exactly a correct one. See note 69, above. The

greater part of the army must have moved by the sea-road for the sake of supplies. Perhaps at the time Herodotus is now speaking of, we may conceive the front of the invading army extended along the line from Panopeus through Hyampolis to Opus. A portion of this,—that which Herodotus has been describing,—would have come into position at Panopeus by marching through Doris and Phocis. From this portion the expedition sent against Delphi would necessarily be detached. It seems possible that the real object of the expedition was rather to get the temple into the hands of the Thessalians than to destroy it. The Delphic oracle had, at any rate in later times, the reputation of not having been ill-affected towards the Persians. When Themistocles was desirous of making an offering at Delphi out of his share of the Persian spoils, the priestess desired him to take the offering out of the temple, saying :

μή μοι Περσῆος σκύλων περικαλλέα
κόσμον
νηφ' ἐγκαταβῆς· οἰκόνδ' ἀπόπεμπε τά-
χιστα.

Two accounts were given of this; the one, that the deity, being aware that Themistocles would at a future time become a suppliant of the Persian king, wished to prevent him from committing the offence of making an offering from Persian spoils; the other, that, if those who made offerings from this source had, like Themistocles, asked the deity's permission beforehand, every one would have been equally rejected. (PAUSANIAS, x. 14. 5.)

πόλις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἔσωζον δὲ, τῇδε βουλόμενοι δῆλον ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν

35

while a detachment proceeds against Delphi, Xerxes having heard much of the treasures there, especially of the offerings of Croesus.

βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο. Ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, ὀρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἶρόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησσὸν ἀπέργοντες· ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ Δαυλίων, καὶ Αἰολιδέων⁷³. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως συλήσαντες τὸ ἶρόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

36

Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωδὴν ἀπίκατο· ἐν δαίματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες, ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν; ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φᾶς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἑωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι⁷⁴. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῆν διέπεμψαν· αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ τὰς κορυφάς, καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον⁷⁵ ἀνηνέικαντο· οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπέξῃλθον· πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ

37

The detachment is repulsed miraculously from the temple,

τοῦ προφήτεω. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρεον τὸ ἶρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνεγμένα ἱρὰ, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί·

⁷³ Αἰολιδέων. This (or Αἰολίδων) is the reading of all the MSS, but it is certainly corrupt. Valcknaer conjectures very ingeniously that the true word is ΑἰΑΙΕΩΝ.

⁷⁴ προκατῆσθαι. The metaphor is taken from a sentinel on duty, who takes up his position in front of the post over which he is watching. In ix. 106 the full expression is used: Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρόντας.

⁷⁵ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον. RAIKES describes the entrance of the Corycian cave

as being very low and narrow, and opening out of a steep and bushy slope which is the northern boundary of a high table land, spreading out to a breadth of five or six miles. On getting in, the visitor finds himself at once in a large chamber 330 feet long by 200 wide, abounding in stalactites and stalagmites. A narrow, wet passage in a descending direction led out of this, but Raikes was deterred from going further by fear of the failure of his torch (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 313).

ὁ μὲν δὲ ἦϊε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεούσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας⁷⁶. οἱ δὲ
 βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν τῆς Προνηΐης
 Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου
 τέρεος· θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστὶ, ὅπλα ἀρήϊα αὐτό-
 ματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ
 δεύτερα ἐπιγεγόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωυμάσαι
 μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν
 τῆς Προνηΐης⁷⁷ Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κερανοῖ
 αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο
 κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῶ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ κατέλαβον
 συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλα-
 γμὸς ἐγίνετο. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρ- 38
 βάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκε· μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντάς σφεας,
 ἐκικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πληθὸς τι αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ περιέοντες ἰθὺ⁷⁸
 Βοιωτῶν ἔφενγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων
 θεία· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μέζοντας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας⁷⁹
 ἔπεσθαί σφι, κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο 39
 Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φυλάκον τε καὶ Αὐτό-
 νοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἶρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν
 τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας
 τῆς Κασταλῆς, ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπείῃ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ
 τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι, ἐν τῷ τεμένει
 τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρ-

two local
 heroes, *Phy-
 lacus* and
Autonous,
 taking part
 in the con-
 flict.
 A memorial
 of the event
 remains in
 two huge

⁷⁶ ὁ μὲν δὲ ἦϊε, κ.τ.λ. When the Thebans were hesitating whether or not to give battle to the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, their courage was raised by intelligence brought them from Thebes, that the doors of all the temples had opened of their own accord, and that the sacred arms had disappeared from the Heraclæum. (XENOPHON, *Hellenic*. vi. 4. 7.) They drew the same inference from this fact that the Delphians did from the statement of Aceratus. Valcknaer takes some pains to argue against the notion of Aceratus's act being a wilful imposture, and considers him to have been under the influence of enthusiasm. In such matters it is impossible exactly to draw the line where fanaticism ends and imposture be-

gins. THIRLWALL has some admirable remarks on this particular transaction (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 292).

⁷⁷ Προνηΐης. The MSS authorities do not enable one to decide between Προνοιῆς and this reading, which seems undoubtedly the correct one in i. 92. Gaisford prints Προνηΐης in both passages.

⁷⁸ ἰθὺ. Several MSS have εἰθὺ.

⁷⁹ ἔχοντας. This is the reading of all the MSS. Matthiæ changes it into ἐόντας, which certainly makes the construction smoother. But if the passage be corrupt, I should rather be inclined to correct it by reading μέζονα instead of μέζοντας, above.

stones fallen from a summit of Par-
 βάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγή γίνεται ⁸⁰.

40
 nassus, with-
 in the pre-
 cinct of
 Athene
 Pronæa.
 The allied
 fleet falls
 back on
Salamis, to
 cover the
 evacuation
 of the Athe-
 nian terri-
 tory.

Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικός στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, Ἀθη-
 ναίων δεθηέντων, ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει τὰς νῆας. τῶνδε δὲ
 εἵνεκα προσεδείθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ἵνα αὐτοὶ παίδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς,
 πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσῶνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ
 τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὥς
 ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης· δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους
 πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν
 εὖρον οὐδὲν ἔδον, οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἴσθμον αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας,
 καὶ ⁸¹ τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου ποιευμένους περιεῖναι τε
 καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπιέναι ταῦτα πυν-
 θανόμενοι, οὕτω δὴ προσεδείθησάν σφεων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν
 Σαλαμίνα. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα,
 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπιξιν κήρυγμα
 ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς
 οἰκέτας· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροιζήνα ⁸² ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ

41
 Most of the
 Athenians
 fly to *Træ-*
zene, but
 some to
Ægina and

⁸⁰ αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγή γίνε-
 ται. Considerable difficulty has been oc-
 casioned by the circumstance of PLU-
 TARCH (*Numa*, § 9) incidentally men-
 tioning the fact of the sacred fire in
 the temple of Delphi having been ex-
 tinguished τοῦ ναοῦ καταπρησθέντος
 ὑπὸ τῶν Μήδων. But in all probability
 the catastrophe in question was the one
 when the temple was destroyed by fire
 long before the Persian war, on which
 occasion the Alcæonidæ got so much
 reputation by rebuilding it. Either the
 words ὑπὸ τῶν Μήδων are an interpolation
 from the gloss of a mistaken commentator,
 or Plutarch's memory failed him, and he
 confused the times of the two events.
 It is however possible that the rumour of
 the temple having been burnt by the
 Pisistratids (see note 154 on v. 62) after-
 wards became transmuted into an account
 of its being burnt by the Persians at their
 instance.

⁸¹ καί. I have followed the authority
 of S. Gaisford prints ἐς with the majority
 of MSS. On the same ground he puts
 the particle τε after πλείστου instead of
 περιεῖναι.

⁸² οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροιζήνα. The

feeling no doubt would have prevailed
 that within the *isthmus* the safety for
 refugees would be greater. But besides
 this, Troezen was sacred to Poseidon, the
 deity who (under the name of Erechtheus)
 was—prior to the time of Pisistratus—
 perhaps the most important tutelary deity
 of Athens; and the sentiment would be
 strong, at any rate among a part of the
 population, that in going to Troezen they
 would be falling back upon the protection
 of the god of their forefathers. For the
 little island Calaurea, only four *stadæ*
 from the coast, was to the Poseidon-wor-
 shippers as sacred as Delos was to the
 Apollo-worshippers. It contained a tem-
 ple of Poseidon, to which were attached
 rights of sanctuary; and the legend ran
 that Poseidon had given Pytho to Apollo
 in exchange for Tænarum, and Delos to
 Latona in exchange for Calaurea. (STRABO,
 viii. c. 6, p. 203.) This legend is a
 symbolical way of representing a religi-
 ous union between two races, so far at
 least as to produce a reciprocal reverence
 for their chief sanctuaries. ERHODUS
 gives a reputed *oracle* embodying this
 principle:—

ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα⁸³. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι⁸⁴, *Salamis*, principally induced to leave Athens by a portent which occurred in the acropolis.
 τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἦκιστα λέγουσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιατεέσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς ἔοντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες⁸⁵. τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστιν αὕτη δ' ἡ μελιτόεσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη, τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος· σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυῖνης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν⁸⁶. ὡς δὲ σφί πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

ἴσον τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαύρειάν τε νέμεσθαι,
 Πυθὼ τ' ἡγαθέην καὶ Ταίναρον ἠνεμόεντα,

and the device of "Arion on his dolphin" was apparently a representation to the eye of the same kind of thing. (See note 85 on i. 24.) In the island Calauria there was anciently an Amphictyonic gathering of deputies from the seven cities, Hermione, Epidauros, Ægina, Athens, Prasie, Nauplia, and Minyæan Orchomenus. Argos in after times stood in the place of Nauplia, and Lacedæmon of Prasie. (STRABO, viii. p. 204.)

⁸³ οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. These would probably be in a great measure the members of the tribe *Æantis*. See note 168 on v. 66.

⁸⁴ ὑπεκθέσθαι. Some of the MSS have after this word *πειθόμενοι*, which Schweighäuser has supposed with much plausibility to be a mere gloss of *βουλόμενοι* ὑπηρετεῖν.

⁸⁵ ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες. The supposition that the offering thus regularly made served as the food for the tutelary deity may be paralleled by the similar superstition at Babylon relative to *Bel*, which the prophet Daniel so successfully detected. But this was not the case in many instances of the like kind which appear in pagan antiquity. At Alexandria certain cakes, which went by the name of *ἐγκρυφαίαι*, and were dedicated to Cronus, were set out in his temple for every one that liked to partake of. (DIO-CLES, *ap. Athenæum*, iii. p. 110.) The fish that were daily offered to Atergatis were consumed by the priests as a matter of course. (MNASEAS, *ap. eund.* viii. p. 346.) Likewise the shew-bread (*ἄρτοι*

προθέσεως) of the Israelites seems to have been the ordinary sustenance of the officiating priests, after remaining a certain time upon the table where it was offered. Compare *Exod.* xxv. 30 with 1 *Sam.* xxi. 4—6.

⁸⁶ ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυῖνης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. The prevailing feeling of antiquity was that the tutelary gods of a town must abandon it before it could be destroyed; and that if they did abandon it, its destruction would inevitably follow. Hence the prayer of the panic-stricken Chorus in *ÆSCHYLUS* (*Theb.* 203):—

μήποτ' ἐμὸν κατ' αἰῶνα λίποι θεῶν
 ἄδε πανάγυρις, μήδ' ἐπίδοιμι τάνδ'
 ἄστυδρομουμένην πόλιν καὶ στρατεύμ'
 ἀπτόμενον πυρὶ δαΐφ.

So *Æneas* (*Æneid.* ii. 351) announces the capture of Troy to his companions in the words—

“Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
 Dî quibus imperium hoc steterat,”

a catastrophe which EURIPIDES makes the tutelary god Poseidon declare for himself:—

ἐγὼ δὲ—νικῶμαι γὰρ Ἀργείας θεοῦ
 ἥρας Ἀθάνας θ', αἱ συνεξείλον Φρύγας,
 λείπω τὸ κλεινὸν Ἴλιον βαμοῦς τ' ἐμούς.
 (*Troad.* 23.)

A formula for *evoking* the gods of a hostile city was in use by the Romans in the earliest times, which MACROBIUS has extracted from “the very ancient book” of one *Furius*. (*Saturnalia*, iii. 9.) In it the deities are promised that no less honours than they have been accustomed to shall be paid them if they will consent to migrate to Rome. (See also *VERRIUS*

- 42 'Επεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζήνης· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προεῖρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῷ πλεύνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχουν, καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὴν ὧντος ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης οὐ μέντοι γένεός γε τοῦ βασιλῆϊον ἑών· νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλωύσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἔστρατεύοντο δὲ οἶδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκατὰ νῆας παρεχόμενοι· Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι τὸ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρείχοντο νῆας· Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα· Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε· Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς· ἔοντες οὗτοι, πλην Ἑρμιονέων, Δωρικὸν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἑρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες⁸⁷. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες⁸⁸, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλίων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες. οὗτοι μὲν νυν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύοντο. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡπείρου· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν, πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους⁸⁹ παρεχόμενοι νῆας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν⁹⁰,
- On the allied fleet arriving at Salamis, fresh succours come in of the contingents.
- 43 from the Peloponnesian states, making eighty-nine ships in all.
- These states, except *Hermione*, which is Dryopian, are all Dorian.
- 44 List of contingents

FLACCUS, *ap. Plin. N. H.* xxviii. 2.) To capture a town without evoking the tutelary gods in due form was considered a horrible sacrilege, which brought a judgment with it; and consequently the real name both of Rome and of the tutelary deity was kept carefully concealed, lest an invader should take advantage of it. (MACROBIUS, l. c.)

⁸⁷ ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες. See note 64 on § 31, above.

⁸⁸ οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες . . ἐξαναστάντες. The ancient city of Hermione was situated on a promontory about seven *stadia* long, and not more than three in its broadest part (PAUSANIAS, ii. 34. 9); and the temples which Pausanias found there—all surrounded with cyclopeic walls—were sacred to Demeter, Athene, Helios, and the Charites; all of them, therefore, as well as one of Poseidon lower down, belonging to a different religious system from that of the Heraclide Dorians. There was also a stadium, with the tradition that the sons of Tyndarus had run there. In the more modern town, besides other deities proper to a

maritime population, there were temples of Apollo, one under the name of Pythaeus. But the non-Dorian population obviously predominated; and the traditions of former hostilities doubtless kept up a hatred of race. Asine in Laconia, which is coupled with Hermione as Dryopian (below, § 73), was founded by refugees from the town of the same name in Argolis, which was utterly destroyed by the Argives in revenge for its inhabitants having joined the Lacedaemonians in laying waste their territory. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 36. 4.) ARISTOTLE made the eponymous founder *Dryops* an Arcadian (*ap. Strabon.* viii. c. 6, p. 203), an origin which indicates a close ethnical affinity between the Argolic Dryopians and the primitive population of the Peloponnese. See more in note 270 on vii. 90.

⁸⁹ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους. Compare ii. 35: ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώραν. iii. 94: φόρον ἀπαγγίλειον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους.

⁹⁰ ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν. THUCYDIDES makes the Athenians boast to the Lacedaemonians of having furnished

μοῦνοι⁹¹. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ συνενανμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθη- from the
ναίοισι, διὰ τοιούδε πρήγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ other states,
τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὡς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταιέες ἀπο-
βάντες ἐς τὴν περαιήν τῆς Βοιωτῆς χώρας⁹² πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν
ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετῶν. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλείφθη-
σαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα
καλεομένην, ἦσαν Πελασγοὶ οὐνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί· ἐπὶ δὲ Κέ-
κροπος βασιλέος ἐπεκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι⁹³. ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ
Ἐρεχθεὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν· Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ
Ξούθου στρατάρχου γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι, ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου
Ἴωνες. Μεγαρέες δὲ τῶντὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο τὸ καὶ ἐπ 45
Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβώθησαν·
Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς ἔθνος ἔόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου⁹⁴.

"nearly two-thirds of the whole fleet of 400 galleys" which fought at Salamis (i. 74). Herodotus gives as the aggregate 378; so that the Athenian contingent in his view was something less than the half (below, § 48). The sum of the separate squadrons which he gives amounts to only 366; but this perhaps admits of an explanation. (See note 101, below.) Ctesias puts the Hellenic fleet at 700, but there must certainly be some error in this number (*ap. Photium*, p. 39).

⁹¹ μοῦνοι, "by themselves," i. e. independently of the Plataeans. It is a striking circumstance that the Athenians should have been able to bring so large a number of ships into action, if there be not a great exaggeration in the former statement (§ 18), that one-half their galleys were crippled in the last battle which took place at Artemisium. Doubtless the Athenians bore the brunt of that engagement.

⁹² ἐς τὴν περαιήν τῆς Βοιωτῆς χώρας, "into the Boeotian territory on the opposite shore." One manuscript (V) has the reading *περίρην* for *περαιήν*, an obvious corruption, although adopted by Valla's translation.

⁹³ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν . . . Κεκροπίδαι. Koen, in a letter to Valcknaer, argued that there was an extensive corruption in this passage, from the circumstance that Cecrops is placed by Apollodorus before Cranaus (*Biblioth.* iii. 14. 1—5). Assuming that the pedigree, as given by the Alexandrine grammarian, must possess absolute authority,

he proposes as a conjecture in the text: ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν . . . ἦσαν Πελασγοὶ οὐνομαζόμενοι· ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, καὶ ἐπὶ Κραναοῦ Κραναοί. But, independently of the violence of the change, it is plain that its desirability rests entirely upon forgetfulness that the mythological genealogies of Apollodorus are a factitious arrangement, without any real pretension to historical correctness. In numberless instances, of which this is one, particular local traditions were quite opposed to them, and nothing has conduced so much to obscure Hellenic archæology as the neglect to recognize this fact. (Compare note 415 on ii. 139.) It so happens that SCYMNIUS CHIOS (*Perieg.* vv. 558—564) shows by his quotation of the substance of this passage, that he found the text of Herodotus in the same condition as that of the present day.

⁹⁴ ἔθνος ἔόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου. This refers both to the Ambraciots and the Leucadians. Ambracia is said to have been founded by Tolgus, a son of Cypselus, and consequently brother of the celebrated Periander. (STRABO, vii. 7, p. 120.) See note 264 on v. 92. THUCYDIDES calls Leucadia a Corinthian colony (i. 30); and its foundation probably belongs to the time of the Cypselid dynasty, which appears to have had influence over the whole west of European Hellas as far as Corcyra. (See above, iii. 52.) It is observable that Herodotus does not speak of Leucadia as an island, although it was at one time made so by

- 46 Νησιωτέων δὲ, Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα⁹⁵ παρείχοντο. ἦσαν μὲν σφί καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι νέες· ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον⁹⁶, τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα πλωούσῃσι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐναυμάχῃσαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσι Δωριεὲς ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον οὖνομα ἦν Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινῆτας, Χαλκιδεὲς τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετριεὲς τὰς ἐπτά· οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνες εἰσι. μετὰ δὲ, Κεῖοι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐὼν Ἴωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας⁹⁷, ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰπερ ὅλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, Δημοκρίτου⁹⁸ σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσι Ἴωνες, ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρεὲς δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νῆας τὰς καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύνιοι⁹⁹ δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον· ἔντες συναμφοτέροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες· καὶ Σερίφιοί τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρ-
47 βάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένων Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γάρ εἰσι ὁμουρέοντες Ἀμπρακιώτῃσι καὶ Λευκαδιοῖσι, οἱ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων, Κροτωνῆται μῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐβόθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνεύουσα,

digging through the isthmus, and is so at the present day. In the time of STRABO a bridge connected it with the main-land (x. c. 2, p. 332).

⁹⁵ τριήκοντα. Larcher proposes to read δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, in order to make the numbers square with the total of Herodotus. PAUSANIAS states that the Æginetans furnished the largest contingent next to the Athenians (ii. 29. 5). As the Corinthians contributed forty, the Æginetans must (Larcher thinks) have furnished some number greater than this. But Pausanias perhaps followed some other authority in the number he gives; and the total may be otherwise accounted for. See note 101 on § 48, below.

⁹⁶ τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον. The island Ægina was well protected against an enemy by the submarine rocks and shoals which surrounded it; and of all the Hellenic islands was the most difficult to make. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 29. 6.) Hence only a small number of vessels was re-

quired to defend it, and this appears not improbably to have been *twelve* on the present occasion.

⁹⁷ παρείχοντο τέσσερας. PLUTARCH (*de Malign. Herod.* § 36) read *τρεις* in the MS he used. HELLANICUS, he says, had related that the Naxians voluntarily sent *six* to the aid of the Hellenic confederates.

⁹⁸ Δημοκρίτου. According to an epigram of SIMONIDES (*ap. Plutarch. de Malign. Herod.* § 36), this individual highly distinguished himself in the action:—

Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρξε μάχης, ὅτε παρ' Σαλαμῖνα

Ἑλλήνες Μήδοις σύμβαλον ἐν πελάγει, πέντε δὲ νῆας ἔλεν δειῶν, ἔκτεν δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν ῥύσατο βαρβαρικῶν Δωρίδ' ἄλισκομένην.

⁹⁹ Κύνιοι. See note 270 on vii. 90.

νηὶ μῆϊ, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ τρὶς πυθιονίκης, Φαῦλλος. Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί¹⁰⁰. Οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι 48 ἐστρατεύοντο, Μῆλιοι δὲ, καὶ Σίφινοι, καὶ Σερίφιοι, πεντηκοντέρους· Μῆλιοι μὲν, γένος ἔοντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος, δύο παρείχοντο· Σίφινοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι, Ἴωνες ἔοντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, μίαν ἐκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσiai καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ¹⁰¹.

making the whole fleet up to 378 sail, besides a few penteconters.

¹⁰⁰ Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί. This notice is rather remarkable, although it is confirmed by ZENOBIUS (*Proverb. Centur.* iii. 42), who calls Myscelus, the founder, a *Rhypean*. But on the other hand a coin of Crotona gives *Heracles* as the *οἰκιστής*; and OVID not only makes Myscelus set out on the expedition at the risk of his life under the special direction of *Heracles*, but calls him the son of Alemon of Argolis. (*Metamorph.* xv. 19.) Perhaps these discordant accounts may be reconciled by supposing the colony (which DIONYSIUS places in the second year of the seventeenth Olympiad) to be somewhat of the nature of that under Phalantus to Tarentum, *i. e.* to consist, as far as its chiefs were concerned, of the issue of a marriage of disparagement between the Heraclide invaders of Argolis and the Achæan population they found there, the great bulk being pure Achæans. The remaining members of the family of Alemon (*the wanderer*) may very probably have formed part of the exiles from Peloponnese who found refuge in the twelve towns of Achaia, and thus the *gens* may in after times have existed among the Rhypes. At Sybaris the population was partly Achæan and partly Troezenian, and the city was founded only ten years before Crotona. The two neighbours appear to have lived amicably with one another until shortly before the total destruction of Sybaris related above (v. 44). The war which then broke out, was, according to ARISTOTLE (see note 108 on v. 44), connected with the expulsion of the non-Achæan by the Achæan part of the population. The presumption therefore would be that, contrariwise, in the hostile Crotona the Heraclide element prevailed over the Achæan. And this is confirmed by the coins, which in the case of Crotona have the infant *Heracles*, Here, and the *laurel-crowned Apollo*, while those of Sybaris bear the head of an ox, or the horned human head. (HOFFMANN, *Griech-*

enland, pp. 1938—41.) If this supposition be true, the war will have been exactly of the kind to attract the Lacedæmonian *Dorieus*. (See note 107 on v. 44.) It will have been a war of races, whose mutual antipathy finally burst forth in Sybaris by the expulsion of the Doric Troezenians, and the march of the Achæan population *en masse* upon Crotona, after massacring thirty Crotonian commissioners and casting their bodies to the dogs (PHYLARCHUS, *fr.* 45, ed. Didot.), a ferocity paralleled by the conduct of Cleomenes at Argos (vi. 79). Under such circumstances of mutual exasperation, it was not unnatural that Sybaris should be by the victorious Crotonians so entirely destroyed as to leave its very site obscure. It seems not impossible that *Phayllus*, the commander of the solitary galley which fought at Salamis, was himself descended from the Achæan portion of the original settlers of Crotona, and was as much disgusted with the predominance of the Dorian interest there, as the Spartan *Dorieus* had been with the triumph of the Achæan party at Lacedæmon. In this case, the statement that the Crotonians are Achæan may be a generalization from the crew of his ship and himself. PAUSANIAS speaks of *Phayllus* in terms which might induce one to believe he was actually living away from his own city: ἐνανμάχησε καὶ ἐναντία τοῦ Μήδου, ναῦν τε παρσκευασμένους οἰκέειν, καὶ Κροτωνιατῶν ὅποσοι ἐπεδήμουν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνεβίβασε (x. 9. 2). If the crew were exiles of the Achæan party, the whole matter is explained.

¹⁰¹ τριηκόσiai καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ. The manuscripts S and V and Valla's version have the number 358, but neither sum agrees with the aggregate of the several contingents, which amounts to 366 *triremes* and 6 *penteconters*. The number 378, however, can hardly be a corruption; for another reference is made to it below (§ 82). Larcher considers

49 Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων πολιῶν, ἐβουλευόντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιίδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλούμενον, ὅκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὶ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσὶ· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀφείτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν περί προετίθεε· αἱ γινώμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται συνεξέπιπτον, πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχεῖν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου· ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὥς, ἣν νικηθέωσι¹⁰² τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἔοντες, πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφί τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται· πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται¹⁰³.

50 Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐλήλυθε¹⁰⁴ ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἡκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐκλειοπτότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἡκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκείνα ἐδήϊον· ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θεσπιάν¹⁰⁵ τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον.

51 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα, ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην¹⁰⁶, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μῆνεσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιίδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσι ἐρήμον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινες ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ

that the error is in the numbers assigned to the Æginetans (§ 46), which he would make 42 instead of 30, as PAUSANIAS (ii. 29. 5) asserts the Æginetan contingent to have been the most numerous next to the Athenian. I should rather consider that the balance of twelve is made up of those vessels with which the Æginetans are said to have guarded their own island, and which may have been regarded as a detachment from the allied fleet.

¹⁰² ἣν νικηθέωσι. The majority of the MSS have εἰ νικηθέωσι, but S and V support the reading in the text. Εἰ with the subjunctive has a very different sense from that which is required here. See note 170 on i. 53, and note 151, a, on ii. 52.

¹⁰³ ἐξοίσονται. A similar use of the word is found below (§ 76): ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων.

¹⁰⁴ ἐλήλυθε. This is the reading of all

the MSS, but the conjecture of Matthiae (ἐπήλυθε), or of Bekker (ἐληλύθεε), seems necessary.

¹⁰⁵ Θεσπιαν. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford follows the majority of MSS, which have Θεσπειαν.

¹⁰⁶ ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες . . . ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. The actual time occupied by the transit of the Hellespont was seven days and seven nights (vii. 56). This passage therefore must not be construed too strictly. The month perhaps included the whole time from the arrival of the vanguard on the shore of the straits to the commencement of the march into Hellas after the review at Doriscus (vii. 59). It was not till then that the whole force of the army appears to have been ascertained, and the line of march assigned to each division. (See vii. 60, *ad fin.*)

έόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ¹⁰⁷ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους· οἱ φραξά-
 μνοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι, ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόν-
 τας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα,
 πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήϊον τὸ ἢ Πυθίῃ
 σφί ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο
 εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ οὐ τὰς νῆας. Οἱ δὲ 52
 Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν
 Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήϊον πάγον¹⁰⁸, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιοῦνδε·
 ὅκως στυπεῖον περὶ τοὺς οἰστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ
 φράγμα· ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἡμύνοντο,
 καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προ-
 δεδωκότος· οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ
 ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο· ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμυχανέοντο καὶ
 δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ὀλοιστρόχους
 ἀπίεσαν· ὥστε Ξέρξεα ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορήϊσι ἐνέχεσθαι, οὐ
 δυνάμενόν σφεας εἰλεῖν. Χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις 53
 ἔσοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν
 Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι· ἔμπροσθε ὦν
 πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὲ
 οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε, οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα
 ἀναβαίῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς
 Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου¹⁰⁹, καίτοιπερ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ
 χώρου· ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω, καὶ
 διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον· τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ

passage into
Europe, and
capture
Athens.

Mode in
which they
attacked the
fortification.

The gar-
rison baffled
them,

but at last
are surprised
by escalade
in a part of
the rock
which was
thought in-
accessible,

all de-
stroyed, and
the temple

¹⁰⁷ ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ, "treasurers of the temple." See SMITH'S *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*, sub v.

¹⁰⁸ Ἀρήϊον πάγον. The Areopagus was nearly opposite to the grotto of Pan spoken of above (vi. 105). The Aglaureum (or Agrauleum) must have been very near to this last, if not originally identical with it. See the next note.

¹⁰⁹ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου. Two manuscripts (b, d) have Ἀγραύλου, which is perhaps not a corruption,—for this latter is etymologically connected with Ἄγρα and Ἀγροτέρα, the local names of the Attic Artemis, and it is the form used by EURIPIDES in the *Ion*: Ἀγραύλου κόραι τρίγονοι (v. 54).

All the other MSS however have the form Ἀγλαύρου, and so has PAUSANIAS where he speaks of the legend of the nymph in question (i. 18. 2). LEAKE says that about seventy yards to the eastward of the cave of Pan (see note 241 on vi. 105) there is, in the midst of the Long Rocks and at the base of a precipice, a remarkable cavern. (*Athens and the Demi of Attica*, i. p. 266.) This he supposes to be the site mentioned in the text. Pausanias, however, represents the τέμενος of Aglaurus as above the *Anaceum*, or temple of the Dioscuri, and says that it was there the Persians scaled the acropolis (l. c.).

plundered
and burnt.

ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας· ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες, τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐφόνεον· ἐπεὶ δέ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο ¹¹⁰, τὸ ἱρὸν συλίσαντες, ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ¹¹¹.

54

Xerxes, on
the next
day, orders
the exiles
to offer the
proper sacri-
fices to the
local dei-
ties,

Σχῶν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἐωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρά ¹¹² ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὄψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντα ¹¹³ τὸ ἱρὸν· οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν

55

and they
discover the
sacred olive
to have
made a new
shoot of
a cubit
long.

Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. Τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω· ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς ¹¹⁴, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι· τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι· ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος, Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὥς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ¹¹⁵ ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

¹¹⁰ ἐπεὶ δέ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο. The same expression is used in ix. 76, below: ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσιν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι.

¹¹¹ ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. CICERO (*de Legg.* ii. 10) says that the *Magi* induced Xerxes to burn the temples of Greece on the ground that it was a wickedness to pretend to inclose deities within walls, the whole world being their proper habitation. In another passage (*De Repub.* iii. 9) he applies this particularly to the case of Athens. But although Cambyzes might have acted on an iconoclastic feeling,—and probably did so in Egypt,—yet it seems unquestionable that a great deal of toleration for temple-worship, and perhaps for foreign religions, had grown up in the Medo-Persian court by this time. See the note 321 on vii. 114, and the *Excursus* on vii. 74, p. 435. Mardonius too consulted the oracle of the Ismenian Apollo, the Apollo Ptōus, the Apollo at Abœ, and also the shrines of Amphiaraus and Trophonius (viii. 134).

¹¹² τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρά. See note 138 on ii. 49, and note 86 on § 41, above.

¹¹³ ἐμπρήσαντα. This is the reading of P, K, F, *b*. Gaisford, with the rest of the MSS, reads ἐμπρήσαντι. Either is legitimate, but it is more likely that the symmetrical construction should have been introduced by a transcriber than the converse.

¹¹⁴ νηὸς. This is the *old Erechtheum*. See note 208 on v. 77. The θάλασσα is a mineral spring of salt-water within the sacred precinct, which the tradition attributed to a blow of the trident of the Attic Poseidon, Erechtheus. (PAUSANIAS, i. 27. 6. APOLLODORUS, iii. 14. 1.)

¹¹⁵ βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος. The sacred olive's character of indestructibility is probably what is alluded to in the verses of SOPHOCLES (*Œd. Col.* 683, seqq.):—

φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον αὐτόποιον
ἐγχείων φύβημα δαίτων,
ὃ τᾷδε θάλλει μέγιστα χώρα,
γλαυκάς παιδοτρόφου φύλλον ἐλαίας,

Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἐξαγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ 56
 περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο
 ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον
 πρήγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νῆας ἐσέπιπτον, καὶ ἰστία αἶρουντο ὡς
 ἀποθυσόμενοι· τοῖσιν τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ
 Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν· νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ οὐ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ
 συνεδρίου, ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νῆας. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα 57
 ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος¹¹⁶, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος,
 ὃ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον; πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη
 δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νῆας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελο-
 ποννήσου ναυμαχεῖν, εἶπε· “οὔτοι ἄρα ἦν ἀπαίρωσι τὰς νῆας ἀπὸ
 Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ
 πόλιν ἕκαστοι τρέφονται· καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν
 δυνησεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος, ὥστε οὐ μὴ διασκεδασθῆναι
 τὴν στρατιήν· ἀπολέεται τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλήσιν. ἀλλ' εἴ τις
 ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἣτι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνη
 ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιάδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ὥστε αὐτοῦ μενέειν.”
 Κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλέϊ ἤρεσε ἡ ὑπόθεσις· καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα 58
 ἀμειψάμενος, ἥϊε ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη
 θέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρήγμα συμμίζειν· ὃ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νῆα ἐκέλευε
 ἐσβάντα λέγειν εἴ τι θέλει· ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενός
 οἱ καταλέγει κείνᾳ τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἑωυτοῦ
 ποιούμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς· ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρητίζων
 ἐκ τῆς νηὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς τὸ συν-
 ἔδριον. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα προ- 59
 θεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὺς ἦν
 ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος· λέγοντος
 δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος¹¹⁷ ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε·
 “ὦ Θεμιστοκλέες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ῥαπί-
 ζονται” ὁ δὲ ἀπολνόμενος ἔφη· “οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ

On the news of the fall of Athens, a panic seizes the fleet of the allies.

Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, represents to Themistocles the ruin that would follow their retreat from Salamis,

and Themistocles induces Eurybiades to call a fresh council of war.

He is insulted by Adimantus, the Corinthian admiral, and makes a witty reply.

and by EURIPIDES (*Ion*, 1433), where Creusa says:—

στέφανον ἐλαίας ἀμφέθηκά σοι τότε
 ἦν πρῶτ' Ἀθὰνα σκόπελον εἰσηνέγκατο·
 δς, εἰπερ ἔστιν, οὔ ποτ' ἐκλείπει χλόην,
 θάλλει δ' ἐλαίας ἐξ ἀκράτου γεγῶς.

The story had improved by the time of PAUSANIAS. The sacred plant was then said to have made a shoot *two* cubits long

on the same day (i. 27. 2).

¹¹⁶ Μνησίφιλος. Of this Mnesiphilus, see PLUTARCH, quoted in note 99 on i. 30.

¹¹⁷ Ἀδείμαντος. PLUTARCH in one passage (*Themist.* § 11) attributes this rebuke to Eurybiades; but in another (*Apophthegmata*, p. 185) puts it into the mouth of Adimantus. See note 494 on ii. 160.

60
His speech
to the coun-
cil.

στεφανεύνται.” Τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὥς ἐπεὰν ἀπαίρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε· “ ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ, πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λέγουσι, ἀναξεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νῆας ¹¹⁸. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας· πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχίσεις, ἐς ὃ ἤκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφoron ἐστι νῆας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας ¹¹⁹ καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ, ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναι, ἥνπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχίσωμεν· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός· καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν, ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἦν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνει πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστί· ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὗτις δὲ, Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὴν καὶ τότε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων, προναυμαχίσεις Πελοποννήσου, καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ· οὐδὲ σφεας, εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖς, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἦν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται, καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσὶ, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι, οὔτε

¹¹⁸ μηδὲ . . ἀναξεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νῆας. This expression is not a very easy one to explain; but perhaps the metaphor is taken from the unharnessing of horses, and thereupon removing them from the car in which they had stood ready for use. In ix. 41, ἀναξευγνύναι τὸν στρατὸν is “to move the army out of its position in the field;” and in ix. 58, ἀναξευγνύναι τὸ στρατόπεδον, “to break up the encampment.” Here, therefore, we should perhaps translate: “and not break up and move the ships to the isthmus.”

I very much suspect that for the word λέγουσι we should read λόγοισι, but Gaisford gives no variation of the MSS.

¹¹⁹ νῆας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας. It is not

very easy to understand this expression; for all accounts seem to agree that the Persian vessels were larger and higher out of the water than those of the allies. Perhaps all that is meant is that the latter were slower sailers. And if it be remembered that they were manned in part by a portion of the population which had never handled an oar before this emergency compelled them to do so, it is not surprising if some should be unapt in manœuvring. That all were not so, seems to follow from the account of the engagements at Artemisium. Perhaps Themistocles had especially in his eye the new reinforcements, which would naturally be the worst found.

προβήσονται ἑκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίαςί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι, καὶ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιόν ἐστι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατῦπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι, οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρεῖν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπῆϊας γνώμας¹²⁰.” Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέους, αὐτὶς ὁ Κορινθίος Ἀδεύμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾷν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐσθαι πατρίσι καὶ Εὐρυβιάδεα οὐκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζεῖν ἀπόλι¹²¹ ἀνδρὶ πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον, οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατεῖχοντο αἱ Ἀθηναί. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς κεῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε· ἐωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἴη καὶ πόλιν καὶ γῇ μέζῳ ἤπερ κείνοισι, ἔστ’ ἂν διηκόσαι νῆες¹²² σφί ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα, τῷ λόγῳ δέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδεα λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα¹²³. “σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ, καὶ μένων ἔσσει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός·—εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νῆες. ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὡς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας, κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σίριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἣπερ ἡμετέρῃ τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι¹²⁴, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ’ ἡμέων

61

Adimantus reiterates his insult, and this time receives a stern and crushing answer.

62

¹²⁰ μὴ δὲ οἰκότα . . . πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπῆϊας γνώμας, “where one forms irrational plans, neither is the deity wont to second the judgment of man.”

¹²¹ ἀπόλι. This uncommon form of the dative implies a genitive ἀπόλιος. See a parallel case in ἀχάρι (i. 41). The words ἐπιψηφίζεῖν ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ, mean “to put a question to the vote on the motion of a man who had no country.” The phrase ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ is no doubt the very one used by Adimantus, at which Themistocles was so stung.

¹²² διηκόσαι νῆες. See note 2 on § 1, above.

¹²³ λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα, “saying in terms more direct to the point.” Compare εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφῆως (i. 30). The idea suggested in both cases is that of a person who, from strong feeling, turns sharp upon another with whom he is conversing. See the way in which this notion is brought out by the various uses of the word ἐπιστροφή quoted in LIDDELL AND SCOTT’S Lexicon.

¹²⁴ ἣπερ ἡμετέρῃ τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι. STRABO says that one account of Siris in Italy made it a colony from Troy, in proof of which assertion there was exhibited a wooden image of Athene, said to have been brought from thence. The eyes of the figure were closed; and the legend related that this took place on the occasion of certain fugitives being violently dragged from sanctuary by the Ionians, who were engaged in taking the town. Strabo remarks upon the audacious falsehood of such a story, especially as there were several other Palladia,—each with equal pretensions to being the genuine Trojan image,—at Rome, Lavinium, and Luceria (vi. c. 1, p. 20). Compare the story of the parallel portent (v. 86, above). But another version (which probably is the one Themistocles had in his mind) made the fugitives whose sanctuary was violated Ionians, and the aggressors emigrants from Troy in conjunction with Crotonians. The Ionians had settled there before the Trojan war. This

63

Eurybiades
is con-
vinced.

αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων." Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος, ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μὴ σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀνάγη τὰς νῆας· ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων, οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί· ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διανυμαχέειν.

64

An earth-
quake is
felt at day-
break, and
the allies
invoke the
Æacidæ for
aid.

Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἔπεισι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπεὶ τε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχίησונτες· ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὖξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, καὶ ἐπι-καλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους· ὥς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἶαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ¹²⁵ ἐπεκαλέοντο· ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας ¹²⁶ νῆα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

65

Anecdote of
a portent
near Eleusis
observed by
Dicaeus, an
Athenian
refugee in
the Persian
army, in
company of
Demaratus
king.

"Ἐφ' ἣ δὲ Δικαῖος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ἐπεὶ τε ἐκέειρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω, ἐοῦσα ἐρήμος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ· ἰδεῖν δὲ κοινορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος, ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα κη τρισμυρίων· ἀποθωμάζειν τέ σφεας τὸν κοινορτὸν, ὅτεών κοτε εἶη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε ¹²⁷ φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχον ¹²⁸· εἶναι δ'

is the account given by the SCHOLIAST on LYCOPHRON, to explain the words of the poet :

πόλιν δ' ὁμοίαν Ἰλίῳ δυσδαίμονες
δείμαντες ἀλγυνούσι Λαφρίαν κόρην,
Σάλπιγγα, δηώσαντες ἐν νῶφ θεᾶς
τοὺς πρόσθ' ἔδεθλον Ξουθίδος ἀκηκότας.
γλήναις δ' ἄγαλμα ταῖς ἀναμάκτοις
μύσει,
στρυγνὴν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Ἰάονας βλάβην
λεῦσσον, φόνον τ' ἔμφυλον ἀγραύλων
λύκων.—(vv. 984—990.)

It will be observed, that the winking image is the point on which the diverse traditions hang. See note 420 on ii. 141.

¹²⁵ Αἶαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα. S has Αἶαντα τὸν Τελαμῶνος.

¹²⁶ ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας. See note 201 on v. 75.

¹²⁷ πρόκατε. See note 392 on i. 111.

¹²⁸ τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχον. The sacred hymn which was sung on the occasion of this κῶμος of Dionysus to Eleusis began with the word Ἰακχε, the name under which Dionysus was invoked on the occasion. It is introduced by ARISTOPHANES in the *Frogs*.

XOP. Ἰακχ', ὦ Ἰακχε·
Ἰακχ', ὦ Ἰακχε.

ΞΑΝΘ. τοῦτ' ἐστ' ἐκεῖν', ὦ δέσποτ', οἱ
μεμνημένοι
ἐνταυθά που παίζουσιν, οὐς
ἔφραζε νῶν.
ἄδουσιν γοῦν τὸν Ἰακχον ὕπερ
Διαγόρας.—(315, seqq.)

Hence the hymn itself came to be termed ὁ Ἰακχος, and the chanting it *ιακχίζειν*. Compare notes 206, 207 on ii. 79. For the nature of the κῶμος see note 73 on i. 21.

ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τὸν Δημάρητον, εἶρεσθαί τε αὐτὸν ὃ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τοῦτο ; αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν “ Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατιῇ· τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδῃλα, ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ἰὸν ἐς τιμῶρήν Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι· καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλείῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται· ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλέειν· τὴν δὲ ὀρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς ἀκούεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἰακχάζουσιν” πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον· “ σίγα τε, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἶπης· ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνευεῖχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν· καὶ σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι οὔτ’ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς· ἄλλ’ ἔχ’ ἥσυχος· περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει” τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινεῖν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος, καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οὕτω δὲ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξῳ ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δικαῖος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος ¹²⁹.

Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξῳ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ 66
Τρηχίνος, θεησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικόν, διέβησαν ἐς τὴν
Ἰστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλων δι’ Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν
ἐτέρησι τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ ¹³⁰. ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ
δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ¹³¹ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας,

The invading fleet arrives at Phalerum six days after the return of the crews

¹²⁹ καταπτόμενος. This is noticed by EUSTATHIUS (*ad Iliad*. ix. 582) as a peculiar use of the word by Herodotus, equivalent to *μάρτυρας προφέρων*. Apparently the original use of the phrase is in application to an oath, where the person swearing took hold of some sacred symbol in order to authenticate the truth of his statement. See note 157 on vi. 68.

¹³⁰ ἐν ἐτέρησι τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. LEAKE considers this expression to indicate that the *whole* fleet of the Persians arrived at Phalerum. The harbour, however, could not have held them; besides which, the mishap at

Sepias would be a warning to the commanders not to push forward their ships in such masses, as to prevent the possibility of their finding the means of beaching them if necessary. The force is rather to be conceived as moving along the coast in strong detachments, each capable of overcoming any opposition likely to be made to it. See below, note 154 on § 76, and the Excursus. Nevertheless, the expression *πάντες οὗτοι* (§ 67) is favourable to Leake's opinion, so far as Herodotus's view of the matter is concerned.

¹³¹ οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον. It is impossible to conceive this

from viewing the field of Thermopylae.

The forces of Xerxes probably not diminished by his previous losses.

67

Xerxes calls a council of war at Phalerum as to the expediency of fighting a pitched battle by sea.

κατά τε ἡπειρον καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ἣ ἐπὶ τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἀντιθήσω γὰρ τοῖσί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι, καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, καὶ τῇσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι, τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὐκω ἐσμένους βασιλεῖ, Μηλιάς τε καὶ Δωριάας, καὶ Δοκρούς, καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἐπομένους πλὴν Θεσπείων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους, καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολλίων¹³², τῶν ἐπεμνήσθην πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα· ὅσῳ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῳ πλέω ἔθνεά οἱ εἶπετο.

Ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας¹³³ πάντες οὗτοι, πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύνῳ, ἐκαραδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῆ ἀποβήσεται) οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας, ἐθέλων σφι συμμῖξαι τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλούντων τὰς γνώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προΐζετο, παρήσαν μετέπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξίαρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν, καὶ ἴζοντο ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς ἐκάστῳ τιμὴν ἐδεδώκεε· πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς¹³⁴.

opinion at all near the truth, unless enormous exaggeration is to be presumed in the accounts of the engagements off Artemisium. Xerxes, since his arrival at Sepias, had lost 200 gallees, which had been despatched round Euboea (§ 7), 30 more captured in the first engagement off Artemisium (§ 11), "the Cilician squadron," whatever its strength, in the second engagement (§ 14, where see note 32), and a much larger number than the Greeks in the third (§ 16), where the destruction was so great that half the Athenian squadron was crippled (§ 18). The contingents from the Cyclades which subsequently joined cannot possibly have made up more than a very small fraction of this sum. While Naxos was in the height of its power, and all these islands dependent on it, a hundred gallees were considered sufficient to reduce it (v. 31). At this time Naxos had been ruined (vi. 96), and the contingent it was able to supply was only four ships (§ 46, *supra*), which deserted to the side of the allies. Of the rest, Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos could not among them muster a single trireme, and Cythnos only one. Moreover, it is doubtful whether these islanders are not

included in the original roll of the fleet. See note 277 on vii. 95.

¹³² τῶν πέντε πολλίων. Not "the five cities," but "the five states." They were the islands Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Cythnos, and Seriphos (§ 46, above).

¹³³ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. Athens must here be taken to include its ports, Phalerum being the point where the Persian navy, or at least its commanders, assembled. This was at the time the only harbour which Athens used; and it is nearer to the city than any other.

¹³⁴ πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς. The Sidonian chief (Tetramnestus) is named first in order of all the subordinate naval commanders in the list (vii. 98), and the Tyrian (Mapen) second. It is somewhat strange that Mardonius should here be represented as the organ of communication between the king and these chiefs, as there were four admirals, princes of the blood royal, who commanded the fleet. That he should be employed probably indicates the much greater confidence placed in his strategic talents than in those of any other,—he being perhaps regarded as the commander-in-chief of both services. See note 250 on vii. 82, above.

μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος· ἐπὶ δὲ, ὧλλοι· ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ἵζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα, ἀποπειρώμενος ἐκάστου, εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιεοίτο; Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιϋὼν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος, 68 ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ¹³⁵ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν γνώμην ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη· “εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὡς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω· οὔτε κακίστην γενομένην ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχήσῃσι τῇσι πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένην, δέσποτα, τήνδε ἐοῦσαν γνώμην ¹³⁶ με δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποδεκνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω· φείδεο τῶν νηῶν, μὴδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιεῖ· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτό εἰσι κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχήσῃσι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας τῶν περ εἵνεκα ὠρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδὼν δέ τοι ἴσταται οὐδεὶς· οἱ δ' ἔτι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω ὡς κείνους ἔπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων ¹³⁷ πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω· ἦν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχίην ποιεύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νῆας αὐτοῦ ἔχῃς πρὸς γῇ μένων, ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι, δέσποτα, χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας· οὐ γὰρ οἰοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφεας διασκεδᾷς· κατὰ πόλιν δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύζονται· οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφίσι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς οἶκος, ἦν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, ἀτρεμεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἤκοντας ¹³⁸. οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχεῖν. ἦν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῆς ναυμαχήσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσῃται. πρὸς δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βαλεῦ, ὡς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοί· σοὶ δὲ ἐόντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοί εἰσι, οἱ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι, ἐόντες Ἀγρύπτιοί τε καὶ

All recom-
mend it but
Artemisia,
who strong-
ly dissuades.

¹³⁵ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι. Gaisford, on the authority of S and V only, reads οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι.

¹³⁶ τήνδε ἐοῦσαν γνώμην, “this my real opinion.”

¹³⁷ ἀντιπολέμων. See note 364 on iv. 140.

¹³⁸ ἀτρεμεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἤκοντας. The words τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἤκοντας serve to qualify the general expression αὐτοὺς which has preceded. The contingents from Peloponnese would certainly not think of remaining in their present position.

69

Xerxes admires her conduct, but still determines to fight.

Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὀφελός ἐστι οὐδέν." Ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν εὖνοοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους, ὡς κακόν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔῃ ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀγαιόμενοι¹³⁹ τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἅτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ κρίσει, ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γινώμαι ἐς Ξέρξεα, κάρτα τε ἥσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῆς Ἀρτεμισίως, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι, τότε πολλῶ μᾶλλον αἶνεε· ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε τάδε, καταδόξας πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ· τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάστο θεήσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

70

The fleet moves up from Phalerum to Salamis, and arrives shortly before night-fall.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλώειν, ἀνήγον τὰς νῆας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα¹⁴⁰, καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες^a κατ' ἡσυχίην. τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησε σφί ἡ ἡμέρῃ ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νύξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἄρρωδίη, οὐκ ἦκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ἄρρωδεον δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμάχῃεν μέλλοιεν νικηθέντες τε, ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται¹⁴¹ ἀπέντες τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον.

71

The same evening the army gets into motion

Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, ὅκως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο

¹³⁹ ἀγαιόμενοι. See note 146 on vi. 61.

¹⁴⁰ ἀνήγον τὰς νῆας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα. LEAKE supposes that by this expression is intimated that the fleet of the Persians actually entered the channel between the island of Salamis and the main, and arranged themselves along the shore from the point of Mount Ægaleos to the entrance of the Piræus. But the words in themselves do not seem necessarily to mean more than that they moved upon Salamis. For the phrase ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα appears to be exactly paralleled by ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον in the next section. And that the lines across the isthmus were reached by the invading army is expressly contradicted by what is related in ix. 14, that the furthest advance of the

Persians to the westward was the inroad of Mardonius's cavalry into the Megarid. At the same time, a comparison of other passages makes it pretty certain that Herodotus understood the movements of the invading fleet nearly as Leake does. See *Excursus* on § 76, below.

^a παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες, "they took up their position after the disposition which had been made." διατάσσω is to assign the several quarters of the various portions of a force, παρακρίνεσθαι to go through the evolutions requisite for carrying out the scheme.

¹⁴¹ πολιορκήσονται. This is the reading of all the MSS except K, which has πολιορκήσεσθαι.

τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ^{for the Peloponnese.} τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἵζοντο· καὶ σφι ἐπὴν στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός ^{142.} ἵζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν ¹⁴³, μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευόμενοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τείχος· ἅτε δὲ εὐσέων μυριάδew πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤνετο ¹⁴⁴ τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι, καὶ πλίνθοι, καὶ ξύλα, καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφορέοντο· καὶ ἐλίννον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης. Οἱ δὲ βωθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν **72** πανδημεὶ, οἷδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες ^{List of the Peloponnesian states which came in force to the isthmus.} πάντες, καὶ Ἡλείοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ Σικυνῶνιοι, καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι, καὶ Φλιάσιοι, καὶ Τροιζήνιοι, καὶ Ἑρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες ¹⁴⁵ καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνεούσῃ· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἡδῇ. Οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα **73** ἑπτὰ· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο, αὐτόχθονα εἶντα, κατὰ χώραν ἱδρυταὶ ^{Ethnographical account of the Peloponnese.} νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι ¹⁴⁶ οἰκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι· ἐν δὲ ἔθνος, τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν, ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἐωυτῶν οἰκέει δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ [τέσσερα] ἐπήλυδά ἐστι· Δωριέες τε, καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ, καὶ Δρύοπες, καὶ Αἰήμιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλοὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλιν· Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἥλις μούνη ¹⁴⁷. Δρύοπων δὲ, Ἑρμιόνη τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς

¹⁴² Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός. Some accounts made him a twin brother (v. 41).

¹⁴³ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν. The road destroyed by the allied force was a narrow cornice artificially formed in the perpendicular rocks which run along the Saronic gulf. The ordinary road from Athens into the peninsula ran over the Geranean mountain and through a narrow gorge, which, according to COLONEL SQUIRE, offers a most formidable position for defence. The lines, however, appear to have been drawn from Lechæum to Cenchreæ, further south than the narrowest part of the isthmus, with a view of preventing a debarkation in the rear of the defending force. Had they been carried across the narrowest part, the whole harbour of Cenchreæ would have been at the command of the

invaders (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. pp. 342—5).

¹⁴⁴ ἤνετο. This is Gaisford's reading, backed by a single manuscript (P). The majority have ἡνέτο, and one (F) ἤρετο. For the sense of ἡνέτο, see note 86 on vii. 20.

¹⁴⁵ βοηθήσαντες. This is the reading of *all* the MSS, although only four lines above some have βωθήσαντες, which Gaisford adopts. See note 4 on § 1, above.

¹⁴⁶ νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι. This is the reading of *all* the MSS; but Valcknaer's conjecture, νῦν τὴν καὶ τὸ πάλαι, seems to me to be the true reading.

¹⁴⁷ Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἥλις μούνη. This expression raises a doubt as to whether the section is not a latter addition. STRABO expressly states that Elis (the city) *did not exist at the time of the*

Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ¹⁴⁸. Λημνίων δὲ, Παρωρεῖται πάντες¹⁴⁹. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἔοντες δοκέουσι μῦνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες¹⁵⁰. ἐκδεδωρίενται δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἔοντες Ὀρνεῖται καὶ περίοικοι. τούτων ὦν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκατάετο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμῆδιζον.

74 The Peloponnesian commanders in the allied fleet at Salamis disapprove of Eurybiades remaining at Salamis.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιοῦτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες, καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμῶς ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὥς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ· ἕως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὥς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὼν εἶη ἀποπλῶειν, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ χώρας δορι-αλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, καὶ Αἰγινῆται, καὶ

75 Themistocles upon this devises a stratagem to keep them there.

Μεγαρέες, αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνασθαι. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης, ὥς ἔσσοιτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου· ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μῆδων¹⁵¹ ἀνδρα πολίῳ, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν· τῷ οὐνομα

Persian war, but that it was a later combination of several hamlets, of the same kind as the five which by their union made up Mantinea, the nine which made up Tegea, the nine which made up Heræa, the seven which made up Patræ, the seven or eight which made up Ægium, and the eight which made up Dyme (viii. c. 3, p. 143). Larcher proposes to read Αἰόλεων instead of Αἰτωλῶν. In vi. 127 the MSS vary between Αἰτωλίδος and Αἰολίδος. It is observable that here, as in many other cases of cognate races, one tradition brought Ætolians from Calydon to found Elis, while another derived *Ætolus*, the eponymous ancestor of the Ætolians, from Elis. (PAUSANIAS, v. I. 4; APOLLODORUS, i. 7. 6.) See note 185 on i. 57.

¹⁴⁸ Ἀσίνη ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ. Of this *Asine*, see the note 88 on § 43, above. The *Argolic Asine* seems to have been destroyed a generation before the first Messenian war, in which the inhabitants of the *Laconian Asine* fought, against their will, on the side of Lacedæ-

mon. (PAUSANIAS, iv. 8. 3.)

¹⁴⁹ Λημνίων δὲ, Παρωρεῖται πάντες. For the occasion of the Lemnians occupying this part of Peloponnese, see iv. 148.

¹⁵⁰ αὐτόχθονες ἔοντες δοκέουσι μῦνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες. It is not easy to understand what the *Ionism* of these Cynurians consisted in, except it were the celebration of the festival of the *Apaturia*. That, and the coming originally from Athens, are the two characteristics which alone are employed by the writer to designate the Asiatic Ionians (i. 147). If autochthonous, the near affinity of the Cynurians with the Arcadians and Achæans cannot be doubted. And the Dryopians were apparently mainly of the same race. (See above, note 88 on § 43.) Larcher considers the text here to be corrupt.

¹⁵¹ τὸ Μῆδων. PLUTARCH, in describing this stratagem of Themistocles, makes Sicinnus to be himself a Persian; and it is a very ingenious conjecture of Valcknaer's, that the cause of his doing so is

μὲν ἦν Σίκιυος· οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπία τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπῖες πολίτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον· ὃς τότε πλοῖα ἀπικόμενος, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε· “ἔπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλεὺς, καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα,) φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες· καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἦν μὴ περιϊδέητε διαδράντας αὐτούς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσιν, οὔτ’ ἔτι ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ.” Ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας, ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν¹⁵², μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπέβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες¹⁵³, ἀνήγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ’ ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα· ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσὶ¹⁵⁴. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνήγον τὰς

76

The Persians are deceived by him, and land a strong detachment on the island Psytalea, moving their fleet so as to sur-

that he found in this passage the reading τῶν Μήδων. ÆSCHYLUS distinctly states that the individual who brought the false intelligence was a Greek. (Pers. 355.)

¹⁵² τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν. LEAKE describes this island (now called Λειψοκοντάλι) as “low, rocky, clothed with shrubs, about a mile in length, and not more than two or three hundred yards broad.” (Appendix ii. p. 267.) It has not a single creek into which a vessel can be put, thus precisely answering to the description of ÆSCHYLUS: βαῖα, δύσορμος ναυσί (Pers. 447).

¹⁵³ ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες. ÆSCHYLUS represents the invading vessels as being put in motion as soon as night came on, the crews too having taken their supper previously, and made all preparation to be able to get under way immediately after night-fall (Pers. 374—9).

¹⁵⁴ ἀνήγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ’ ἐσπέρης κέρας . . πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσὶ. This description occasions great difficulty, which no commentator has succeeded in explain-

ing in a perfectly satisfactory manner. The natural sense would seem to be: “they brought up the westernmost wing by a circular movement to Salamis, while those who had been stationed about Ceos and Cynosura moved up and occupied the whole strait as far as Munychia with their ships.” But LEAKE remarks very justly, that such a movement would be impossible in the time assigned to it; for Cynosura (supposing it to be the headland of that name forming the northern extremity of the bay of Marathon) would be no less than sixty nautical miles from Salamis, and Ceos (supposing it the island opposite the s.e. extremity of Attica) no less than forty. He accordingly conjectures that Cynosura is “probably the long rocky cape [of the island Salamis] which projects towards the Attic shore on the eastern side of the bay of Salamis.” Similarly he imagines with regard to Ceos, “that it is possible that it may have been a place in Salamis, or on the Attic coast opposite to Cape Cynosura; it is also possible that there is

round Salamis and block the channel.

νῆας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι μὴδὲ φυγέειν ἐξῆ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι, δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ¹⁵⁵ ἔς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχία, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων, (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος,) ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιώσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίουν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντιοί ¹⁵⁵. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς ¹⁵⁶, οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες, παραρτέοντο.

77

The events which took place confirm the authority of the oracles.

Χρησμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθείες, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιούδε πρήγματα ἐσβλέψας·

Ἄλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν ¹⁵⁷
νησὶ γεφυρώσωσι, καὶ εἰραλὴν Κυνόσουραν,

some error in the text. Perhaps Herodotus wrote τὴν νῆσον in reference to the island Psytalea." (*Appendix* ii. pp. 258—260.) But as there is no evidence that there was any such place in Salamis as Ceos, or any headland there named Cynosura, such an explanation has little claim to acceptance. It may be remarked in the first place, that although the movement be an impossible one, it may not have appeared impossible to Herodotus; for in his account of the battle of Marathon he obviously supposes that Athens was only saved from surprise by Datis by the forced march made by the Athenian army from the field of Marathon to the Heracleum in the Cynosarges. Yet, according to his own account, Datis's manoeuvre must have occupied, in addition to the time required for running the sixty nautical miles from Cynosura to Phalerum, the further time demanded for sailing to Styra, embarking the Eretrian prisoners, and again getting under way for Athens. Of the two alternatives, it seems less violent to suppose a want of accurate knowledge as to the distances of Ceos and Cynosura on the part of the writer or his informant, than the existence of the names in question in the immediate neighbourhood of Phalerum. But in fact the difficulty may be explained on an entirely different principle; for which see the *Excursus* at the end of this book.

¹⁵⁵ ἐποίουν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυν-

θανοίατο οἱ ἐναντιοί. This is quite alien from ÆSCHYLUS's notion. He makes the crews cheer one another as they get under way (τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὼς μακρὰς. *Pers.* 380). According to his view, the intended escape of the Greeks was, in the opinion of the Persians, entirely precluded by the latter getting the start of them. That point having been secured, they were not careful about concealing the movement.

¹⁵⁶ νυκτός. The manuscripts S and V leave out this word and all that follows to ἀπαλλαγῆναι οὕτω δὴ in § 84, no doubt from a *lacuna* having existed in the archetypal codex from which they were derived.

¹⁵⁷ Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν. LEAKE supposes that here reference must be made to a temple of Artemis in Salamis, and also that the temple stood upon the western headland of the little bay in which the city Salamis (corresponding to the modern *Ambelákia*) lay. This he infers from a passage in PAUSANIAS (i. 36. 2): ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος ἔστιν ἱερὸν, τοῦτο δὲ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἴτιος ἐγένετο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι, which he renders "on one side of the city a temple of Diana, and on the other the trophy erected," &c. (vol. ii. p. 169.) But it is quite an assumption to attribute this meaning to τοῦτο μὲν and τοῦτο δέ. Even if the temple alluded to

ἐλπίδι μαινομένη λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας,
 διὰ Δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν Κόρον, ὕβριος νύδν¹⁵⁸,
 δεινὸν μαιμώντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα τίθεσθαι.
 χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίζεται, αἵματι δ' Ἀρης
 πόντον φοινίξει. τότ' ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἦμαρ
 εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει, καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι, ἀντιλογίης
 χρησμῶν πέρι οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέ-
 κομαι.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγένετο ὥθισμός λόγων πολλός· 78
 ᾗδεσαν δὲ οὐκω, ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλέοντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι·
 ἀλλ', ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ
 χώραν εἶναι. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν¹⁵⁹, ἐξ Αἰγίνης 79
 διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐξωστρα-
 κισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος
 αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνησι καὶ
 δικαιοτάτον· οὗτος ὦν ἦρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον, ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμι-
 στοκλῆα ἔοντα μὲν ἐωυτῷ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ
 δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος
 ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμίσξαι· προακήκοε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν
 οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νῆας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν· ὥς δὲ
 ἐξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε· “ἡμέας στα-
 σιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι ἔν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε, περὶ
 τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται· λέγω
 δέ τοι, ὅτι ἴσόν ἐστι πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου
 τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν Πελοποννησίοισι· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενό-
 μενος, ὅτι νῦν, οὐδ' ἦν θέλωσι, Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης
 οἰοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
 κύκλῳ· ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφί ταῦτα σήμηνον.” Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο 80
 τοῖσδε· “κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεται καὶ εὖ ἡγγεϊλας· τὰ γὰρ
 ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἤκει· ἴσθι γὰρ

Dispute
among the
Hellenic
commanders

is interrupted
by the
advent of
Aristides an
Athenian,
then under
ostracism,
who seeks
an interview
with The-
mistocles,
and informs
him of the
state of
things.

Themisto-
cles's joy.

by Bacis was the one in Salamis, there is nothing to show whereabouts in Salamis it was. But for another way of explaining the prophecy, see the *Excursus* on § 76, of this book.

¹⁵⁸ Κόρον, Ὑβριος νύδν. PINDAR per-
haps has this oracle in his mind where he

speaks of “Ὑβριν Κόρου μητέρα θρασύν-
 θον (*Olymp.* xiii. 12).

¹⁵⁹ συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν,
 “after the commanders had come to direct
 issue” [in their views]. See note 336 on
 iv. 132. The reference is to the ὥθισμός
 mentioned in the last section.

ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμεενα ὑπὸ Μήδων¹⁶⁰. ἔδεε γὰρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἔθελον εἰς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι· σὺ δὲ, ἐπεὶ περ ἤκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφὶ ἀγγειλον· ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὥς οὐ ποιούντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ σφὶ σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὥς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημήνης, ἦν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὁμοῖον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται εἴπερ περιεχόμεθα παντα-

81

The intelligence of Aristides is discredited by the majority of the confederates

χόθεν, ὥς σὺ λέγεις.” Ταῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἡκεῖν, καὶ μόγῃς ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας¹⁶¹. περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἕλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ἑξέξω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὥς ἀλεξήσομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ταῦτα εἶπας, μετεστῆκε· τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη¹⁶². οἱ γὰρ πλευνες τῶν στρατη-

82

until confirmed by a Tenian vessel which deserts from the enemy.

γῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα. Ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων, ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων¹⁶³ αὐτομολέουσα τῆς ἡρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένης, ἥπερ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθινήν πᾶσαν· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι εἰς τὸν τρίποδα

¹⁶⁰ ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμεενα ὑπὸ Μήδων. It has been considered that the word ποιούμεενα is to be repeated inferentially with ἐξ ἐμέο. (See note on § 142, below.) But if the word ποιέσθαι is to be repeated at all, the perfect tense ποιημένα seems required. The ellipse—not an unusual one—is only of the word ὄντα. “The present doings of the Medes originate with me.”

¹⁶¹ μόγῃς ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας, “that he found great difficulty in getting out unperceived by the blockading squadron.” From this expression one must infer that at least a portion of the Persian vessels had been stationed at a considerable distance from Salamis (the town), and that their observation was by no means confined to watching the channel between that island and the main. This is quite in accordance with ÆSCHYLUS, who makes the Persians—

τάξει νεῶν στίφος μὲν ἐν στίχοις τρισὶν ἐκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλιρρόθους, ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἶαντος πέριξ.
(*Pers.* 366—8.)

It must have been ships outside the island Salamis, whose observation Aristides had

found it difficult to escape. See *Excursus* on § 76.

¹⁶² ἀμφισβασίη. See notes on iv. 14; ix. 74.

¹⁶³ ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων. PLUTARCH seems to have found the word Τενεδίων in the copy he used. He says of the occurrence mentioned in the text: ἐφάνη Τενεδία μία τριήρης αὐτόμολος. (*Themist.* § 12.) PAUSANIAS, however, states that the name of the Tenians was inscribed on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, which was dedicated in honour of the victory (v. 23. 2). The tripod mentioned in the text appears really to have had reference to the feats of the Greeks at Platæa, not at Salamis; for at first Pausanias inscribed on it the verses: Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων, Πανσανίας, Φοῖβῳ μνήμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε. The Lacedæmonians caused this to be erased, and substituted the names of all the Greek cities ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα. (THUCYDIDES i. 132.) Hence the Platæans, when pleading for their lives, appealed to it as an evidence of their own deserts: τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν πόλιν. (THUCYDIDES iii. 57.)

ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὦν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Ἀθηνῇ, ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι ἐς τὰς ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νῆας¹⁶⁴. δύο γὰρ δὴ νηῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων 83

ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχίησυντες· ἥως τε διέφαινε, καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς· τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν, πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα. ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται παραινέσας δὴ, τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι. καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νῆας¹⁶⁵. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης ἡ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε· ἐνθαῦτα ἀνήγον τὰς νῆας ἀπάσας οἱ Ἑλληνες. Ἀναγο- 84

μένοισι δὲ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνῃν ἀνεκρούοντο¹⁶⁶ καὶ ὠκελλον τὰς νῆας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεύς¹⁶⁷, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμ-

The allies now prepare for battle, and at sunrise, after a speech from Themistocles, get under way.

The battle at once begins, the accounts varying as to the pre-

¹⁶⁴ ἐς τὰς ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νῆας. See note 101 on § 48, above.

¹⁶⁵ ἥως τε διέφαινε, κ.τ.λ. This passage appears to me to be in thorough confusion, and quite inexplicable on the mere hypothesis of slovenly writing on the part of the author. Possibly it originally ran somewhat thus: ἥως τε διέφαινε οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμεν· ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς· τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα· παραινέσας δὴ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι, καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νῆας.

¹⁶⁶ ἀνεκρούοντο. ÆSCHYLUS does not intimate any hesitation on the part of any portion of the allied fleet. He makes indeed the *right wing* appear to take the lead, which, according to his account of the contest, would apparently have been a necessary consequence of their position. (*Pers.* vv. 399, seqq.) See the *Excursus* on § 76.

¹⁶⁷ Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεύς. PLUTARCH makes Aminias to belong not to *Pallene*, but to *Declea*. (*Themist.* § 14.) In modern times it has been generally assumed that this Aminias, and the Cynægirus who distinguished himself so much

at Marathon, were brothers of the poet Æschylus. But Herodotus gives no ground for such a supposition; and if this near relationship had existed, it would be strange that he should not have alluded to it. The name of Cynægirus's father was the same as that of Æschylus; and this would furnish quite a sufficient basis for the identification of the two in the later times, when a superficial knowledge of Greek literature became fashionable. The literary men of the Roman empire considered it a part of their duty to supply all the details which the curiosity of their readers might require, in order to fill up the more general notices of the classical writers. JUVENAL (*Sat.* vii. 229—236) gives an amusing picture of the qualifications required from the instructors of his time:

“— vos sævas imponite leges,

Ut præceptorī verborum regula constet,

Ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes

Tanquam ungues digitosque suos; ut forte rogatus

Dum petit utat thermas aut Phœbi balnea, dicat

Nutricem Anchisæ, nomen patriamque novercæ

cise man-
ner.

βάλλειν συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νηὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίη βοηθόντες συνέμισγον· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἶγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν¹⁶⁸. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφί γυναικὸς ἐφάνη· φανείσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· “ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε;”

85 The Athenians had the Phœnicians opposed to them, the Lacedæmonians the Ionic contingent. Among these several distinguished themselves against the allies, specially *two Samians*,

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἑλευσίνος τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας· κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους, Ἴωνες· οὗτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα¹⁶⁹. ἐθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς^a ὀλίγοι· οἱ δὲ πλευνες οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νυν συχῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξει τῶν νῆας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων· χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν, πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε¹⁷⁰, καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων· Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη¹⁷¹, καὶ χώρα οἱ ἐδωρήθη πολλή. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται τοῦ βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί. Περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νηῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραίεζτο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰγινητέων· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ

86 Theomestor and Phylacus.

Archemori; dicat, quot Acestes vixerit annos,
Quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.”

See note 162 on i. 51, above.

¹⁶⁸ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. See note on § 122, below.

¹⁶⁹ οὗτοι δ' εἶχον . . . καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. If this expression be intended to denote more than the relative positions of the invading squadrons, and to convey the idea that the whole Persian fleet engaged was actually within the strait, the account of the action becomes quite irreconcilable with that of Æschylus. See the *Excursus* on § 76.

^a κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς. See § 22, above.

¹⁷⁰ Θεομήστωρ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε. This appointment must have been immediately after the return of

Xerxes to the Asiatic shore; for Theomestor is established in his post early in the following spring. See ix. 90. Perhaps Æaces, the son of Syloson, who did such good service to the Persians in breaking up the Ionian alliance, may have been promoted to some higher post than that of tyrant of Samos. If he had been killed at Salamis, or indeed had taken an active part in the expedition, one would expect some notice of it. But the mention of him in v. 25 is the last which occurs.

¹⁷¹ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη. Socrates makes a playful allusion to this custom in the *Gorgias* of PLATO, where trying to induce Callicles to resume an argument with him, he says: καὶ με ἐὰν ἐξελέγῃς, οὐκ ἀχθεσθήσομαι σοι ὥς περ σὺ ἐμοί, ἀλλὰ μέγιστος εὐεργέτης παρ' ἐμοί ἀναγεγράψει (§ 132).

τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι, οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιούντων οὐδὲν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἶον περ ἀπέβη· καίτοι ἦσαν γε [καὶ ἐγένοντο^b] ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν, [ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ^b,] πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην· ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἑωυτὸν θεήσεσθαι βασιλέα.

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, 87
ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Anecdote of Artemisia.
Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλείῃ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπῖκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἢ νηὺς ἢ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νηὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ, οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν· ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νῆες φίλαι· ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εἶδον· ἔδοξε οἱ τότε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεκε ποιησάσῃ· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλήν, ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων¹⁷² καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου· εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νείκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἑόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, εἴτε¹⁷³ συνεκύρῃσε ἢ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσούσα νηὺς· ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλε τε καὶ

^b [καὶ ἐγένοντο] [ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ]. I have included these words between brackets, not as considering them interpolations in the proper sense of the term, but because it seems nearly certain that ἐγένοντο is an alternative reading of ἦσαν, and ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ of αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν. Neither alternative has any claim to be preferred to the other; but the text as it stands is a combination of the two produced by the transfer of the variant from the margin.

¹⁷² ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*sub v.*) calls Calynda a town of Caria, like Caryanda, and refers to this passage. If Calynda be really a Carian town, it seems not unlikely that Calynda and Calydna are merely dialectal variations of the same word. CALLISTHENES (*ap. Strabon.* xiii. c. 1) related that the *Leleges* of the Homeric poems, (whose site is to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Assus and Antandros, and of whom Gargara on Ida was a colony,) after the destruction of their towns by Achilles, went south into Caria, and founded several cities there in the neighbourhood of

Halicarnassus. One of these was *Pedasa*, of which Herodotus speaks (i. 175), and which was named after a *Pedasus* in the Troad. In the course of time these *Leleges* melted away and became identified with the Carian population; but as late as the middle of the fourth century B.C. they still had eight towns in the region *Pedasis* near Halicarnassus, from six of which Mausolus removed the population to Halicarnassus, — preserving the remaining two, Myndus and Suagela. (STRABO, xiii. p. 127.) If this account indicates an ethnical identity, in early times, of the tribes respectively inhabiting the Troad and the coast of Caria, it is reasonable to suppose also an etymological identity between Calynda (the ancient name of Tenedos), Calynda the city here mentioned, and perhaps also Calymna the island. See note 293 on vii. 99.

¹⁷³ εἴτε . . . εἴτε. This is the reading of only one manuscript (K). The rest have οὔτε εἰ . . . οὔτε εἰ, which Gaisford adopts.

κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη, διπλᾷ ἐωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο· ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νηὸς τριήραρχος ὡς εἶδε μιν ἐμβάλλουσιν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νῆα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι, ἣ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, 88 ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο. Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεκε γενέσθαι, διαφυγέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ, συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασασμένην, ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ· λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα ἐμβαλοῦσαν· καὶ δὴ τίνα εἶπαι τῶν παρόντων· “δέσποτα, ὁρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην, ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νῆα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε;” καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι, εἰ ἀληθῆώς ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον; καὶ τοὺς φάναι σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νηὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἡπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίνην· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεκε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νηὸς μηδὲνα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι· Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα· “οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασι μοι γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἄνδρες.” ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἶπαι.

89 Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης¹⁷⁴ ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξῳ ἑὸν ἀδελφεὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων· ὀλγοὶ δὲ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νῆες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένειον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθάρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλεῖ, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φεγγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.

90 Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ· τῶν τινες Φοινίκων τῶν αἱ νῆες διεφθαρέατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἰωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοῖατο αἱ νῆες¹⁷⁵, ὡς προδόντων·

Many Persians of distinction, among whom is Ariobignes, are slain, and great numbers of the common men, but of the Hellenes few, from their being good swimmers.

Anecdote of the gallantry of the marines on

¹⁷⁴ Ἀριαβίγνης. One manuscript (F) has Ἀριβίγνης. Of this chief, see note 282 on vii. 97.

¹⁷⁵ ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοῖατο αἱ νῆες. There seems no more likely way in which

the Ionians could have been the means of destroying the Phoenicians than by fouling them while eagerly pressing forward to engage the enemy.

συνήνεικε ὦν οὕτω, ὥστε Ἴωνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπο-
 λέσθαι, Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοῖόνδε μισθόν· ἔτι
 τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων, ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκικῇ νηὺς· ἥ
 τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο, καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναίῃ νηὺς κατέδυσε
 τῶν Σαμοθρηκικῶν τὴν νηᾶ· ἅτε δὴ ἔοντες ἀκουτισταὶ οἱ Σαμο-
 θρηκῆες, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νηὸς βάλλοντες
 ἀπήραξαν, καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα
 τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο¹⁷⁶. ὥς γὰρ εἶδε σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα
 ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας, οἳ αὐπερλυπεόμενός
 τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος· καὶ σφρων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπο-
 ταμεῖν ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι.
 (ὅπως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν
 τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεῖ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ
 καλεῖται Αἰγάλεως¹⁷⁷, ἀνεπνυθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα· καὶ οἱ γραμ-

board of a
 Samothra-
 cian galley,
 and of the
 effect it
 produced
 on the feel-
 ing of
 Xerxes
 against the
 Phœnicians.

¹⁷⁶ ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύ-
 σατο. It is surely not a legitimate
 inference from this transaction, that Sa-
 mothrace was at the time peopled by an
 Ionic race. The Persian navy seems to
 have been regarded as made up of two
 contingents, that from Phœnicia, and that
 from the islands and seaboard of Asia
 Minor; and the latter to have been de-
 scribed as "Ionian" without any regard
 to the differences of race. A parallel case
 is to be found in iv. 138 and vi. 8, where
 see note 23. See also the note 277 on
 vii. 95.

¹⁷⁷ κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεῖ τῷ ἀντίον
 Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλεῖται Αἰγάλεως. There
 seems to have been considerable disagree-
 ment as to the position occupied by Xe-
 rxes during the engagement. In the time
 of DEMOSTHENES a throne with silver
 feet was existing in the acropolis of Athens
 in which Xerxes was said to have sat, ἐν
 τῷ Αἰγαλέῳ ὕρει τῆς Ἀττικῆς (c. *Timocra-
 tist*. p. 466). But PHANODEMUS stated
 him to have taken his post "above the
 Heracleum," where the channel between
 the island and the main is very narrow.
 ACESTODORUS again placed him above
 the hills called "the Horns," on the con-
 fines between Attica and the Megarid
 (ap. *Plutarch. Themist.* § 13). LEAKE
 appears to regard the position assigned by
 Phanodemus as the correct one, or nearly
 so. Of the summit of Mount Ægaleos,
 he says, "It is a position only less impro-
 bable than that stated by Accestodorus,
 who wrote that the Persian king was

seated on the top of Kérata, a mountain
 on the confines of Megaris, five or six
 miles from the nearest part of the straits
 of Salamis. The summit of Mount Æga-
 leos does indeed immediately overhang
 the strait, so as to command a complete
 view of it; and if Xerxes had wished to
 comprehend within the prospect the Sa-
 ronic gulf, together with a great part of
 Attica, Megaris, and Corinthia, the sum-
 mit of the mountain would have been an
 excellent station. But his object was to
 be present at the battle, to communicate
 speedily with the ships, to distinguish
 each vessel, to observe the conduct of
 those on board, and to commit the memo-
 rials of that conduct to writing. The in-
 cident relating to Artemisia, and still more
 the dispute between the Phœnicians and
 Ionians, which Xerxes decided while the
 battle was raging, clearly show that he
 was very near the scene of action." (*Appendix* ii. p. 271.) But if, as I
 have attempted to show in the *Excursus*
 on § 76, the original expectation of
 Xerxes was not to see a battle, but a
 capture of the Greek vessels dispersed in
 all directions, the summit of Ægaleos, or
 even that position assigned to him by
 Accestodorus would have been an excellent
 place. When it turned out that some-
 thing very different was to be looked for,
 he may have descended to the neighbour-
 hood of the Heracleum; and thus all the
 varying accounts may have some truth
 in them.

ματισται ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν.) πρὸς δὲ ἔτι καὶ προσελάβετο¹⁷⁸ φίλος ἐὼν Ἀριαράμνης, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης¹⁷⁹ παρεὼν, τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηίου πάθεος·

91

The Persians retreat to Phalerum, and in the way are fallen upon by some Æginetans,

Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται, ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ¹⁸⁰, ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραΐζον τάς τε ἀντισταμένους καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νηῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλωούσας· ὅκως δέ τινες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς

92

who by their deeds clear themselves of the charge of treason.

Αἰγινήτας. Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νῆες ἥ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νῆα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ, ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινήτεω, νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ ἥπερ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ, τὴν Αἰγιναιήν, ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχένου¹⁸¹, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκα εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὲ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἦλω νηὺς ἡ Σιδωνίῃ, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἶγιαν· ὡς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νῆα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήϊον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε, ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων¹⁸². ταῦτα μὲν νυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρ-

¹⁷⁸ προσελάβετο. This, which was the conjecture originally of Reiske, is adopted by Gaisford. All the MSS have προσεβάλετο or προσεβάλλετο. The sentence has generally been taken to mean that Ariaramnes, being a friend to the *Ionians*, contributed to bring about this chastisement of the Phœnicians. But προσλαμβάνεσθαι πάθεος seems to mean something very different from προσλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ πάθος. Xerxes was stung to the quick at the loss of the battle, and disposed to blame every body; and stood in no need of any incitement to whet his severity. I should be disposed to take the passage as if Ariaramnes had been made to “share the fate of the Phœnicians,” not as if he had aided in bringing it about. He was a favourite of Xerxes and standing by, and perhaps was rash enough to interpose a word in favour of the Phœnicians, upon which the irritated tyrant sentenced him to die with them.

¹⁷⁹ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης. The name Ariaramnes appears in the list of Darius's ancestors, not only in Herodotus, but also in the Behistun Inscription. See note 59 on vii. 11, above.

¹⁸⁰ ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ. These perhaps were the vessels which had been reserved for the defence of the island Ægina. (See above, notes 96 and 101, on § 46.) It would have been quite impossible for any of the ships engaged *within* the channel to get out so as to occupy the position which is here ascribed to the Æginetans. The number of thirty, which was that of the Æginetan galleys in the allied fleet, seems a very small one to be furnished by a state which at that time was a first-rate maritime power. If a part of the navy remained at Ægina, there was the more cause to suspect a treasonable motive; and it is quite in harmony with the supposition that this was a squadron of reserve, that we find Polycritus, the son of Crius, in it. See note 182.

¹⁸¹ ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχένου. The MSS have, without exception, Ἰσχένου. But there is an equal unanimity for the form Ἰσχενοῦ in vii. 187, and Gaisford follows the other editors in introducing that form here.

¹⁸² ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. One is disposed to infer from

ριψε¹⁸³ ἐς Θερμιστοκλέα. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, τῶν αἰ νῆες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινήται· 93
ἐπὶ δὲ, Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινήτης, καὶ In the battle, the
Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινῆς Παλληνεύς, *Æginetans*
ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μὲν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλῆοι were
thought
ἡ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς to have
earned the
ἤλω· τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρακεκέλευστο· πρὸς δὲ, first dis-
tinction,
καὶ ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μύριαι δραχμαὶ, ὃς ἂν μιν ζῶν ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ to them
the *Athe-
nians*.
τι ἐποιοῦντο, γυναιῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν
δὴ, ὥς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν αἰ νῆες
περιεγεγόνεσαν ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον 94
στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς ὥς συνέμισγον
αἰ νῆες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον
οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα
φεύγουσαν, ὡσαύτως οἴχεσθαι· ὥς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς
Σαλαμινίης κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος¹⁸⁴, περιπίπτειν σφι Varying ac-
counts of
the behavi-
our of the
Corinthians.
κέλητα θεῖη πομπῇ· τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι
τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισιν·
τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα· ὥς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ
γενέσθαι τῶν νηῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος, λέγειν τάδε· “Ἀδεί-
μαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς ναῦς, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαι κατα-
προδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἡρώντο
ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν.” ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν

this passage that Themistocles belonged to that Athenian party which had accused the Æginetans of treason towards Hellas before the Lacedæmonians. (See vi. 49.) The father of this Polycritus was the principal agent in resisting the attempt of Cleomenes to arrest those of the Æginetans who appeared to be specially guilty (vi. 50). Hence there was every reason for the son to taunt any distinguished Athenian that had taken part with Cleomenes.

¹⁸³ ἀπέριψε. See note 366 on iv. 143.

¹⁸⁴ κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος. LEAKE identifies this spot with “the N.W. promontory of Salamis, upon which now stands, in a narrow plain by the

shore, the monastery of ‘the Virgin brought to light’ (ἡ παναγία φανερωμένη), so called because a buried picture of the Virgin was here said to have been discovered in the earth, in consequence of a miraculous voice which issued from the place. The monastery stands on the site of a Hellenic building, of which many large squared blocks are still to be seen, together with some fragments of Doric columns; and it seems therefore to be one of the numerous examples still extant in Greece of Pagan temples converted into churches, and which still retain portions or fragments of the original buildings.” (Vol. ii. p. 163.)

Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὶς τὰδε λέγειν, ὥς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἣν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες· οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νῆα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ¹⁸⁵ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.

95

Feat of
Aristides.

Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων ¹⁸⁶ ἐπεμνήσθην ὥς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τὰδε ἐποίησε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτέων οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρας, γένος ἔοντες Ἀθηναῖοι ¹⁸⁷, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οὐ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96

After the
battle, the

Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτίγχανε ἔτι ἔοντα, ἐτοῖμοι

¹⁸⁵ τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει. See note 10 on vii. 3. It gives a very unfavourable idea of the accuracy of local tradition to see that such an account as this should have become popular at Athens, little more than a generation after the action took place. The question of the presence of a squadron of forty ships, or of its absence eight or ten miles off at the time of the battle, was not a thing admitting the possibility of mistake. (See note 177 on vii. 55.) DIO CHRYSOSTOM relates a foolish story of Herodotus having inserted this scandalous account of the Corinthians out of revenge at having been refused a pecuniary reward by them; the first draught of his history not having contained it. That the motive assigned cannot be the true one, is obvious from the discredit which he attaches to the report; it is probably a fiction of later times, to account for the variation of different copies of the work, some of which very likely did not contain the story. (See note 178 on i. 56.)

¹⁸⁶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων. See § 79.

¹⁸⁷ γένος ἔοντες Ἀθηναῖοι. The mention of this circumstance, and also of the country of Aristides is to be remarked. The author is (from § 93 to § 95) enumerating the particular distinctions won by

the several states. The feat of Aristides is put in the best possible way for his reputation. It is represented as a sudden thought occurring to him, while the sea-fight was going on (ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ). PLUTARCH goes even further than this. Aristides, in his account, *observes* that the island Psytalea is strongly occupied, puts some picked volunteers in *boats*, destroys all the Persians except a few of the most distinguished (whom he sends at once prisoners to Themistocles), and then occupies the whole shore of the island with troops, in order to assist the Hellenic sailors and destroy those of the enemy who might swim ashore. (*Aristides*, § 9.) ÆSCHYLUS represents the matter very differently. The island is captured *after* the enemy's fleet has been beaten, at a time when the Hellenes have nothing to prevent them from surrounding the island with their own ships:—

ὥς γὰρ θεὸς
ναῶν ἔδωκε κύδος Ἕλλησιν μάχης,
αὐθημερὸν φράξαντες εὐχάλκοις δέμας
ὑπλοισι ναῶν ἐξέθρωσκον· ἀμφὶ δὲ
κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον, ὥστ' ἀμνηχανεῖν
ὑποὶ τράποιντο,
ἔως ἀπάντων ἐξαπέφθειραν βίον.

Pers. 454—464.

ἦσαν¹⁸⁸ ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούρησι νηυσὶ allies prepare for a repetition of it, taking up their former station.
 ἔτι χρῆσθαι βασιλέα· τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος
 ζέφυρος, ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡῖονα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα·
 ὥστε ἀποπλῆσαι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς
 ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ
 τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι Fulfilment
 πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ, ἀνδρὶ χρησμο- of a prophecy
 λόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας¹⁸⁹. by the wide
 dispersion
 of the
 wrecks.

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι¹⁹⁰.

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων 97
 ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἣ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσ- Xerxes
 ποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ fears that
 ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσει, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε¹⁹¹. θέλων δὲ μή ἐπί- his com-
 δηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλα- munication
 μῖνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν· γαυλοῦς τε Φοινικητοῦς συνέδεε, ἵνα may be cut
 ἀντὶ τε σχεδὴς ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος· ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον, ὡς ναυ- off, and
 μαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὀρέοντες δέ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι meditates
 ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, εὐ ἐπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκευάσται flight se-
 μένων πολεμήσειν Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε, ὡς μά- cretly.
 λιστα ἔμπειρον ἔοντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης.

Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε, καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα 98
 τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφορὴν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔστι οὐδὲν
 ὃ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἔον· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξεύ- Description
 ρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γάρ, ὡς ὕσαν ἂν ἡ ἡμερέων ἢ πᾶσα ὁδός, of the
 Persian sys-
 tem of esta-
 fette.

¹⁸⁸ ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν, "offered." See note 237 on i. 70.

¹⁸⁹ τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Herodotus does not mean to say that the Greeks were ignorant of the existence of the line he quotes, but only that they failed to see its meaning.

¹⁹⁰ φρύξουσι. The MSS, which Gaisford follows, have φρίζουσι, which gives no sense. I have adopted the conjecture of Koen. The meaning seems to me to be, that "the women shall toast their cakes with fires made of [the fragments of broken] oars."

¹⁹¹ δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε. ÆSCHYLUS represents him as breaking up from the

position which his army occupied, and retreating precipitately, owing to the consternation which the sight of the capture of Psytalea inspired :

Ξέρξης δ' ἀνφώωξεν κακῶν ὄρων βάθος,
 ἔδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαγῆ στρατοῦ,
 ὑψηλὸν ὄχθον ἄγχι πελαγίᾳς ἁλός·
 ῥήξας δὲ πέπλους κἀνακακύσας λιγυρῶς,
 περὶ παραγγείλας ἄφαρ στρατεύματι,
 ἦσ' ἀκόσμῳ ξὺν φυγῇ.

(Pers. 465—470.)

Herodotus, on the contrary, expressly makes him remain for a few days before retreating into Boeotia (§ 113, below).

τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε νιφετὸς, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νύξ ἐέργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἑωυτῷ¹⁹² δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὲ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατὰ ἄλλον¹⁹³ διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰπερ "Ελλησι ἢ λαμπαδηφορίῃ, τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι¹⁹⁴. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήϊον¹⁹⁵. Ἡ μὲν δὲ πρώτη¹⁹⁶ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίῃ ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχει Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν¹⁹⁷, καὶ ἐθυμίῳ θυμὸν ἔχοντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ εὐπαθείῃσι· ἢ δὲ δεύτερῃ σφί ἀγγελίῃ ἐπεξελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω, ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νηῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίουν, ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες. καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε¹⁹⁸.

99

Anxiety of the Persians on receiving news of the battle of Salamis.

100

Mardonius's advice to Xerxes

Μαρδόνιος δὲ, ὁρέων μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ποιούμενον ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμον βουλευέιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἑωυτὸν ὡς δώσει δίκην

¹⁹² ἑωυτῷ. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the majority of MSS. But S, P, and F have αὐτῷ.

¹⁹³ κατὰ ἄλλον. This is the uniform reading of the MSS. But Schæfer reads κατ' ἄλλων, which is at least very plausible.

¹⁹⁴ τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. The race was probably the last part of the proceedings, after the more solemn portion of the ritual had been finished. (See note 242 on vi. 106.) Hence perhaps the employment of the word ἐπιτελέουσι,—an appropriate term for an "afterpiece."

¹⁹⁵ ἀγγαρήϊον. It would only be natural that in a service of this description, if the regular couriers had gone on when a second despatch came, power should exist for pressing men and horses to transmit it. Accordingly, the word ἀγγαρεύω came to mean, "to press for the public service;" and it is a hardship of this kind which is alluded to in *Matth.* v.

41: ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἓν, ὑπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο, where great confusion of thought has been produced from modern readers failing to observe that the acts of oppression noted are all such as would take place in the ordinary administration of a military government.

¹⁹⁶ ἢ μὲν δὲ πρώτη. This is the message sent off to Artabanus (§ 54, above).

¹⁹⁷ τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν. See the account of a similar proceeding on the occasion of crossing the bridge from Asia into Europe (vii. 54).

¹⁹⁸ μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. This expression can hardly be taken to mean until the arrival of Xerxes at Susa. He stayed some time at Sardis (ix. 107). Probably all that is intended—or at least was intended by the authority followed by Herodotus—is that the public mourning went on until Xerxes got safe back into Asia.

ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ as to the course to be pursued. κρέσσον εἶη ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα.¹⁹⁹ πλέον μέντοι ἔφερε οἱ ἡ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λογιζάμενος ὦν ταῦτα, προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τούδε· “δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέο, μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῦ τοῦδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἵνεκεν πρίγματος· οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγῶν ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων· σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφι ἤδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθῆναι, οὔτ’ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου τῆσδε· οἳ τε ἡμῖν ἡντιώθησαν, ἔδωσαν δίκας. εἰ μὲν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει ποιεῖν ταῦτα· μὴ δὲ δυσθύμει· οὐ γάρ ἐστι Ἑλλησι οὐδεμία ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους.²⁰⁰ μάλιστα μὲν νυν ταῦτα ποίει· εἰ δ’ ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν· σὺ Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελάστους γενέσθαι Ἑλλησι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δεδήληται τῶν πρηγμαμάτων, οὐδὲ ἐρεῖς ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί· εἰ δὲ Φοινίκες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοί τε καὶ Κίλικες²⁰¹ κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἤδη ὦν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἵτιοί εἰσι, ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἴ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἥθεα τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀπέλανε τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν· ἐμὲ δέ σοι χρὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσας **101** Ξέρξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἥσθη· πρὸς Μαρδόνιον τε, βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ἀποκρινεῖσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς συμβουλίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο

¹⁹⁹ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα, “as he had set a high stake at issue.” This circumstance is what justifies the expression *καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον* even in the contingency of defeat; and therefore no comma must be inserted after *βίον*.

²⁰⁰ εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. The state of the case would require *γίγνεσθαι*, instead of *νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι*. But courtly etiquette forbade the use of an expression which implied that the Greeks were still

free. See the note 412 on i. 118.

²⁰¹ Φοινίκες τε Κίλικες. The omission of the Ionians from the list of worthless allies, both here and in the speech of Artemisia (§ 68, above) is to be remarked. At the time Herodotus was writing there would be too close an alliance between the European and Asiatic Greeks to allow any thing to stand which would appear derogatory to the latter.

Xerxes asks the opinion of Artemisia,

μόυνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν· ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μετασθησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους, τοὺς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε· “κελεύει μὲ Μαρδόνιος, μένοντα αὐτοῦ, πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου· λέγων ὥς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεός εἰσι, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοισί σφι γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀπόδεξις. ἐμὲ ὦν ἡ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιεῖν, ἡ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην· αὐτὸν δέ με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἡθεα τὰ ἐμά. σὺ ὦν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὖ συνεβούλευσας τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἔωσα ποιεέσθαι, νῦν τε συμβούλευσον ὁκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὖ βουλευσάμενος.” Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλεύετο· ἡ δὲ λέγει τάδε· “βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευομένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἄριστα εἶπασαν· ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι, δοκέει μοι αὐτὸν μὲν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δὲ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσκειν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἐθέλει· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ἦν καταστρέψῃται τά φησι ἐθέλειν καὶ οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον, ὦ δέσποτα, γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δούλοι κατεργάσαντο· τοῦτο δὲ, ἦν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιέοντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν· ἦν γὰρ σύ τε περιῆς καὶ οἶκος ὁ σὸς, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες· Μαρδονίου δὲ, ἦν τι πάθῃ, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται· οὐδέ τι νικῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶσι, δούλον σὸν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δὲ, τῶν εἵνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποιήσω, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελᾶς.”

102

which she gives,

103

in accordance with the king's secret wishes, and he sends her with his children to

104

Ephesus.

“Ἦσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλίῃ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τάπερ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε· οὐδὲ γὰρ, εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἂν, δοκέειν ἐμοί· οὕτω καταρρωδίκεε· ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς Ἐφεσον· νόθοι γάρ τινες παῖδές οἱ συνέσποντο. Συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἑρμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἑόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον ἐξ οὗ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων²⁰³ παρὰ

²⁰² οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων. Perhaps Hermotimus was made captive as a youth at the time when Pedasa was taken

by Harpagus (i. 176). In that invasion the Chians, like the Milesians, made separate terms for themselves with the

βασιλεῖ. οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τούτοισι τοιόνδε φέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτίοσι πᾶσι, τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος, μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπὸν, τότε ἡ ἱρεὴ αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν· τούτο δὲ σφι δις ἤδη ἐγένετο²⁰³.

Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν· τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλούμενον ὠνέεται Πανιώνιος, ἀνὴρ Χίος, ὃς τὴν ζόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσαιοτο παῖδας εἶδεος ἐπαμμένους²⁰⁴, ἐκτάμνων, ἀγνέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροί εἰσι οἱ εὐνοῦχοι, πίστιος εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης, τῶν ἐνορχίων· ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλοὺς, ἅτε ποιούμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ζόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον· καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δώρων· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξη. Ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὄρμα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔων ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβὰς κατὰ δὴ τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίοι μὲν νέμονται, Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα· ἐπιγνούς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φίλους λόγους, πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι' ἐκείνον ἔχοι ἀγαθὰ, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ ὑπισχνεύμενος ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει, ἦν κομισάμενος τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκῇ ἐκείνῃ· ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον

105

Anecdote of Hermotimus of Pedasa, an eunuch in charge of the children of the king, and his revenge upon one Panionius, a Chian slave merchant.

106

Persians, and had obtained Atarneus as the price of the extradition of a Persian refugee. See note 532 on i. 160.

²⁰³ δις ἤδη ἐγένετο. This is one of several passages which serve to show either that the work could not have been left by the author in a finished state, or else that great interpolations have taken place. In i. 175 he says that this singular phenomenon had at that time *thrice* happened. See note 477 on vii. 173.

It is not easy to suggest any certain explanation of the "bearded priestess." MINUTOLI (t. xxix.) gives such a figure from the temple of Bahbeit. PLUTARCH (quoted in note 183 on vi. 83) says that the Argives, after recruiting the loss of their citizens by a large number of mixed

marriages with the *periæciens*, passed the law that *brides* should be similarly ornamented upon retiring to the nuptial chamber. See note 188 on vi. 83. In that case the custom was apparently symbolical, and expressive of the same idea which probably lay at the bottom of all androgynous representations in the Hellenic mythology, they being a compression into one of a male and female deity. It is not impossible that the Pedasian Athene was an androgynous deity, an union of Ares and Aphrodite Urania, a war-deity in one of the sexes, and a genius of fruitfulness in the other. (See note 303 on v. 104.)

²⁰⁴ εἶδεος ἐπαμμένους. So εἶδεος ἐπαμμέναι in i. 199, above.

ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον, κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· ὥς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίῃ μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος τάδε· “ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ’ ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σὲ ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τις ἐργάσατο ἢ σὲ, ἢ τῶν σὼν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ’ ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμηχανῶ τότε· οἷ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χέρας τὰς ἐμὰς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ’ ἐμέο τοι ἐσομένην δίκην.” ὥς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ὠνείδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παίδων ἐς ὄψιν, ἡναγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἐωυτοῦ παίδων, τεσσέρων ὄντων, τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν· ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ, ἐποίηε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὥς ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περιῆλθε ἢ τε τίσις καὶ ὁ Ἑρμότιμος.

107

Xerxes leaves Mar-
donius with
a large de-
tachment
from the
army, and
orders the
fleet to
make all
sail to the
Hellespont.

Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς τοὺς παῖδας Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἐπέτρεψε ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἔφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευε μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιεῖν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὁμοῖα. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο· τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς, κελεύσαντος βασιλέως, τὰς νῆας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπήγρον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὥς τάχως εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλείῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος²⁰⁵ πλώοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, ταύτας ἔδοξάν τε νῆας εἶναι, καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νῆες εἶεν ἀλλ’ ἄκραι, συλ-
λεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

108

The allies,
on discover-

Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ὀρέοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώραν μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζόν, ἤλπιζον καὶ τὰς νῆας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον·

²⁰⁵ Ζωστήρος. The name Ζωστήρ appears originally to have been given to the narrow isthmus connecting a projecting cape of the coast of Attica with the main. It was the site of a deme inhabited by fishermen, whose tutelary deities were Leto, Artemis, and Apollo Ζωστήριος. The local legend derived the name from the first of these having there loosened her zone when about to bring forth the two latter. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub v.* PAUSANIAS, i. 31. 1.) In the time of Pausanias, Athens was added to the number of these deities. LEAKE de-

scribes the locality as “a hill terminating in three capes; that in the middle is a low peninsula, which shelters on the west a deep inlet called *Vuliasméni*. This probably was the place where stood the altars of the four deities” (ii. p. 55). He also remarks in a note, that “the fish with which Athens was supplied was chiefly procured on this part of the coast. The sea opposite to Léxone [about four miles north] was noted for its red mullet (*τρίγλη*), which is still caught there, and known by the ancient name, although *μπαρμπούνι* is more commonly used.”

ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας, παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξισόμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νῆας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν· τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο, διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νῆας πλώειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας· Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτην γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων, ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφεῖς κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιντο· εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἀπολαμφθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρώτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν· ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην, οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἶόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὸ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθαρέεται· ἐπιχειροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἔχομένῳ, πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷά τε ἔσται προσχωρήσαι κατὰ πόλιάς τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἥτοι ἀλίσκομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων· τροφὴν τε ἔξω σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν· ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσῃ· ἑατέον ὦν εἶναι φεύγειν ἐς ὃ ἔλθῃ φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλῶειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους—οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφηνότων περιημέκτεον²⁰⁶, ὁρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον πλῶειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ ὥλλοι μὴ βουλοῖατο—ἔλεγε σφί τάδε· “καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμεν, καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας, νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα²⁰⁷. ἡμεῖς δὲ, (εὖρημα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι,) μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας· τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἳ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἓνα τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι, ἔοντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ

ing that the fleet of the enemy has retreated, pursue it as far as Andros, where Themistocles advises to sail to the Hellespont and destroy the bridge, but is overruled by Eurybiades and the Peloponnesians.

109

He then induces the Athenians to acquiesce in the determination,

²⁰⁶ περιημέκτεον. See note 134 on i. 44.

²⁰⁷ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. See note on vii. 231.

ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς τὰ τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο²⁰⁸, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε²⁰⁹. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας²¹⁰ ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων· καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλάσασθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω²¹¹, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης." ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι²¹² ἐς τὸν Πέρσέα· ἵνα, ἣν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφὴν· τάπερ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο.

110

and, sending privately to Xerxes, takes credit to himself for the course pursued.

Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπεί-
θοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφός, ἐφάνη
ἐὼν ἀληθέως σοφός τε καὶ εὖβουλος, πάντως ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι
πείθεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ²¹³ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ
ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι

²⁰⁸ ὃς τὰ τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο. The primitive Persian religion led to a detestation of temples and images (i. 131), but this could hardly be said of the Persian court at the time of Xerxes. See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 435. However, the outrageous conduct of Cambyses in Egypt may very well have produced a feeling with regard to the invaders, which it would be the interest of Hellenic statesmen to keep up.

²⁰⁹ ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε. See note 126 on vii. 34.

²¹⁰ καταμείναντας. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, following two (S and c), prints καταμείναντες.

²¹¹ ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω. PLUTARCH (*Theseus*, § 33) speaks of ἀνακῶς ἔχειν as a familiar expression applied to those who kept watch over any thing, and conjectures that the Dioscuri may have had the name ἄνακες (under which they were worshipped at Athens) given to them διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κηδεμονίαν τοῦ μηδένα κακῶς παθεῖν. This is apparently an exact reversal of the true derivation, ἀνακῶς ἔχειν being probably in its origin applied to the care bestowed by the tutelary deity upon the objects of his care. PLATO, the comic poet, used the expression τὰς θύρας ἀνακῶς ἔχειν (*fragm. Incert.* xxiii.), which Meineke very ingeniously proposes to cor-

rect into τὰς θύρας ἀνακῶς ἔχειν, supposing the phrase to have been put into the mouth of a Dorian, and quoting EROTIAN: ἀνακῶς· ἐπιμελῶς καὶ περιεφυλαγμένως· ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις δωρική. It is used by Herodotus in another place (i. 24), and once by THUCYDIDES (viii. 102: ὅπως αὐτῶν ἀνακῶς ἐξουσιν, ἣν ἐκπλέωσι), and always with the genitive case.

²¹² ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι. THUCYDIDES makes him plead the circumstance of the bridges not having been destroyed as a proof of the good will he had borne to the Persian monarch; he falsely representing it as entirely his doing (i. 137). If Xerxes found the bridges actually carried away on his arrival at the Hellespont (below, § 117)—it would be scarcely possible for Themistocles to have claimed merit for saving them; although nothing would be more natural than that he should (as Herodotus here puts it) have once contemplated doing so upon a certain contingency arising. At the same time it seems that the news of the destruction of the bridges had not reached the allied fleet at the time of the battle of Mycale; which is very strange if Xerxes really found them gone when he arrived at the strait.

²¹³ οἱ. The manuscripts S and V omit this word.

ἐπίστευσε σιγᾶν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεῖ φράσαι τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτὶς ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· “ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσσοντά τοι, ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργεῖν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰς νῆας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύνειν· καὶ νῦν κατ’ ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζο²¹⁴.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω. ✠

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ τε σφι ἀπέδοξε μήτ’ ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι 111
προσωτέρῳ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νῆας, μήτε ἐπιπλώειν²¹⁵ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἀνδρὸν περικατέατο ἐξελέειν ἐθέλοντες· πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἀνδριοὶ νησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλῆος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν· ἀλλὰ προῖσχομένου Θεμιστοκλῆος λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἤκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἑωυτοὺς ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, Πειθῷ τε καὶ Ἀναγκαίῃ²¹⁶, οὕτω τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες, ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθηναὶ μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἤκοιεν εὖ²¹⁷. ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι γεωπεινάς ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νῆσον, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ φιλοχωρέειν, Πενίην τε καὶ Ἀμηχανίην· καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἔοντας Ἀνδρίους οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέποτε γὰρ τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀδυναμίας τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσων· οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα, ἐπολιορκέοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς 112
δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους

Themistocles, on its being determined not to proceed further in pursuit of the enemy, besieges the Andrians, who refuse a subsidy.

He also privately

²¹⁴ In the time of PLUTARCH the popular view of the matter seems to have been, that Themistocles hastened the retreat of Xerxes, by sending him word that the Greeks intended to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge. (*Themist.* § 16.)

²¹⁵ ἐπιπλώειν. This is the reading of S and V, adopted by Gaisford. The other MSS vary between the simple forms πλῶειν and πλέειν.

²¹⁶ Πειθῷ τε καὶ Ἀναγκαίῃ. PLUTARCH, in telling this story, substitutes Βία for Ἀναγκαίῃ, and Ἀπορία for Ἀμηχανίῃ in the pair of Andrian deities. At Corinth there was actually a temple dedicated to Ἀνάγκη and Βία, into which no one was allowed to enter. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 4, 5.)

²¹⁷ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἤκοιεν εὖ. Compare i. 30: τοῦ βίου εὖ ἤκοντι, and vii. 157: σὺ δὲ δυνάμιος ἤκεις μεγάλῃς.

extorts
money from
the *Carys-*
tians and
Parians,
and others.

ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους, αἵτεε χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἐχρήσατο²¹⁸, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει λέγων ὦν ταῦτα, συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων οἱ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν τε Ἀνδρον ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εἴη ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν, δείσαντες ταῦτα, ἔπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτῶν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· δοκέω δὲ τινας καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι, καὶ οὐ τούτους μούνοους· καίτοι Καρυστίοισι γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολῇ²¹⁹ ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν, ἐξ Ἀνδρου ὀρμεώμενος, χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτῶν ἐκτέετο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

113

Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας²²⁰ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην, ἐξέλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν· ἔδοξε γὰρ καὶ Μαρδονίῳ, ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρίην εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν· χειμερίσαι²²¹ τε ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειράσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὡς δὲ ἀπῆκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρῶτους [μὲν Πέρσας²²²] πάντας τοὺς Ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος

The land
army of
Xerxes,
after a few
days, moves
into *Baotia*,
and from
thence to
Thessaly,
where
300,000
of the best

²¹⁸ χρεώμενος λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἐχρήσατο. The manuscripts M, P, K, F, have a very important variation: χρεώμενος τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο, "employing the same agents which he had in his transaction with the king." This reading gives a sense which seems more accordant with the condemnatory phrase: οὐ γὰρ ἐπαυετο πλεονεκτέων, and with the notice in the sequel: χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτῶν ἐκτέετο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, than the reading adopted by Gaisford is. It is quite clear that the money extorted from the islanders was not the regular contribution for carrying on the war, which was afterwards collected; for only Carystians and Parians were positively known to the author to have paid the demand.

²¹⁹ τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολῇ, "a putting off of the evil." This use of the word ὑπερβολῇ is found in POLYBIUS: ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν πέμπειν ἡξίου, καὶ μηδεμίαν

ὑπερβολὴν ποιησαμένους ἐξελέγχειν καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐλπίδα (xiv. 9. 8); but only in that one passage; and in Herodotus it always signifies "excess." But ὑπερβαλλομένους, "deferring," is found in vii. 206, and ὑπερβάλλωνται in the same sense, ix. 51.

²²⁰ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας. See note 191 on § 97, above.

²²¹ χειμερίσαι, "to winter." The word is formed after the analogy of θερίζειν and ἐαρίζειν. Herodotus habitually uses it. See vi. 31: χειμερίσας περὶ Μίλητον, and below: χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην (§ 126): ἐχειμερίζε ἐν Κύμῃ (§ 130). But in § 133, below, the more usual word ἐχειμάζε is employed. See the note on that passage.

²²² [μὲν Πέρσας]. The MSS vary between these words, μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας, μὲν τοὺς μυρίους, and μυρίους. The whole seem to me to be glosses.

τοῦ στρατηγοῦ²²³. (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος²²⁴.) μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους, καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλὴν· καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας, καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἴλετο· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους²²⁵, τοῖσι εἶδεά τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ τέοισι τι χρηστὸν συνείδее πεπονημένον. ἐν δὲ, πλείστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἰρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους²²⁶. ἐπὶ δὲ, Μήδους· (οὗτοι δὲ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων ῥώμῃ δὲ ἔσσονες·) ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεύσι²²⁷.

troops are selected to remain with Mardonius.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδόνιός τε τὴν στρατιὴν 114
διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἣν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθει ἐκ
Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, Ξέρξεα αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω
φόνου, καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι· πέμπουσι δὲ κήρυκα
τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῆται· ὅς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε εὐοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν
τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε·
“ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλίδαι οἱ ἀπὸ
Σπάρτης²²⁸ αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφένον τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτει-
νεν.”

Anecdote of an ominous saying of Xerxes to a Spartan herald, who demanded satisfaction of him for the death of Leonidas.

²²³ πλὴν Ἰδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. Of this chief see note 254 on vii. 83.

²²⁴ οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος. This is the way in which alone a Greek of the time of Herodotus would be able to account for Hydarnes's conduct. But the analogy of other great empires renders it probable that he held some office about the person of the sovereign, the functions of which were regarded as more important than his presence at the head of his corps. In the same way, English officers used in the late war to return to England from Spain to attend to their duties in parliament. See the remarks on military rank in Persia, in the note 192 on vii. 61.

²²⁵ κατ' ὀλίγους. Compare ii. 93: τῶν γὰρ ὧν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους.

²²⁶ στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους. The στρεπτοὶ and ψέλια by which the selected individuals were distinguished, perhaps served the same purpose as the stripes in the English army, or the cross of the Legion of Honour in the French; that is, were an indication of special deserts. They seem to have been made

of gold (see ix. 80). They are found among the presents of honour which Cambyses is related to have sent by the hands of the Ichthyophagi to the king of the Ethiopians (iii. 20).

²²⁷ Independently of the resources of Thessaly, the harbour of Pagasæ was an excellent station for the store ships which had accompanied the expedition; so that magazines were doubtless formed there for the supply of the enormous force left behind. But it seems likely that no rations were issued to the irregular troops which formed the bulk of the army; for it is in this part of the retreat that ÆSCHYLUS represents the great loss by famine to have taken place:

κἂν τεύθειν ἡμᾶς γῆς Ἀχαιῶδός πέδον
καὶ Θεσσαλῶν πόλισμ' ὑπεσπανισμένους
βορᾶς ἐδέξαντ'· ἐνθα δὲ πλείστοι ἴθανον
δίψῃ τε λιμῷ τ'· ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ ἦν τάδε.
(Pers. 488—491.)

²²⁸ Ἡρακλίδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης. This would be in contra-distinction to the Heraclides of Argos and Macedonia, and perhaps also to those of Lydia.

115
Terrible sufferings of the remainder of the troops who accompanied the king from Thessaly to the Hellespont.

Loss of the horses of the sacred chariot which had been left on the way.

116
Anecdote of the Thracian king of the *Bisaltæ* and his six sons.

νας, ῥνόμενον τὴν 'Ελλάδα" ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχών πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρεστῶς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε· "τοιγάρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἷας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει·" ὁ μὲν δὲ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν²²⁹ ἀπαλλάσσετο. Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν 'Ελλήσποντον· καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος²³⁰, ὥς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοιάτο, καὶ κατ' οὔστινας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν²³¹ ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὔροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοῖον περιλέποντες, καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων· καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίουν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερή, κατ' ὁδὸν διέφθειρε· τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλιπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῇσι πόλισι, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τέ τινας, καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης, καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ· ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα ἤλανε, ἀπὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε· ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παῖονες τοῖσι Θρηῖξι, ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξεω, ἔφασαν νεμομένας²³² ἀρπαχθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηῖκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων. Ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς, Θρηῖξ, ἔργον ὑπερφνὲς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οἶχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ οὖρος τὴν Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσί τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν

²²⁹ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν, "having accepted what was said [as an omen]." Compare § 137, below: δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ τὰ διδοῖς, and ix. 91: δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον.

²³⁰ οὐδὲν μέρος, "a mere nothing." The account which the messenger gives in ÆSCHYLUS agrees with this:

ἤκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες οὐ πολλοὶ τινες
ἐφ' ἐστιοῦσιν γαῖαν.—(Pers. 510.)

²³¹ τὸν τούτων καρπὸν. This could not have been the growing harvest; for there would be none at such a season of the year. It probably refers to the stores

laid up in the barns of private proprietors.

²³² νεμομένας. From the gender we may suppose the idea of the narrator of this story to have been, that the chariot of the sun was drawn by *mares*. This, however, does not seem at all likely. In vii. 55, οἱ ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ are mentioned; and the horse of Cyrus which was drowned in the Gyndes (i. 189) appears by the description to have been a male. But the known habit of the Persians to use mares for ordinary purposes, possibly caused the adoption of this feature of the story.

Ἑλλάδα· οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες πάντες, ἐξ ἑόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατήρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτὴν ταύτην· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρηϊκῆς πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὔρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας²³³. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι, σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχανον, οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες, ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιέοντος πολλοί· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκητο ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα²³⁴ τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπορίῃσι διεχρέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ὕδάρνει ἐπιτρέπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νηὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβάς, ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην· πλώοντα δέ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίνην· καὶ δὴ, μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι, γεμούσης τῆς νηὸς, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπέοντων συχῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα, εἴρεσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτηα, εἴ τις ἐστὶ σφι σωτηρίῃ, καὶ τὸν εἶπαι “δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεμία, ἣν μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων” καὶ Ξέρξεα λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπαι·

117
On arriving at the Hellespont, the remnant of the army passes over in boats, finding the bridge destroyed. Xerxes arrives at 118
Sardis. Another story of the return of Xerxes by sea from Eion, and of the self-devo-

²³³ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. It seems doubtful whether this really was the case. See above, note 212 on § 109. The story which presently follows shows how entirely uncertain all the details of the retreat of Xerxes must have been.

²³⁴ ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα. There was a bridge here by which the invading army crossed, and there is no mention in Herodotus of its having been destroyed. Yet it is in crossing the Strymon on the ice that ÆSCHYLUS represents a terrific loss to have been incurred by the army on its retreat:

— νυκτὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ θεὸς χειμῶν ἄωρον ὤρσε, πῆγνυσιν δὲ πᾶν ῥέεθρον ἀγνοῦ Στρυμόνος· θεοὺς δὲ τις τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ, τότ' ἤρχετο λιταῖσι, γαῖαν οὐρανὸν τε προσκυνῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο

στρατὸς, περὰ κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρον· χῶστις μὲν ἡμῶν πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ ἀκτῖνας ὠρμήθη, σεσωσμένος κυρεῖ. φλέγων γὰρ αὐγαῖς λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος μέσον πόρον διῆκε, θερμαίνων φλογί· πίπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι, κ.τ.λ.

(Pers. 495—506.)

Possibly that portion of the troops under Artabazus (§ 126) which was in immediate attendance on the king, passed by the bridge, while the mass of the irregulars, spread over the country for the greater facility of obtaining supplies, attempted to cross on the ice. If Xerxes himself had undergone any great personal peril, such as that of the troops described by Æschylus, it is unlikely that the tradition of it would not have remained and been related by Herodotus.

tion of the
Persians.

“*ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἴκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρίη*” τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν· τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδέειν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ τὴν νῆα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν, οὕτω δὴ ὑποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην· ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξεα, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσὴν στεφάνην τὸν κυβερνήτηα· ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

119
Criticism of
the story.

Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος²³⁵ περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς, οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἐν μυρίησι γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξουν, μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε· τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νῆα, ἔοντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων, ἔοντων Φοινίκων, ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλήθος τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν²³⁶. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται²³⁷, ὁδῶ

120
Another account makes Xerxes pass through *Abdera*, where he first takes off his clothes, considering himself safe.

χρεώμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἀβδηρα, καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος²³⁸, καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκη τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τιήρῃ χρυσοπάστῳ· καὶ ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρίται, λέγοντες ἐμοί γε οὐδαμῶς πιστά, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὥς ἐν ἀδείῃ ἑὼν· τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἱδρυταὶ πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον²³⁹ ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἡϊόνος, ὅθεν δὴ μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα.

²³⁵ οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος. So Gaisford prints on the authority of V and P. The other MSS have οὗτος δὲ ἄλλως λέγεται ὁ λόγος, which appears to be, if any thing, the preferable reading.

²³⁶ ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. Whatever discredit the story of the devotion of the Persians may deserve, no person who had ever been at sea in bad weather, would imagine that additional security would have been gained by drowning the crew, and putting in their places a number of landmen, who probably had never touched an oar, and most likely were half dead from sea-sickness. I am inclined to think that §§ 119, 120, proceed, not from Herodotus, but from an ancient commentator or editor, perhaps an Alexan-

drine grammarian. (See notes 432 on ii. 145, and 99 on iv. 32.)

²³⁷ ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται. Gaisford prints, on the authority of M, P, K, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται. But the other MSS omit the pronoun, and, I believe, with justice. See the last note.

²³⁸ ξεινίην σφι συνθέμενος. See note 331 on vii. 120.

²³⁹ τὰ δὲ Ἀβδηρα ἱδρυταὶ πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον. So Gaisford prints on the authority of several MSS. But the others have πρὸς τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ Ἀβδηρα ἱδρυταὶ,—a variation which suggests the probability of the whole clause being originally a marginal note.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ τε οὐκ οἰοί τε ἐγένοντο ἐξελέειν τὴν 121
 Ἄνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηϊώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν
 χώραν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι
 ἐξείλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας· τὴν μὲν
 ἐς Ἴσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἥπερ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν· τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον
 τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμίνα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο
 τὴν λήην, καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφούς· ἐκ τῶν ἐγέ-
 νετο ἀνδριάς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νηὸς, ἐὼν μέγας
 δυωκαίδεκα πύχων· ἐστήκεε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδῶν Ἀλέξαν-
 δρος ὁ χρύσεος.²⁴⁰ Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς Δελφούς, 122
 ἐπειρώτεον τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ, εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ
 ἀκροθίνια; ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρ'
 Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὐ.²⁴¹ ἄλλα ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήϊα τῆς ἐν Σαλα-
 μῖνι ναυμαχίης· Αἰγινῆται δὲ πυθόμενοι, ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσέ-
 ος, οἱ ἐπὶ ἴσθμῳ χαλκέου ἐστᾶσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης, ἀγχοτάτω
 τοῦ Κροίσω κρητῆρος.²⁴² Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς λήης ἔπλων 123
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν, ἀριστήϊα δώσαντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ
 γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ
 στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ.²⁴³ 123

The allies break up from Andros, and after laying waste the domain of Carystus, return to Salamis and divide the spoils.

Special offering of the Æginetans.

Afterwards the congress at the Isthmus awards the second

²⁴⁰ ἐστήκεε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος. If this sentence be not the note of a later editor, it gives a very exalted notion of the wealth acquired by the kings of Macedonia at this early period. I am inclined to believe, however, that it is this, and that the Alexander whose golden statue was placed at Delphi was the conqueror of Asia. It is very doubtful whether *portrait statues* of living persons were ever put up before his time.

²⁴¹ παρ' Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὐ. The answer of the god was in after-times attributed to Lacedæmonian intrigue. (See note 1 on § 131.) Although the Æginetans appear to have been thus chary of thank-offerings to the Delphic god, it is probable that their gratitude was more ready on their own soil. It has been suggested, with great ingenuity, that the temple discovered in 1811, from which the celebrated Ægina marbles in the Glyptothek at Munich were taken, was erected in commemoration of the victory at Salamis. The triumph of the Hellenic race over the Asiatics appears in the two tympana of

the temple, symbolized by two triumphs of the Æacidæ, led by Athene, over Trojans, represented by figures combating. In the east gable (which refers to the expedition against Laomedon) it is the Æacid Telamon, in the western (referring to that against Priam) it is Ajax, who represents Æginetan valour. Athene appears in each gable. For the full description of the groupes, see THIERSCH, in *Boettiger's Amalthea*, i. p. 137. It has been shown by DR. WORDSWORTH (*Athens and Attica*, p. 265) that this temple, which is situated eight miles from the city of Ægina, in the N.E. corner of the island, is not, as has been supposed, identical with that of the Panhellenian Zeus. (See note on ix. 7.)

²⁴² τοῦ Κροίσω κρητῆρος. See i. 51.

²⁴³ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ. This phrase occasions some difficulty. When decision was made by ballot, the ψῆφοι were taken from the altar of the deity in order to be used. See MULLER on the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, p. 161. Perhaps we may suppose that in open voting, the appeal to the conscience of

prize of
merit to
Themisto-
cles.

124

Great credit
of Themis-
tocles
throughout
Hellas, and
honours
paid to him
at Lace-
dæmon.

τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντας ἐκ πάντων· ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἑωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος γενέσθαι· δεύτερα δὲ, οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνούουν· Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερείοισι ὑπερεβύλλετο πολλόν. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλώνωντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπίκητο, θέλων τιμηθῆναι καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν· ἀριστήϊα μὲν νυν ἔδοσαν Εὐρυβιάδῃ, ἐλαίης στέφανον· σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος, Θεμιστοκλείῃ, καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης· ἔδωρῃσαντο δὲ μιν ὅχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι· αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ, προέπεμψαν ἀπίοντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὔτοι οἵπερ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Τεγεατικῶν. μούνον δὲ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων²⁴⁴, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπίκητο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος²⁴⁵, τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνέικεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑωυτόν· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε οὐκ ἐπαύετο ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε· “οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ, ἐὼν Βελβινίτης²⁴⁶,

125
Anecdote
of his reply
to the cavil
of Timode-
mus.

the parties concerned was symbolized by the laying out the pebbles *υρον* the altar, as in secret voting it was by taking them from it. Gaisford, following the minority of MSS, prints *διενέμοντο*. Two (S and V) have *ἔφερον*.

²⁴⁴ *μούνον δὲ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων*. This is entirely confirmed by the account of the Athenian orator in THUCYDIDES, who says of Themistocles, that he *αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο, ὕπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα· καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων* (i. 74). The attendants on Themistocles were the whole body-guard of the king, not merely a portion of them. See note 130 *a* on vi.

56, and note 531 on vii. 205.

²⁴⁵ Ἀφιδναῖος. The manuscript S has Ἀθηναῖος, and Valla's translation neither the one nor the other. There is some difficulty in understanding the gist of Themistocles's retort if Timodemus were a native either of Athens or Aphidna. Belbina is said to be a small island off cape Sunium. SCYLAX (p. 45), PLATO (*Polit.* i. § 4), and PLUTARCH (*Themist.* § 18) tell the story, but make the adversary of Themistocles a native of the little island *Seriphos*. See notes 494 on ii. 160; 368 on iv. 144; 262 on v. 92; 154 on vii. 46.

²⁴⁶ *ἐὼν Βελβινίτης*. See the last note.

ετιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων· οὐτ' ἂν σὺν, ὠνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος." ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος καὶ 126
 πρόσθε ἐὼν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταιῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, Ἀρταβάζος μετὰ 60,000
 ἔχων ἐξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τὸν Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε men on his
 βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου· ὡς δὲ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω return from
 πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο, ἅτε Μαρδονίου τε escorting
 χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην, καὶ οὐδὲν κω Xerxes be-
 κατεπείγοντος ἤκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου, ἐντυχὼν sieges Poti-
 ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαίησι, μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαί σφεας· οἱ daea.
 γὰρ Ποτιδαίηται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι
 Πέρσῃσι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν
 ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὡς δὲ καὶ ὅλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.
 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτιδαίην. Ὑποπτεύσας 127
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ ταύτην He also
 ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου takes *Olyn-*
 ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων²⁴⁷. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφεας εἶλε πολιορκέων, thus, de-
 κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδόι Κριτο- destroys the
 βούλῃ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν, καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει²⁴⁸. καὶ inhabitants,
 οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον. Ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτά- and fills the
 βαζος τῇ Ποτιδαίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι δὲ οἱ προ- town with
 θύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρα- Chalcidians.
 ηγός· ὄντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχὴν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὦν
 λέγεται· τέλος μέντοι τοιαύδε ἐγένετο· ὅκως βυβλίον γράψαι ἢ
 Τιμόξεινος, ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι, ἢ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ
 Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας²⁴⁹ περιελίξαντες καὶ
 πτερώσαντες τὸ βυβλίον, ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπάϊστος

²⁴⁷ Βοττιαῖοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. See note 349 on vii. 127.

²⁴⁸ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει. Probably the old feud between Chalcis and Eretria still survived sufficiently to render this step a politic one. See the note 291 on v. 99. The Chalcidians of these parts formed a portion of Xerxes's army (vii. 135), perhaps not altogether against their will, as the Persian vengeance had been especially aroused against Eretria.

²⁴⁹ παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας. This is the

reading of all the MSS, and seems required. The course taken was, to wrap the parchment on which the communication was written round the shaft of the arrow till it reached the barbs, not round the barbs themselves. It was so managed as not to attract attention, except under such a close inspection as would arise when a man was wounded. Hence the feather was set *on* the parchment roll, which doubtless at a little distance was taken for the shaft.

but the
treason is
detected.

δὲ ἐγίνετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδιδούς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου, βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαίητεω τὸν ὦμον· τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὅμιλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ· οἱ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες, ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· παρὴν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχίῃ· τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίης, ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλέξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίῃ, τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἵνεκα, μὴ νομιζοίαιτο εἶναι Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδοταί· ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπάϊστος ἐγεγόνεε. Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον, παρήϊσαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην· ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιοποίησαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθύντας χρῆν ἔσω εἶναι ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρὶς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὅση οὐδαμὰ κω, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθείροντο· τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαῖηται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοις ἀπώλεσαν. αἴτιον δὲ λέγουσι οἱ Ποτιδαῖηται τῆς τε ῥηχίης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος ²⁵⁰ καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἡσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων τοίπερ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες, εὖ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους ²⁵¹ ἀπήγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμφαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἔπρηξαν ²⁵².

130 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικός ²⁵³ ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγεινόμενος, ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ

²⁵⁰ τῆς τε ῥηχίης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος. It is apparently from a false interpretation of this passage that SUIDAS (v. *Ῥαχίαν*) lays it down as a fact that what the other Greeks called *ἄμπωτις*, was by the Ionians termed *ῥηχίη*. That the word is synonymous with "flood" in Herodotus, appears from ii. 11 and vii. 198, where *ἄμπωτις* and *ῥηχίη* are opposed to one another as "ebb" and "flow." The opinion of Valcknaer is, that καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος is a gloss in this passage. I should rather take it to be an alternative reading.

²⁵¹ τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους. Perhaps these may be considered two-thirds of the whole; for it is this number which are found under the independent command of Artabazus at the time of the battle of Plataea. See ix. 66.

²⁵² οὕτω ἔπρηξαν. These words are omitted in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, and *h*.

²⁵³ ὁ δὲ ναυτικός. The use of Herodotus is to say either τὸ ναυτικὸν or ὁ ναυτικός στρατός. But the substantive is omitted, as here, in the next section.

Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἀβυδὸν, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῳ, ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος, πρώϊος²⁵⁴ συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νηῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ· Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλευνες ἐπεβάτευον· στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφι ἐπῆλθον, Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίου καὶ Ἀρταύντης²⁵⁵ ὁ Ἀρταχαίου· συνῆρχε δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀδελφιδέος, αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύντεω προσελομένου, Ἰθαμίτρης²⁵⁶. ἅτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήϊσαν ἀνωτέρω²⁵⁷ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, οὐδ' ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδεὶς· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι, ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῇ, νῆας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφι τὴν ἐωυτῶν φυλάσσειν σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδιώξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἀλλ' ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μὲν νῦν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλὸν²⁵⁸ κρατήσκειν τὸν Μαρδόνιον· ἐόντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ, ἅμα μὲν ἐβουλευόντο εἴ τι δυναίητο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὠτακούσκειν ὅκη πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

Τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας τό τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόμιος ἐν 131
Θεσσαλίῃ ἑών. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὐκ ἔω συνελέγετο· ὁ δὲ ναυτικός²⁵⁹ ἐν τῇ
ἀπρίκετο ἐς Αἴγιναν, νῆες ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν· στρατηγὸς δὲ
καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Δευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος, τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω²⁶⁰, τοῦ
assembles

²⁵⁴ πρώϊος, "early." The manuscripts S, V, d have πρώτον. But πρώϊος seems to be the true reading, both here and in *St. John's Gospel* (i. 42), where the trace of it remains in the Latin "mane" of the Codex Veronensis, although no Greek manuscript gives any thing but πρώτος or πρώτον.

²⁵⁵ Ἀρταύντης. It seems not unlikely that the two generals were connected with each other; for a *Bagæus*, son of an *Artontes*, appears elsewhere (iii. 128, where see note 353). There was also an *Artantes*, son of an *Ithamitres* (vii. 67, where see note 219).

²⁵⁶ Ἰθαμίτρης. The MSS have ὁ Ἰθαμίτρης, doubtless from the confusion in uncial copies between ΙΘΑΜΙΤΡΗΣ and ΙΘΑΜΙΤΡΗΣ. In ix. 102, all have Ἰθαμίτρης or Ἰθαμίτρης, where the same person is meant.

²⁵⁷ ἀνωτέρω. The use of this word

here is very singular. But there is a similar one below: ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι, καταρρωδικτάς, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας, χρηζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς ἡῷ κατωτέρω Δήλου (§ 132). From the analogy of ἀνίεναί and κατέρχεσθαι, one may suppose that the phrases ἄνω and κάτω would respectively mean "away from" and "towards" some point regarded as a centre. In the present case this would be some place on the Asiatic main,—perhaps Ephesus, which was the port through which the commerce with Europe mainly passed. (See note 512 on i. 152.)

²⁵⁸ πολλόν. So Gaisford prints from S and V. The other MSS have πολλῶ.

²⁵⁹ ὁ δὲ ναυτικός. See above, note 253 on § 130.

²⁶⁰ τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω. In vi. 65, all the MSS, without any exception, make Agis

at *Ægina*
110 sail
strong.

Ἴπποκρατίδew, τοῦ Λευτυχίδew, τοῦ Ἀναξίλew, τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου, τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδew, τοῦ Θεοπόμπου, τοῦ Νικάνδρου, τοῦ Χαρίλλου, τοῦ Εὐνόμου, τοῦ Πολυδέκτεος, τοῦ Πρυτάνιος²⁶¹, τοῦ Εὐρυφώντος, τοῦ Προκλέος, τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου, τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου, τοῦ Κλεοδαίου, τοῦ Ὑλλου, τοῦ Ἡρακλέος· ἐὼν τῆς ἐτέρης οἰκῆς τῶν βασιλέων. οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν δυὼν τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι, βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης· Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος²⁶². Ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγινα πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες, ἀπίκοντο Ἰώνων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οἱ καὶ ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι, ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην· τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιλιγίδew ἦν· οἱ στασιῶται σφι γενόμενοι, ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ²⁶³, ἐόντες ἀρχὴν ἐπτά· ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροῖ

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They are
induced to
move as far
as *Delos*
by some
Ionian
exiles,

the grandfather of Leotyichides,—a difference which can only be accounted for by supposing different sources. CLINTON (*F. H.* ii. p. 209) considers the present passage corrupt. And there are doubtless many great difficulties in it. In the first place, Aristodemus and his three ancestors can in no way be said (conformably with ordinary accounts) to have been kings of Sparta, as the country was subdued in the time of Aristodemus at the very earliest. Again, all the descendants of Theopompus, from Anaxandrides to Hippocratides both inclusive, are unknown from any other authority as kings of Sparta. In their place PAUSANIAS (iii. 7. 5) gives Zeuxidamus (grandson of Theopompus, his father Archidamus having died), Anaxidamus, Archidamus, Agasicles, and Ariston. This Ariston is the person mentioned by Herodotus (vi. 61). In some other details Pausanias's list of the Procleid house differs from that of Herodotus. He puts a *Soüs* between Procles and Euryphon, which latter he calls Eurypon, and reverses the order of Eunomus and Polydectes. But it would be very rash to place implicit dependance upon any one list, and to attempt to correct the others by it, as there is little probability that any one rests upon contemporaneous records. See note 217 on i. 65.

²⁶¹ τοῦ Πρυτάνιος. One manuscript (F) omits this name.

²⁶² Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος

ὁ Ἀρίφρωνος. This was the father of the great Pericles. The reputation of Themistocles seems to have occasioned a difficulty in later times to account for his not appearing in command on this occasion; and DIODORUS puts together a number of facts to explain the matter. According to him, the distinction gained by the Athenians at Salamis was such, that a general opinion prevailed that they would put forward a claim to the hegemony. In order to thwart this, the Lacedæmonians by their influence caused the *ἀριστεία* to be adjudged to the Æginetans, as it seems from Herodotus (§ 122, above) was done. But now, dreading the effects of this, they found it necessary to conciliate Themistocles personally; and hence the distinctions which were heaped upon him. The Athenians in their turn, angry with Themistocles for receiving these honours, deposed him, and appointed Xanthippus in his place (xi. 27). A more simple explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact, that a new campaign having begun, new commanders were naturally appointed; and certainly the most important post for an Athenian statesman would no longer be at the head of the fleet, after the enemy's navy had been destroyed, and while he had an enormous army in Thessaly.

²⁶³ Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ. This Strattis was one of the Ionian dynasts who discussed the question whether they should destroy the bridge which Darius

ἐγένοντο, ἐξενείκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἑνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ, ἐξ ἑόντες, ὑπεξέσχον ²⁶⁴ ἐκ τῆς Χίου, καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην· οἱ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς μόγις μέχρι Δήλου· τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, οὔτε τῶν ^{but are afraid to go further.} χώρων ἐοῦσι ἐμπείροισι, στρατιῆς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι· τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν ²⁶⁵. συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου ²⁶⁶ μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι, καταρρωδηκότας· τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας, χρηϊζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς ἡῶ κατωτέρω Δήλου· οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφεων.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἔπλων ἐς τὴν Δήλον· Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ **133** τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε ²⁶⁷. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμεώμενος, ἔπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος ²⁶⁸, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐν- ^{During the winter passed by Mardonius in}

had thrown across the Ister, when the failure of his expedition into Scythia had become manifest (iv. 138). He had no doubt been replaced in his position by the Persians, when they recovered Ionia after the revolt had been crushed by the capture of Miletus (vi. 31). The dative case Σπράττι is analogous to Κλέοβι (i. 31), and also to the adjectives ἀχάρι and ἀπόλι (i. 41; ix. 61).

²⁶⁴ ὑπεξέσχον. See note 186 on v. 72.

²⁶⁵ τὴν δὲ Σάμον . . . ἴσον ἀπέχειν.

This observation has been noticed as an extravagant exaggeration on the part of the author. "His object is here, by an imaginary effect of contrast, to place in a more striking light the rapid increase during his own time, of nautical power and enterprize among his European fellow countrymen, of which result the victories he had just celebrated were a principal cause. And in his zeal to produce this illusive effect he would have us believe, that prior to the epoch of those victories the great central port of Samos, which was probably even in those days little less familiar to Attic merchants and seamen than the port of Piræus, was viewed by the Greek commanders stationed at Delos, within sight of this very Samos, much in the light of some *terra incognita* or *ultima Thule* of the eastern waters." (MURE, *Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*, iv. p. 405.) These remarks seem to leave out of consideration that the fleet was under the

command of a *Lacedæmonian*, totally unused to operations by sea, and that the "Hellenes" in the text have reference merely to the commandant and his staff. The feeling remarked with regard to the distance of Samos (not from Delos, but from Sparta) probably arose in a great measure from the failure of the enterprize against that island, recorded in iii. 56. That expedition, the first undertaken to Asia since the Dorian invasion, turned out so badly, that it is not wonderful if "a voyage to Samos" became proverbial at Sparta for an unlucky enterprize. It will be seen that next year, when the Spartan admiral adopted a more venturous policy, it was in the sequel of an *omen*, which in ancient ways of thinking would be regarded as a most important matter. If any superstitious persons thought that a spell was laid upon all expeditions to Samos, here was an indication that the spell was broken.

²⁶⁶ ἀνωτέρω Σάμου. See note 257 on § 130, above.

²⁶⁷ ἐχείμαζε. Herodotus elsewhere uses the form *χειμερίζειν* in this sense (see note 221 on § 113, above). And it is the more extraordinary that he should not have done so here, as he employs the word *χειμάζειν* in a different sense (vii. 191). See the note on that passage.

²⁶⁸ Εὐρωπέα γένος. There was a town called *Europus* in Macedonia, and another in Syria, the latter of which however is of later times than the conquest of Alexan-

Thessaly,
he consults
various
oracles
by one
Mys,

134

who for-
that pur-
pose visits
the cave of
Trophonius
at Lebadea,
Abœ in
Phocis, and
the temple of
the Isme-
nian Apollo
at Thebes;
also the

τελλάμενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν τῶν οἰά τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὅτι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθείεν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται· δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι. Χ Οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἐς τε Λεβιάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος, καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων²⁶⁹ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπύκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· (ἔστι δὲ, κατάπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ²⁷⁰, ἱροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάξασθαι) τοῦτο δὲ ξεινόν τινα²⁷¹ καὶ οὐ Θηβαίων χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμισε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω²⁷². Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι, διὰ τὸδε²⁷³. ἐκέλευσέ σφας ὁ Ἀμ-

der. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS also speaks of an Europus in Caria, and it has been generally assumed that Mys must have been a native of this. But the only colour for such a supposition seems to be the circumstance, that the Carians in subsequent times appear to have frequently acted as interpreters between the Greeks and the Persian officials. Tissaphernes sent with the Spartan admiral Mindarus πρεσβυτήν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ, Γαυλείτην ὄνομα, Κᾶρα δίγλωσσον. (THUCYDIDES, viii. 35.) Compare too XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, i. 2. 17. Stephanus, however, expressly says that the gentile name from the Carian Europus is Εὐρώπιος. I should be more disposed to think Mys a Macedonian, and belonging to a part of the population which was of Pelasgian or Achæan blood. (See below, note 276 on § 135.) The name *Europë* was a surname of Demeter in the ritual of Trophonius, whose nurse she was said to have been. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 39. 5.) It was therefore doubtless an Achæan or Pelasgian word.

²⁶⁹ ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων. The temple having been sacked and burnt the year before (see § 33, above), it seems at first sight strange that Mardonius should have endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the oracle. But certainly this outrage was committed by a division of the army which Mardonius did not command in person (see notes 69, 71, and 72 on §§ 33, 34), and perhaps on the present occasion compensation was tendered.

²⁷⁰ κατάπερ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ, "in the same way as at Olympia." This was through the appearances presented by the entrails

of the victim while burning. PINDAR says: Ὀλυμπία δέσποινα ἄλαθελος, ἵνα μάντιες ἄνδρες Ἐμπύροις τεκμαιρόμενοι παραπειρώσωνται Διὸς ἀργικεράνουν. (*Olymp.* viii. *init.*) Hence SOPHOCLES (*Œd. Tyr.* 21) uses the expression, ἐπ' Ἰσμηνοῦ τε μαντεῖα σποδῶ, where the Scholiast, on the authority of PHILOCHORUS, explains the words by asserting that the priests there resorted to this method of divination.

²⁷¹ ξεινόν τινα. Doubtless one of the perieciæ to whom the temple originally belonged. See the next note but one. PLUTARCH in one passage says that this individual was a Lydian (*Aristid.* § 19); in another he calls him a servant (*De oraculorum defectu*, § 5), and makes him receive the oracle φωνῇ Αἰολίδι.

²⁷² ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Some of the MSS have ἐς Ἀμφιάραον. But although the usage of language seems to have been to speak of Amphiarus himself, and not his oracle, as giving advice, and even to say, πέμπειν παρὰ Ἀμφιάρων (i. 46), and not παρὰ Ἀμφιάρεω μαντεῖον, yet κατακοιμίζειν τινὰ ἐς Ἀμφιάραον would certainly not be good Greek. HYPERIDES (*Pro Euxenippo*, col. 28) asks respecting his client, τί καὶ ἀδικεῖ δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ προσέταττε ταῦτ' ἐξαγγείλας; but describes his duty as having been commissioned, with two others, ἐγκατακλιθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. Of the ritual of Amphiarus, see note 164 on i. 52. Gaisford prints κατεκοίμισε on the authority of a single MS, instead of κατεκοίμισε.

²⁷³ διὰ τὸδε. The story which follows seems to be a mythical form of what may very reasonably be expected to have hap-

φιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιούμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἐλέσθαι <sup>shrine of Amphiar-
raus ;</sup> τούτων, ἑωυτῷ ἢ ἅτε μάντι χρέεσθαι, ἢ ἅτε συμμάχῳ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι· διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι. Τόδε δὲ θῶμά 135
μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων· ἐλθεῖν ἄρα τὸν <sup>that of
Apollo
Ptoüs at
Acræphnia,
where the
response was
made in a
strange lan-
guage, but
one under-
stood by
Mys, who
called it
Carian.</sup> Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφόμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτώου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτώον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς οὐρεῖ, ἀγχοτάτῳ Ἀκραιφνίης ²⁷⁴ πόλιος· ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπεὶ τε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλούμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἔπεσθαί οἱ τῶν ἀστών αἵρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινού, ὡς ἀπογραφομένους τὰ θεσπίειν ἔμελλε· καὶ πρόκατε ²⁷⁵ τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσση χρᾶν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θῶματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὃ τι χρῆσονται τῷ παρόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν· φάναι δὲ Καρίῃ μιν γλώσση χρᾶν ²⁷⁶. συγγραψάμενον δὲ οἴχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

pened upon the final settlement of the struggle between the Cadmean invaders and the aboriginal population of the country. Amphiaræus was a hero belonging to the mythology of the latter. He was propitiated and converted into an ally by respecting the privileges of his worshippers, or, in other words, by leaving his ritual in the hands of that race to which it belonged. It is to be remarked, that just before the battle of Leuctra, which led to the re-establishment of a Messenian and Arcadian influence in the Peloponnese, the Thebans consulted exactly the *same* oracles which Mys did on the occasion of Mardonius's commission, with the addition only of that of Delphi. And some connexion of the oracle at Delphi with that of Amphiaræus at Oropus appears from the argument of HYPERIDES (*Pro Euxenippo*, col. 28, line 21).

²⁷⁴ Ἀκραιφνίης. This is the reading of F, b, d. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has Ἀκραίφνης. But in PAUSANIAS (ix. 23. 5) the town is called Ἀκραίφνιον. It was a mere hamlet within the territory of Thebes until the destruction of that city by Alexander, when a portion of the population found refuge there. The tem-

ple of Apollo Ptoüs was fifteen *stades* from the town, on the right of the road which led to it from Thebes. The legend made *Ptoüs*, from whom the surname of the god was derived, a son of *Athamas* and *Themisto*. The poet *Asius* of Samos is regarded by Pausanias as the authority for it.

²⁷⁵ πρόκατε. See note 392 on i. 111.

²⁷⁶ Καρίῃ μιν γλώσση χρᾶν. In the time of PAUSANIAS, the local accounts related that Mys *consulted* the oracle in his own language, and not merely, as Herodotus puts it, understood the latter when speaking in a foreign tongue. This would be the more natural proceeding, if we suppose (which there is every reason to believe) that the oracle was originally founded antecedently to the invasion of the Cadmeans, and belonged to the old inhabitants of the country,—a population pretty nearly identical with the autochthonous part of the population of Attica, and with that of the Megarid at the time when the acropolis of Megara was called *Caria*. (See note 167 on v. 66.) An acquaintance with the ancient language would doubtless be preserved by the functionaries of the temple

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On receiving the responses of the several oracles, Mardonius despatches Alexander the Macedonian prince as a commissioner to Athens.

Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὃ τι δὴ ἦν λέγοντα τὰ χρηστήρια, μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω²⁷⁷, ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα²⁷⁸. ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν (Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγονέε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος· τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα²⁷⁹ πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι) ἅμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξενός τε εἶη καὶ εὐεργέτης²⁸⁰ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἔπεμπε· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεών τε πολλὸν ἄρα ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο· τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων, κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσειν, τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἦν· πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε πολλὸν εἶναι κρέσσων· οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατ'ὑπερθέ οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι [τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν²⁸¹]. τάχα

long after it ceased to exist, as a living one, in the neighbourhood. Most probably formularies in it constituted a portion of the religious service of the deity. The proceeding of Mys would be, in this view, analogous to that of a person who should address the Brahmins of Benares in Sanscrit, or the ecclesiastics of a Transalpine Romanist church in Latin. It would be a stroke of policy in Mardonius to employ as his agent an individual familiar with the religious system to which the temples visited by him belonged.

²⁷⁷ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω. For the conduct of this Alexander, in his younger days, to the Persian embassy at his father's court, see v. 19—21. But his Persian brother-in-law was the son of Megabazus, the chief who had organized the European continent from the Hellespont to the Strymon, and who stood in the highest favour with Darius. (See note 111 on vi. 44.) He therefore had doubtless modified his views, and probably hoped to become in Europe what Histæus had been in Asia. Compare the overtures of Hydarnes to the Spartans, Sperthias and Bulis (vii. 135).

²⁷⁸ ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα. This is the description by which Alexander is introduced to notice in vii. 173, where see the note.

²⁷⁹ Ἀλάβανδα. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS appears to have found the reading

Ἀλάβαστρα in his copy. But although Alabanda in *Caria* is well known, there is no notice elsewhere of an Alabanda in *Phrygia*, or of an Alabastra any where whatever.

²⁸⁰ πρόξενός τε εἶη καὶ εὐεργέτης. This connexion was probably one not with Athens, but with the Pisistratid dynasty. Amyntas, the father of Alexander, had offered Hippias the town Anthemus on his final abandonment of the attempt to recover Athens (v. 94). But after the discomfiture of the Persians at Salamis, and the growth of the power of the commonalty (which took such a start from that event; ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. p. 1304), it became an absolute necessity to represent the relations which formerly subsisted between the great dynastic families in a false light. See notes 197 and 201 on i. 60; notes 213 and 214 on i. 63; note 165 on v. 65; and note 315 on vi. 140. It is perhaps out of delicacy to democratic feelings that Alexander, both here and above, vii. 173 (where see the note), being spoken of as a friend to the Athenians, is described without any reference to his exalted position.

²⁸¹ [τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν]. One manuscript (S) has Ἑλλήνων, another Ἑλληνικῶν, and a third τὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, variations which induce the belief that the whole originate in a marginal gloss.

δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλευόντα σύμμαχον τὸ Ἀθηναῖον οἱ ποιήσασθαι τοῖσι δὴ πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε ²⁸².

Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἔβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ, ὁ 137
κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ²⁸³. ἔξ *Pedigree of*
Ἄργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημενοῦ ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελ- *the Mace-*
φεοὶ, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης· ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν *donian dy-*
ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν· *nasty, which*
ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐθήτευον ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ μὲν ἵππους *originally*
νέμων, ὁ δὲ βοῦς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν *sprang from*
προβάτων ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων *Argos; and*
ἀσθενέες χρήμασι ²⁸⁴, οὐ μόνον ὁ δῆμος· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως *legend of*
αὕτη τὰ σιτία σφι ἔπρεσσε· ὅπως δὲ ὀπτῶτο ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ *their first*
θητὸς Περδίκκew, διπλήσιος ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ· ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ *establish-*
τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ *ment in*
ἀκούσαντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα, ὡς εἴη τέρας καὶ φέροι ἐς μέγα τι *Macedonia.*
καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θήτας, προηγόρευέ σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς
τῆς ἑωυτοῦ· οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες,
οὕτω ἐξίεναι· ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἦν
γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε
θεοβλαβῆς γενόμενος· “μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε
ἀποδίδωμι” δείξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ
Ἀέροπος, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἔστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἤκουσαν
ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἶπας τάδε·
“δεκόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ διδοῖς ²⁸⁵,” περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς

²⁸² τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια . . . πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε. The manuscripts S and V have τάχα δὲ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγουσι, and S has τὸν Ἀθηναῖον. Instead of οἱ ποιήσασθαι, all but S and V have ποιῆσθαι. There can certainly be little doubt that Mardonius's object was not a purely superstitious one; but that he was endeavouring to shake the Greek confederacy by means of an appeal to the religious predilections of a portion of it.

²⁸³ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. THUCYDIDES so far coincides with Herodotus in his account of the origin of the Macedonian kings, as to make Perdicas the first of them, and Archelaus (the son of Alexan-

der) the eighth (ii. 100): The traditions therefore which both these writers follow are entirely distinct from those which make the original founder of the empire to be Caranus, a brother of Phidon the dynast of Argos.

²⁸⁴ ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι. The instances in the Homeric poems of Nausicaa employed in washing the garments of the family (*Odys.* vi. 57, seqq.), and of the brothers of Andromache slain while tending their father's herds (*Iliad.* vi. 422) will recur to every one.

²⁸⁵ δεκόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ διδοῖς. There is no “ambiguous answer” here as has been supposed. According to ancient

- τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον περιγράφας δὲ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνων.
- 138 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπήϊσαν· τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἷόν τι χρήμα ποιήσῃε ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὡς σὺν νόῳ κείνων ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα· ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, καὶ ὄξυνθεις, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἱππέας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Ἀργεος ἀπόγονοι σωτήρια²⁸⁶. οὗτος, ἐπεὶ τε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὕτω ἐρρῦν ὥστε τοὺς ἱππέας μὴ οἶους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι. οἱ δὲ, ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης, οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίεω· ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἔχον ἐξήκοντα φύλλα, ὁδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τούτοισι καὶ ὁ Σιλὴνός²⁸⁷ τοῖσι κήποισι ἦλω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων οὖρος κέεται, Βέρμιον²⁸⁸ οὖνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὀρμεώμενοι, ὡς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω Ἀλέξανδρος ὧδε ἐγεγόνεε· Ἀμύντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος· Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω· Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀέροπος· τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος· Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος· τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησιέμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. ἐγεγόνεε μὲν δὴ ὧδε Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω.
- 140 Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας²⁸⁹ ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἔλεγε τάδε· “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει²⁹⁰. ἐμοὶ

The *Gardens of Midas*, where the Macedonian legend places the *Capture of Silenus*.

Legation of Alexander to Athens,

ways of thinking the offer and the omen are inseparable from each other, and both from the actual object which was visible to the eye,—the sunlight streaming into the hut. Hence the gesture of Perdicas, as if securing his new possession. See notes on ix. 91, 92.

²⁸⁶ σωτήρια, “a thank-offering for preservation.” Several of the MSS have σωτήρι, which Gaisford adopts. But although the name σωτήρ is applied as a surname to many of the ancient deities, the position of the word at the end of the sentence, without any explanation that it was a surname, would be unusual.

²⁸⁷ ὁ Σιλὴνός. The legend of *Silenus*, and his dialogue with *Midas*, upon physical subjects as well as the philosophy of life, appears to have been a very popular one in antiquity. *THEOPOMPUS* seems to have gone most fully into the details of the matter. He made *Silenus* the son of a nymph, and to be something greater

than a man (for he was represented as immortal), although less than a deity (*ap. Elian. Var. Hist.* iii. 13). *ARISTOTLE* (*ap. Plutarch. Consolat.* § 27) introduced an allusion to *Silenus* in one of his own *exoteric* works, written in dialogue, entitled *Eudemus*, or *On the soul*. But this does nothing more than impute to him a peculiarly dark view of human existence. His sentiment is: ἄριστον γὰρ πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις μὴ γενέσθαι τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνυστὸν, δεύτερον δὲ, τὸ γενομένους ἀποθανεῖν ὡς τάχιστα.

²⁸⁸ Βέρμιον. S and K have Βέρβιον, which is confirmed by Valla's *sons Berbinus*. Another (d) has Κέρμιον.

²⁸⁹ ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. The Athenians apparently returned home immediately after the retreat of Xerxes's army northwards (§ 113), although the circumstance is not mentioned by Herodotus.

²⁹⁰ Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. See note

ἀγγελίῃ ἤκει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὕτω· Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς ἀμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας μετήμην· νῦν τε ὧδε, Μαρδόνιε, ποίει· τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος· τοῦτο δὲ, ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐλέσθων αὐτοὶ ἡντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι· ἰρά τε πάντα σφι, ἣν δὴ βούλωνται γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα. τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι ποίειν ταῦτα, ἣν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἀντίον²⁹¹ γένηται· λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε· νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλεῖ ἀνταειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλαισθε οὔτε οἰοί τε ἐστὲ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον· εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα· πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ' ἐμοὶ²⁹² εὐούσαν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ ἣν ἡμέας ὑπερβάλαισθε, καὶ νικήσητε, (τοῦπερ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπίς εἴπερ εἷ φρονέετε,) ἄλλη παρέσται πολλαπλησίη. μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε παρισεύμενοι βασιλεῖ,²⁹³ στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρας, θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν²⁹⁴. ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε· παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλέος ταύτῃ ὥρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχμῆν συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνετείλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας εὐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω· (οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε²⁹⁵.) προσχρηρίζω δὲ ὑμέων, πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ· ἐνορέω γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἰοισί τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ξέρξῃ· (εἰ γὰρ ἐνῶρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἂν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε·) καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἢ βασιλέος ἐστὶ, καὶ χεῖρ ὑπερμήκης²⁹⁶. ἣν ὦν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ' οἷσι ὁμολογέειν

118 on iii. 40. One manuscript (K) has for ἔλεγε τάδε simply λέγει, and then proceeds: ἀγγελίῃ ἤκει παρὰ βασιλέος, κ.τ.λ.

²⁹¹ ἀντίον. This is the ingenious emendation of Valcknaer, all the MSS having αἴτιον.

²⁹² παρ' ἐμοί. This is the reading of one manuscript (a). The rest, with one exception, have παρ' ἐμέ.

²⁹³ παρισεύμενοι βασιλεῖ, "putting yourselves on a footing with the king." The expression is used elsewhere of the proceeding of Aryandes, who, by issuing a coinage, put himself on the footing of an independent prince: παρισεύμενος Δα-

ρείῳ διεφθάρη (iv. 166). By refusing to become the vassals of the Persian king, the Athenians indirectly matched themselves with him.

²⁹⁴ θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν. A similar expression is used above (vii. 57): περὶ ἐωυτοῦ τρέχων.

²⁹⁵ οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε. This apparently refers to the communication made to the allies when they were encamped in the valley of the Peneus. See above, vii. 173.

²⁹⁶ χεῖρ ὑπερμήκης. OVID has rendered this proverbial expression into Latin: "An nescis longas regibus esse manus?" (*Heroid.* xvii. 166.)

ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων, ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεὶ τε φθειρομένων μούνων, ἐξαίρετόν τι μεταίχμιον τὴν γῆν κεκτημένων. ἀλλὰ πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεύς γε ὁ μέγας μούνουσι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀμαρτάδας ἀπιεὶς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι.”

141 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἤκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐς ὁμολογήν ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων²⁹⁷, ὥς σφεας χρεόν ἐστι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἀγγέλους· καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφέων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν· ἐπανέμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἤκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄγγελον ἐπ’ ὁμολογήῃ, πυθόμενοί τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους· ἐπίτηδες ὦν ἐποίευν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἐωυτῶν γνώμην. Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι· “ἡμέας δὲ ἔπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους ὑμέων, μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ διὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἤκιστα, πολλῶν εἵνεκα· ἐγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆς²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων. These prophecies are perhaps what Cleomenes had brought with him from Athens, after the failure of his attempt to establish Isagoras in power at that place. See v. 90. Possibly they may have been composed by Onomacritus, who appears to have been retained as a sort of family seer by the Pisistratids. The oracles, on the strength of which Hippias foretold ill to the Corinthians (v. 93), appear to have had the same general bearing as those referred to in the text.

²⁹⁸ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆς. Wesseling, very naturally surprised at such language as this from Lacedæmonian commissioners to the Athenians, was at one time inclined to read περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆθεν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο, in accordance with what Themistocles says to the Ionians: ἀρχῆθεν ἢ ἔχθη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ’

ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε (above, § 22). But the speech, although put into the mouth of a Spartan, is from an Athenian mint, and of a coinage later than the time when the ἡγεμονία was transferred from Lacedæmon to Athens. See the note 243 on v. 91. A similar remark is suggested by what presently follows: οἱ τινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλα φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. The Lacedæmonians had enjoyed the reputation of universal liberators while their supremacy lasted, which was owing to their habitual policy of substituting aristocratic for dynastic government wherever they could extend their influence. (See the beginning of the speech of the Corinthian Sosicles, v. 92, and THUCYDIDES, cited in the note 245 on the same.) When the Athenians stepped into their place as the leading city in Hellas, they earned the same title

to get up a separate alliance with Persia

141 is opposed by the Lacedæmonians.

142 Their arguments against it.

ὁ ἄγων ἐγένετο· νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι Ἀθηναίους, οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν²⁹⁹. οὔτινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζυμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διζῶν ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν· ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναικῆς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα³⁰⁰ πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκη. μὴ δὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λεήνας³⁰¹ τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον· τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστί· τύραννος γὰρ ἐὼν τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται· ὑμῖν δέ γε οὐ ποιητέα, εἴπερ εὖ τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβάροισι ἐστὶ οὔτε πιστὸν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε³⁰². "καὶ 143 αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἢ περ ἡμῶν· ὥστε οὐδὲν δέει τοῦτό γε ὀνειδίζειν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλευθερίας γλιχόμενοι ἀμυνέμεθα οὕτῳ ὅπως ἂν καὶ δυνώμεθα· ὁμολογῆσαι δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺν ἡμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείθειν, οὔτε ἡμέας πεισόμεθα. νῦν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἵη τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὁμολογήσειν ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ· ἀλλὰ θεοῖσι τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι

Answer of the Athenians to Alexander,

by supporting the commonalty against an aristocracy of families, whenever they could. In later times these two policies were popularly confounded with each other, which furnished the orators with abundant material for flattering the national vanity.

²⁹⁹ ἄλλως τε τούτων ἀπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι Ἀθηναίους, οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν. This sentence is not easy to explain. Schäfer reads ἀπαντώντων for ἀπάντων. Matthiæ explains the passage as if the word αἰτίους were intended to do double duty, and be, as it were, repeated: "and that Athenians, the cause of all these things, should become the cause of slavery to Hellas, is a matter not to be thought of." This view of the passage is considered to be supported by § 80, above: ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο

τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων, where see note 160. I should be more disposed to take τούτων ἀπάντων to mean "all these Hellenes," gathered inferentially from πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, and to translate: "and besides, that among all these Hellenic powers, Athenians should become the cause of slavery to Hellas," &c.

³⁰⁰ οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα. Compare i. 120: τὰ γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα. i. 193: τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα.

³⁰¹ λεήνας. See note 48 on vii. 9.

³⁰² ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. According to PLUTARCH (*Aristid.* § 10) the answer to Alexander was made by *Aristides*, who was authorized to return it by a public decree. The terms are, as was to be expected, more energetic than they appear in Herodotus.

τῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐδεμίαν ὅπιν ἔχων³⁰³, ἐνέπρησε τοὺς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίneo Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργεῖν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν παραίνεε· οὐ γάρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν³⁰⁴, ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον³⁰⁵.” Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε· “τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπήϊον ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχροῦς γε οἶκατε, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ φρόνημα, ἀρρωδησαι· ὅτι οὔτε χρυσὸς ἐστὶ γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρα κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοισιν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλὰ τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν, μηδ’ ἢν ἐθέλωμεν· πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα³⁰⁶, τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα· τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον, ἥπερ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ· αὐτὶς δὲ, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὼν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσόν, καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι, ἥθεά τε ὁμότροπα· τῶν προδότας

³⁰³ οὐδεμίαν ὅπιν ἔχων. The word ὅπιν is used below, ix. 76. But the word is otherwise peculiar to the Homeric poems, or rather is to be considered as an Ionic phrase, remaining only in them.

³⁰⁴ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν. In the time of the orators it was currently believed that Alexander narrowly escaped stoning at the hands of the Athenians on this occasion. (LYCURGUS, *c. Leocrat.* § 72, p. 156.) He represents him however as coming from *Xerxes*, not from Mardonius.

³⁰⁵ ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον. See above, note 280 on § 136.

³⁰⁶ πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα. After the victory of the allies at Plataea, it became a popular view of the war at Athens to represent it as one waged against the Persians in revenge for the outrages they had committed in destroying the temples of the Hellenic deities. In this spirit is the oath conceived, which according to the orator LYCURGUS (*c. Leocrat.* § 82, p. 158) was taken by the *collective allies* just before the battle at Plataea: οὐ ποιήσομαι περὶ πλείονος τὸ ζῆν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐδὲ καταλείψω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὔτε ζώντας οὔτε ἀποθανόντας· ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ

τελευτήσαντας τῶν συμμάχων ἅπαντας θάψω· καὶ κρατήσας τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδεμίαν τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων πόλεων ἀνάστατον ποιήσω· τὰς δὲ τὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου προελομένας ἀπάσας δεκατεύσω· καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν οἰκοδομήσω παντάπασιν, ἀλλ’ ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις εἶσω καταλείπεσθαι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας. ISOCRATES (*Panegyric.* p. 73) attributes the resolution respecting the temples to the *Ionians*; and as no temple was burnt in the Peloponnese (from which the greater part of the allied force was drawn), this seems the more probable statement of the two. But in fact THEOPOMPUS, who was himself a scholar of ISOCRATES, asserted that the oath is an Athenian fiction (*fragm.* 167); a circumstance which peeps out from under the observation of Lycurgus, that the allies drew up the formula οὐ παρ’ αὐτῶν εὐρόντες, ἀλλὰ μιμησάμενοι τὸν παρ’ ὑμῖν εἰθισμένον ὅρκον (§ 81). The resolution sworn to at the commencement of the war by the Peloponnesian confederates (vii. 132) is of a much more practical character.

γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ καὶ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἰς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὁμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ³⁰⁷. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίην τὴν ἐς ἡμέας ἔχουσιν³⁰⁸, ὅτι προείδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφθορημένων οὕτω, ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας· καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται· ἡμέες μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν οὕτω ὅπως ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὥς οὕτω ἐχόντων, στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε· ὥς γὰρ ἡμέες εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκὰς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πύθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν ἐκείνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν ὧν παρῆναι ἐκείνους ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ προσβωθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην." οἱ μὲν, ταῦτα ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.

³⁰⁷ ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἰς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων . . . ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ. It is difficult not to feel some scepticism about the sincerity of these sentiments, when it is considered how very soon afterwards (according to Herodotus's own account) the Athenians pressed upon the Lacedæmonians (ix. 6) that they had the option of an alliance with Persia. After the entire discomfiture of the invaders, and the developement of Hellenic national power which immediately followed, it became an object of emulation among the several states to

make themselves out deadly enemies to the barbarian. Just in the same way the Parisians under the Directory took pride in having had relations guillotined during the reign of terror.

³⁰⁸ τὴν ἐς ἡμέας ἔχουσιν. This is the reading of Gaisford and the manuscripts S and V. The others have the variation τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐοῦσαν. Here the difference is apparently to be attributed to an original diversity of διασκευαί, and not, as in v. 81, to the introduction into the text of an explanatory gloss.

EXCURSUS ON VIII. 76.

IN describing the details of the battle of Salamis, modern writers have, without any exception so far as I am aware, been almost exclusively guided by the narrative of Herodotus; bestowing little or no attention on those features of the transaction which appear in other writers, and which are in some cases altogether incompatible with the details of the historian's account. This is the more to be wondered at, as Herodotus himself plainly intimates, that there were many particulars about which he was unable to speak positively¹; while about some there was a very great disagreement at the time he wrote². COLONEL LEAKE, whose view of the matter seems to have been adopted unhesitatingly by the best modern historians of Greece, gives what appears to me a very false turn to these facts, by the remark, "that, instead of giving a consecutive narrative of the battle, Herodotus has related only a few of the most interesting occurrences; *consistently with that determination not to be responsible for any but ascertained facts*, which is observable in every part of his history of the Persian invasion³."

No person can have a higher opinion of the truthfulness of the so-called Father of History than myself, if by this is meant no more than an honest desire to relate such accounts as he received, in the form in which he received them,—to judge on principles of common sense between conflicting statements,—and to avoid the appearance

¹ viii. 87.

² viii. 94, where see note 185.

³ *Athens and the Demi of Attica*, Appendix II. p. 264.

of bestowing credence upon such stories as seemed to him manifestly not to merit it. For this, and for the clear eye of an observer, he deserves entire credit. But neither the character of Herodotus's work, nor any thing which has been related of himself by the ancients, warrant us in attributing to him that searching criticism which should lead us (as it might in the case of Thucydides or Aristotle) to prefer his statements to those of a contemporary witness of the events described,—especially if such a one's position had made him an active participator in them.

Now in the case of the battle of Salamis we have the account of a contemporary, deserving of the closest attention,—which, if it had proceeded from a prose-writer, it would probably have received. But the unconscious association in modern minds between the ideas of *poetry* and *fiction* has, I believe, deprived the great Greek dramatist of his due weight with our historians. Æschylus, who, even if he did not himself take a part in the action⁴, most undoubtedly was perfectly familiar with it under the aspect which it must have borne to those who did take part in it, produced his play *The Persians*, of which it constitutes the main feature, only seven years afterwards, before an audience chiefly made up of the very men who had manned the victorious galleys; to whom consequently every line of his description must have vividly recalled circumstances with which they were perfectly familiar. If his availableness for the purpose of the modern historian is somewhat curtailed in one respect, that before such an audience he could not enter into details with which they were well acquainted, although it would be most interesting for us to know them,—details most appropriate to the historian, and which we are thankful to Herodotus for preserving⁵,—there is on the other hand an advantage which he possesses without a rival. It was alto-

⁴ Late writers assert, or assume, that he did (PAUSANIAS, i. 14. 5). But though it is very possible that such was the case, these writers are little to be depended upon for a fact, six centuries old if true, unless it appears that there is some intermediate authority to which they had access. Pausanias seems merely to speak on the strength of the current opinion of his time.

⁵ It is only through an indirect allusion that we can at all infer from Æschylus that Athens had been burnt, and that the whole hopes of the citizens lay in the fleet at Salamis:—

ἔτ' ἄρ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐστ' ἀπόρρητος πόλις,
ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων, ἕρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές.—v. 348, 9.

gether impossible for him, without the certainty of disapproval, to present any view of the transaction which did not commend itself to *Athenian eye-witnesses*,—full, we may allow, of national prejudices and personal vanity, and quite ready to accept any *grouping* of the facts which actually occurred that might most flatter themselves, but still eye-witnesses, who would be at once revolted by any picture which contradicted their actual experience. Herodotus, it should be remembered, whatever weight we may please to attach to his individual judgment, is exempted from this corrective influence. Supposing him to have been actuated by even a *critical* spirit, in the modern sense of the word,—of which however there is not the slightest trace,—his facts were a generation old; the Athenians of his time were the sons and grandsons of those before whom the *Persians* was acted; and in the forty years or more that had elapsed since the battle, its story had been told over and over again in every family, as the twentieth day of Boëdromion returned, and the school-boys had a holiday to go and see the procession of Iacchus. It is not at all necessary to suppose wilful misrepresentation on the part of those who fought their battles over again to their children and grandchildren on their knees, in order to believe that the gallant bearing of the Athenian sailors, and the brilliant acts of individual commanders, together with such exciting incidents as the device of Artemisia to escape destruction, were more interesting both to tell and hear, than the accurate notice of times and places and other circumstances attending the movements of the forces engaged; although these were of far more vital importance to success, and by the actual combatants would at the time be felt to be so.

I assume it, therefore, as an axiom, that when Æschylus does relate any particulars of the action of such a kind as *must* have come under the notice of eye-witnesses, his narrative possesses paramount authority; and that if any incident, or any special notice of time or place appears in Herodotus irreconcilable with these, it must be regarded as erroneous. On the other hand, if any circumstance recorded by the historian, of difficult explanation when we merely regard its agreement with his main story, be yet found to harmonize well with the course of events contemplated in the dramatic narrative, it is to be received without hesitation.

Now, in the description of Herodotus there is room for the appli-

cation of each of these principles. It is, I believe, quite incompatible with the view of the battle taken by Æschylus, that the engagement should have commenced—which Herodotus *implies* it to have done—with the Persian fleet formed in line *along* the strait between Salamis and the main. This is the position assigned to it by Leake, and it is a view in which he has been unhesitatingly followed. Assuming this position to be the true one, Leake naturally finds a difficulty in the well-known passage of Herodotus⁶, in which it is stated that with a view of enclosing the Greeks between the island Salamis and the main, the Persians caused a squadron of ships at *Ceos* and another at *Cynosura* to close up. *Cynosura* was the name of the cape forming the northern headland of the bay of Marathon⁷, and as this was more than sixty geographical miles from Salamis,—a distance which could not be completed in the time required,—and as HESYCHIUS adds that it was a generic name given to every thing like a peninsula, Leake identifies it with the cape of *St. Barbara* (Aghía Varvára), in the island Salamis. But independently of there being no foundation in ancient writers for this arbitrary allocation, *Ceos*, the island to the S.E. of Sunium, is more than forty geographical miles from Salamis;—a distance almost equally unmanageable in the time which Herodotus allows for the operation. Leake is therefore driven to the necessity of supposing “it is possible that *Ceos* may have been a place in Salamis, or on the Attic coast opposite to Cape *Cynosura*: it is also possible that there is some error in the text⁸.” I will endeavour to show in the sequel that *Ceos* and *Cynosura* are respectively the well-known island and cape, and that the real difficulty is occasioned, not by their distance, but by the erroneous notion conceived by Herodotus of the operations of the Persian fleet, which is to be corrected by the help of the description of Æschylus.

Before, however, proceeding to contrast the narrative of the two writers who come near to the time of the events they describe, it will be well to turn for a while to that of DIODORUS. Of course no one would wish to compare so vague and modern a compiler with Herodotus, if the question were merely between the judgment of the one and the other; but in this instance our attention is attracted by the fact that in his description of this celebrated action, he is not

⁶ viii. 76.⁷ HESYCHIUS, *sub v.*⁸ See note 154 on viii. 76.

epitomizing from Herodotus and superadding further facts from his various collections, but is undoubtedly following an entirely different authority;—a circumstance the more remarkable, as a very short time before, he had been taking Herodotus as his text-book. According to the latter, after the Persian fleet had been collected in the bay of Phalerum, the army having in the mean time overrun the whole of Attica and burnt Athens, a council of war is held, and the result of this is, that on the day before the great engagement, it having been determined to fight by sea in the presence of the king, the fleet (or at least the main portion of it) advances to Salamis, and makes dispositions at its leisure with the intention of engaging the next day; while the vanguard of the army marches the same evening upon the isthmus of the Peloponnese, where the Greeks were assembled to oppose it. Diodorus, for his part, makes the Persian fleet proceed at once from the open sea, to attack the Greeks who are drawn up *across* the strait of Salamis, their line occupying the ferry between the island and the Heracleum on the main⁹. Other circumstances in which he differs from Herodotus will be mentioned in the sequel; but here it is sufficient to direct attention to the important point, that according to the authority he followed (whatever it may have been), the great engagement begins by the Persians attempting to force their way into the eastern entrance of the strait of Salamis, the Greek line being drawn up *across it* to oppose them; while in Herodotus they are supposed to be already within the strait and drawn up in line *along* it, the Greeks being ranged opposite to them along the northern coast of Salamis.

Now if we turn to Æschylus, we find another important variation. His description makes the Persians completely taken by surprise, the Greeks advancing upon them at daybreak quite unexpectedly, and they themselves having made preparations, not for fighting, but only for intercepting an enemy which they imagine to be dispersing stealthily. The narrator attributes the whole calamity which has befallen his countrymen to the false intelligence sent by Themistocles. So indeed do Herodotus and Diodorus. But in those two writers the only benefit resulting to the Greeks from the movements which that intelligence occasioned is, that they are compelled to give up all

thoughts of retreating, and to put confidence in themselves. Far different is it in the view of the dramatic poet. With him the intelligence becomes the cause of the Persians altering a disposition which was favourable for fighting,—taking up one in which they were quite disqualified for engaging,—and, *while in this*, being brought unexpectedly to an action. This will be plain if attention be given to the several features brought prominently forward in his description, although the very fact of his audience having been engaged in the battle would necessarily (as observed above) prevent him from detailing the manœuvres in the way that would be proper for an historian.

Taking Herodotus as our guide up to the point where Æschylus's description commences, we have the great bulk of the Persian war galleys, on the day before the action, advanced from Phalerum to Salamis, too late in the day to render it desirable to fight; so that all they do is to make at their leisure arrangements for engaging the next day. There is every reason to believe that their disposition was *within* the strait of Salamis, along the coast of the main, from the roots of Mt. Ægaleos on the west to the headland opposite Cape St. Barbara, in Salamis, on the east. This would, in fact, be a very advantageous position. The whole of the coast behind them was lined with the flower of the Persian army, so that if in the approaching engagement the galleys should chance to be driven on shore, they would be secure of protection. Their ships were high out of the water, so that a strong breeze would have been productive of much inconvenience to them by rendering them difficult to steer¹⁰. Here, being land-locked, they would be to a great extent protected from this evil. The great numbers of their vessels would enable them to extend their line beyond that of the enemy, without at the same time weakening it; and the narrow channel being unfavourable to manœuvring, there seemed every prospect of using with great effect the Sacan and Persian archers from the forecastles of their vessels,—the archers being an arm in which they placed the greatest confidence¹¹, and as the

¹⁰ PLUTARCH, *Themistocles*, § 14.

¹¹ In addition (it would seem) to the native marines, thirty Persians, Sacans, or Medes were embarked in that capacity on each of the ships furnished by the foreign dependencies (vii. 184). These would probably be all archers. The Athenian ships at Salamis had only sixteen marines, of which four were archers, on board of each.

battle of Plataea showed¹², with perfect reason. It is after this position has been taken up, opposite to the allied fleet of probably less than half the number of vessels, lying in the bight of Salamis to the west of the Silenian promontory (Aghia Varvára), that the treacherous message of Themistocles is brought to the Persian commander. Here the detailed narrative of Æschylus begins; and every single particular of it was doubtless intended to have weight. The instant the Persian admiral receives the intelligence, he obviously dismisses all thoughts of a battle from his mind, and bends his whole attention to taking measures for preventing the escape of the supposed fugitives. Orders are *at once* issued to all the captains for a movement, which is to be carried out as soon as it should be dark¹³. In the mean time every thing is done which could be done, without attracting attention, to facilitate the intended operations. The men have their supper rations distributed to them, and make their oars fast to the pins¹⁴. *As soon as it is dark*, sailors and marines embark at once, and, encouraging one another with cheers, repair to their respective stations¹⁵, the orders having been to block each entrance

(PLUTARCH, *Themistocles*, § 14.) Hence the appropriateness of the complaint of the Persian messenger in the play of Æschylus, that the course of events prevented this superiority from being made available:—

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤρκει τόξα· πᾶς δ' ἀπάλλυτο
στρατὸς δαμασθεὶς ναίοισιν ἐμβολαῖς.—*Pers.* 273.

¹² See ix. 61.

¹³ ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ὥς ἤκουσεν, οὐ ξυνεὶς δόλον
Ἑλληνος ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φθόνον,
πᾶσιν προφωνεῖ τόνδε ναύαρχοις λόγον.—*vv.* 361—3.

¹⁴ δεῖπνόν τ' ἐπορσύνοντο, ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ
ἐτροποῦτο κώπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρετμον.—*vv.* 375, 6.

¹⁵ ἐπεὶ δὲ φέγγος ἡλίου κατέφθιτο
καὶ νύξ ἐπῆει, πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἄναξ
ἐς ναὺν ἐχώρει, πᾶς θ' ὕπλων ἐπιστάτης.
τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὼς μακρᾶς,
πλέουσι δ' ὥς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος.—*vv.* 377—81.

Herodotus, who makes the Persian movement begin *at midnight*, says that it was executed in silence, that the Greeks might not perceive what was being done (viii. 76). But in the view of Æschylus, the only object was to *get the start* of the Greeks in a race to the outlets of the channel. Accordingly, though preparations for getting rapidly under weigh are made in secrecy before sunset, yet when once off, there is no occasion for the observance of silence, and the men encourage one another by cheers as they push for their several stations. The outlets once blocked, the Greeks were caught.

of the channel of Salamis with a triple line of galleys, and to post others all round the island¹⁶. If the Greeks escape, they are to lose their heads¹⁷. All night long they are kept cruising: strange! time passes, and the Greeks have never attempted to get away¹⁸. Morning breaks, and the first thing they hear is the clear sound of the Greek pæan re-echoed from the island rocks. A panic comes over them: they have been deluded! that solemn pæan means any thing but flight¹⁹! A trumpet sound kindles up all the region where the enemy is, and immediately there is the simultaneous dash of oars in water, and he is plainly discovered advancing in full force²⁰. First, the right wing led, in perfect order, and next the whole fleet advanced; and at the same instant loud shouts were heard, "On, children of Greece! now have ye every thing at stake²¹." The cry of the Persians responds to the sound; there is no time for delay, and ship *at once* turns upon ship with brazen beak²², the onset commencing by a Greek galley crippling a Phœnician one. Surprised however as the barbarians are, they do not fly. *A stream* of ships at

¹⁶ τάξει νεῶν στίφος μὲν ἐν στίχοις τρισὶν
ἔκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλιρρόθους,
ἄλλας δὲ κύκλω νῆσον Αἶαντος περίξ.—vv. 366—8.

¹⁷ ὥς εἰ μόνον φευξοῖσθ' Ἑλλήνες κακὸν,
ναυσὶν κρυφαίως δρασμὸν εὐρόντες τινὰ,
πᾶσιν στέρεσθαι κρατὸς ἦν προκείμενον.—vv. 369—71.

¹⁸ καὶ πάννυχτοι δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασαν
ναῶν ἀνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεῶν
καὶ νῆς ἐχώρει, κοῦ μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς
κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο.—vv. 382—5.

¹⁹ — φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν
γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὥς φυγῇ
παιῶν' ἐφύμνον σεμνὸν Ἑλλήνες τότε,
ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὀρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει.—vv. 391—4.

²⁰ σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἔκειν' ἐπέφλεγεν
εὐθὺς δὲ κώπης ῥοθιάδος ξυνεμβολῇ
ἔπαισαν ἄλμην βρύχιον ἐκ κελεύσματος,
θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν.—vv. 395—8.

²¹ τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐντάκτως κέρας
ἡγεῖτο κόσμῳ· δεῦτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος
ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῆν ὁμοῦ κλύειν
πολλὴν βοήην· ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἵτε, κ.τ.λ.—vv. 399—405.

²² — κοῦκ ἔτ' ἦν μέλλειν ἀκμή,
εὐθὺς δὲ ναὺς ἐν νηϊ χαλκῆρη στόλον
ἔπαισεν.—vv. 407—9. Compare note 11, above.

first makes head against the assailants; but their numbers crowded together in a narrow space prevent mutual aid. They run into each other and sweep away one another's oars. In the mean time the Greeks with no little skill *surround* them, keeping up a continued onset with their beaks²³, till the whole sea is concealed from view by the wrecks of capsized gallees and the corpses of men. Finally, the whole fleet takes to flight in disorder, followed closely by the victors, who present the spectacle of fishermen pursuing a shoal of tunny-fish and destroying them with broken oars and fragments of wreck. The wail of despair spreads over the *open* sea²⁴, until night puts an end to the pursuit.

It appears to me perfectly impossible to reconcile this account with the view which Colonel Leake (justified as he certainly appears to be by the narrative of Herodotus²⁵) takes of the relative positions of the two navies at the commencement of the battle. If the triple line of the Persians had been drawn up, as he imagines, *along* the strait which separates Salamis from the main, immediately opposite to the line of the Greeks, they could not have been attacked unexpectedly²⁶; the right wing of the enemy would not have been first seen leading the onset; they themselves in their efforts to get into action would have presented nothing like the appearance of a *stream* of ships; there is no reason why they should have run aboard of each other; and least of all—their line extending from the entrance of the Piræus to beyond the western extremity of Mount Ægaleos—would the enemy, who can have extended scarcely half the distance, have been able to *surround* them. It may be added, that when they began to retreat, none but the easternmost part of the line could by any possibility have escaped into the open sea; neither would it have occurred to them to attempt it, when in their immediate rear

²³ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν δὴ βεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ
ἀντεῖχεν· ὥς δὲ πλήθος ἐν στενωφὶ νεῶν
ἤθροιστ', ἀρωγὴ δ' οὔτις ἀλλήλοις παρήν,
αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβολαῖς χαλκοστόμοις
παίοντ', ἔθραυον πάντα κωπήρη στόλον,
'Ελληνικαὶ τε νῆες οὐκ ἀφραδμόνως
κύκλω φέριξ ἔθεινον, κ.τ.λ.

²⁴ — οἴμωγὴ δ' ὁμοῦ

κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἄλα.—v. 426, 427.

²⁵ viii. 70, compared with §§ 76, 84, and 91.

²⁶ Herodotus makes not the Greeks but the Persians the attacking party (viii. 84).

the whole coast was lined with their own troops, who, on their beaching their galleys, would have furnished them with effectual protection,—a course as natural in ancient warfare as running under the guns of a friendly battery would be in modern. Moreover the island Psyttalea would not have been in the middle of the line of collision²⁹, but quite at the extremity; and the wrecks would have been carried by the afternoon swell rather into the bay at the head of which stands the Heracleum, than, as they actually were, on to Cape Colias³⁰.

All these difficulties will be avoided if we take a different view of the object of Themistocles's stratagem, and suppose that his design was not merely to induce the enemy to surround the Greeks and so compel them to fight, but also to bring him into such a position as, at the beginning of the engagement, to be just *entering* the narrow channel where Leake supposes him to be already drawn up in fighting order. Supposing the invading fleet to have taken up the position which Leake assigns to them, the afternoon before the battle—a supposition which has the apparent sanction of Herodotus, and is not opposed to Æschylus—the movements which would follow the change of plan produced by Themistocles's message would naturally bring about this result. The westernmost squadron of the Persian line would move on to block the narrow outlet between Salamis and the coast of Megaris. The squadron at Ceos might from the point of Sunium be signaled to close up near to Ægina, and that at Cynosura to make sail round Sunium; and the remainder of the fleet in the channel, passing outwards by the eastern strait, would take their stations round the s.e. side of the island Salamis, the last of them (which we shall presently see would be the Phœnicians) blocking the narrow entrance with a triple line of galleys. When morning broke the land breeze would be blowing; and if they desired to re-enter the channel, the Phœnician ships, their crews fatigued with their labour throughout the night, would be obliged to pull against it round the head of the Silenian promontory (Aghía Varvára) and through the narrow channel between Psyttalea and the main. The Greeks (I apprehend) timed their movements so as to

²⁹ ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος (viii. 76).

³⁰ viii. 96.

attack them just at this conjuncture. The right wing would thus be seen by the enemy apparently leading, but the object being to wheel into line by bringing forward the extreme left, the Athenians (which were there stationed) would be quite as likely as any others to be well up in front when the actual shock took place³¹. They would make this with the advantage of the wind, and success would be nearly certain. The headmost ships of the Persians would be crippled, and would drift back upon those who advanced to support them from the rear; these as they pressed forward would enter a continually narrowing channel, and not only fall aboard of each other, but have their oars swept away by those which had been previously crippled. The triple line would be thrown into disorder, and the crowd of advancing vessels, each pressing forward as it best might, would present the appearance so graphically described by Æschylus as "a stream" of ships. As the head of the column got clear of the narrow passage, it would be "surrounded" by the Hellenic line and at once destroyed. This state of things would continue so long as the invaders continued their attempt to force the passage; but when they gave this up and retreated, the pursuit would continue on the *open* sea, over which (as Æschylus says) the cries of the enemy were heard as they were being destroyed.

The description of the naval part of the engagement by the dramatic poet ceases here. The formidable resistance made by the Ionians, of which Herodotus speaks³², finds no mention in him. This is exactly what might be expected. At the time *The Persians* was acted liberty had been restored to the Asiatic Greeks, and good taste forbade the mention of any passage of arms between them and their European brethren. But still the course of proceedings in the engagement which the description of Æschylus indicates affords an explanation of what is related in Herodotus respecting

³¹ Athenian vanity, a generation afterwards, would scarcely fail to turn this movement to account. To effect the manœuvre it would be necessary for the extreme right of the allies to remain stationary, or even back their galleys, while the speed of the others would be proportioned to their distance from the right, the pivot on which the whole wheeled. This is, I believe, the fact, which in a distorted form became the statement of Herodotus: οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι "Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρόμῳνῃ ἀνεκρούοντο, καὶ ὠκελλον τὰς νῆας· Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐξαναχθεὶς, νητὶ ἐμβάλλει (viii. 84).

³² viii. 85.

the Ionians. If the Persian fleet had, in the night before the battle, taken up the position I have supposed in the order which Diodorus's authority gives, the Ionians would be the furthest removed from the narrow channel where the action commenced, and in fact so placed that they could not have acted until the Phœnicians were out of the way. If, too, the Athenians were the part of the Greek fleet which began the battle, the remainder of the allies would not have come into the front until after the enemy had been forced back through the eastern strait. Hence the Peloponnesian force would be the part of the fleet brought into collision with the Ionian contingent; but this would not be until the channel was cleared and they had got out into the open sea, where naturally the efforts of the Ionians would be more fruitful. But still at the time these were brought into action, they would have been rowing ever since sunset on the preceding day, and would be encouraged to the treason previously suggested to them by Themistocles, by seeing the entire ruin that had fallen upon the Phœnician squadron. It is not therefore a matter of surprise that they too should have given way, although their resistance was beyond all comparison the most effective of any rendered by the several contingents that made up the navy of the invaders.

Various insulated particulars which appear here and there in the narratives of Plutarch and Diodorus, as well as that of Herodotus, receive some illustration from the above remarks. Plutarch says that Themistocles did not begin the action until the usual breeze *set in from the sea*, causing a swell to set into the straits; and that the effect of this was most detrimental to the Persian ships, which were high out of the water and top-heavy, and being caught by the wind could not be steered well; so that they laid their flanks open to the beaks of the Hellenic gallees³³. Here what Plutarch does is merely to confound the *land* breeze which is blowing at daybreak—the time at which the engagement really commenced—and the *sea* breeze—which sets in late in the forenoon, and which doubtless had the effect he mentions,—not indeed upon ships engaged *within* the channel (where the island Salamis, as above observed, would have served as a breakwater), but upon vessels in the open sea, which, in

³³ *Themist.* § 14.

the course of events I have sketched out, would naturally first come into action several hours after daybreak.

Diodorus also, although here, as elsewhere, his notions of the course of proceeding are extremely vague, goes to confirm the view above taken. He makes (as I have observed) the Greek line of battle to be formed *across* the strait between Salamis and the main (τὸν πόρον μεταξύ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἡρακλείου κατέχον), not, as Leake makes it, *along* the same. And he also supposes the advance of the Persians to be from the open sea into the narrow. "They held their course," he says, "at first in good order, for they had plenty of sea-room; but on entering the channel they were obliged to withdraw some of the ships from the line, and made terrible confusion. The admiral, too, who led and began the action, was killed after a brilliant struggle, and when his ship was sunk, confusion spread over the barbarian fleet; for orders were given by many, and each one issued different commands; so that they desisted from a forward course, and, backing their gallies, retired into the open sea; upon which the Athenians, seeing the confusion of the barbarians, advanced upon them³⁴." . . . It is obvious that this description is quite compatible with the view which I have taken, and agrees with the narrative of Æschylus as well as the vague account of a writer compiling his history hastily from books five hundred years after the event can be expected to agree with the vivid description of an eye-witness; but that it is altogether incompatible with the notion of Leake.

It is also to be observed that the naval force of the Persians was arranged, according to Diodorus, *by nations*, in order (he says) that the crews who understood one another's language might be near to each other, and able to express to one another the need they might have for assistance. Arranged on this principle, he says, the Phœnicians occupied the right wing, and the Greeks in the Persian service the left³⁵. But if this idea was really acted upon, the most natural place for the *Egyptians* would be beyond the Phœnicians on the extreme right: for the great intercourse between Phœnicia and Egypt would certainly produce some facility of oral communication between the maritime and fluvial population of these two countries. Now if the Egyptians really did occupy the extreme right, when the

³⁴ xi. 19.

³⁵ xi. 17.

Persian fleet took up the position along the strait of Salamis, which Herodotus indicates, (although Diodorus himself says nothing about it,) *the day before* the battle,—and if the movements were such as I have above supposed³⁶,—the Egyptian squadron would be exactly the one whose position rendered it desirable for it to move westward for the purpose of blocking the western channel; and after it had been detached for this purpose, the Phœnicians would *remain* (as Diodorus places them) the extreme right of the Persian fleet. And it also happens that the especial service of blocking the western channel actually was, according to Diodorus's express statement, assigned to the *Egyptians*, although, by the way he mentions the matter, he does not imagine that at the time they were moved they were actually in line in the channel of Salamis, but rather conceives of them as despatched from Phalerum³⁷.

Again, Herodotus mentions that when the battle was over, the victorious Greeks towed in to Salamis “as much of the wreck of the destroyed vessels as remained still in that part,” but that a large quantity was carried by the west wind on to Cape Colias³⁸. This is exactly the description of what would occur under the circumstances which have been sketched out. The conflict beginning at the entrance of the channel of Salamis, just as the head of the Persian column rounded the Silenian headland and the northern extremity of Psyttalea (*the land breeze* blowing at the time), part of the wrecks would be caught by the point and the island³⁹, but a large portion would drift out into the open water till the *sea breeze* sprang up, which, as it took them, would carry them in the direction of which

³⁶ Herodotus says that the Persians surrounded their opponents by moving their right wing round to the island and closing up the eastern channel with the squadrons from Ceos and Cynosura: ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ’ ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλοῦμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα· ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέα τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσὶ (§ 76). This, as Leake says, is an impossibility.

³⁷ xi. 17.

³⁸ viii. 96.

³⁹ As, for instance, the body of Artembares was, which

στύφλους παρ’ ἀκτὰς θείνεται Σειληνίων.—*Pers.* 303.

The bodies would not float like the wrecks, and therefore it was the island Salamis and the immediate neighbourhood where *they* were chiefly found.

πλήθουσι νεκρῶν δυσπότμως ἐφθαρμένων

Σαλαμῖνος ἀκταὶ πᾶς τε πρόσχωρος τόπος.—*Pers.* 273.

Herodotus speaks. Had the action taken place where Leake supposes, the wreck could not have been carried any thing like so far along the coast of Attica.

That eminent topographer appears to have been led in no small degree to form the view which he has taken of the position of the Persian fleet, from the interpretation which he has put upon an oracle which Herodotus records and mentions as having been strikingly fulfilled by the course of events. Ruin is predicted in a prophecy of Bacis to the arrogant invaders, "when they with their ships shall have made a bridge from the sacred shore of Artemis, bearer of the sword of gold, to sea-girt Cynosura"⁴⁰. Leake imagines this to refer to the Persian line of battle extending, as he supposes it to have done, from a cape of Salamis opposite to the Silenian promontory, on which he believes a temple of Artemis to have stood. As the Silenian headland, which he identifies with Cynosura, would lie opposite to the centre of their assumed line, he argues that by taking up this position they fulfilled the conditions of the prophecy; and that in fact this circumstance was the main cause of Herodotus mentioning Cynosura at all in the passage above quoted⁴¹. This appears to me a most unsatisfactory explanation of the passage, to say nothing of the gratuitous assumptions which it involves. The way in which the prophecy was fulfilled will be plain

⁴⁰ viii. 77. The words are:—

ἔταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσάβρου ἱερὸν ἀκτῆν
νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν.

Leake translates this erroneously, "when the barbarians shall *cover with their ships* the sacred shore of Diana and that of Cynosura," and the erroneous translation masks the meaning of the oracle.

⁴¹ "Thus the point of Cynosura [by which he understands the Silenian headland] and the island of Psyttalea were opposite to the centre of the triple line of the Persians, and near their right was a cape of Salamis, upon or adjacent to which, as we have already seen from Pausanias, stood a temple of Diana; and hence the words of the oracle of Bacis relating to the shore of Diana, which Herodotus has quoted." (Appendix ii. p. 261.) "On the *one side* of the city a temple of Diana, and on the *other* the trophy erected in honour of the victory gained over the Persians." (vol. ii. p. 169.) All that Pausanias really says is, that there is *at* Salamis the temple and the trophy (i. 36. 1), while Leake has apparently considered that the expression τοῦτο μὲν — τοῦτο δὲ was intended to denote a position such as he has assigned to the two. "Herodotus seems to have introduced the name of Cynosura [in § 76, quoted in note 36, above] solely for the purpose of noticing the fulfilment of the prophecy of an oracle." (Appendix ii. p. 259.)

enough, if we only consider the manner in which the armada of the invaders was moved, before the land and sea forces were united for the last time at Phalerum. It is obvious that with an enormous multitude like that under Xerxes (even allowing an unlimited amount of exaggeration as to its numbers), the great difficulty must have been to move the forces and provide them with supplies. And the way in which this problem was attempted to be solved may be made out by the *indirect* notices of Herodotus, although he was (as may be proved from various passages of his work) quite unable to comprehend the vast scale of oriental strategies⁴². The endeavour of the Persian commander was as much as possible to proceed *pari passu* with the army and the fleet. This was desirable, because wherever opposition was encountered, it was important they should be able to act together; consequently, although great preparation had been made beforehand in forming magazines, it would be impossible to dispense with the attendance of vessels to carry supplies. An army of such magnitude as even to be reported able to drink considerable streams dry, could not by any possibility be moved except in bodies separated from each other by a considerable interval. The same would be the case with the fleet, the crews of which (as is notorious) were in ancient times compelled continually to land. A supply of food and water in a ship of war sufficient to render it able to keep the sea even for a very few days is a thing unheard of in ancient history. And if we turn to Herodotus's account of the march from Doriscus (where the whole force was first assembled) to Acanthus⁴³, we see that the mode of advance is obviously planned with a reference to the means of providing supplies. The army moved on three lines; one considerably inland; another along the coast, keeping up a communication with the fleet; and a third between the two. This last was the line of march taken by the guards and the king in person. That the main force of the army was included in the second of these divisions can scarcely be questioned. The first having to pass through a mountainous region, would be lightly equipped, and thus would be more able to provide for its own subsistence by foraging, without depending altogether upon the commissariat. The third, with the king in person, moving

⁴² See notes 268 on i. 77, and 234 on iv. 83.

⁴³ vii. 121.

along the line of the inhabited towns, where stores were laid up⁴⁴, would also be provided for. But the second must have been mainly supplied through the medium of the fleet, with which it kept up a close communication. The extreme importance of maintaining this was perhaps the cause that the division advanced under the immediate command of Mardonius⁴⁵, the general of greatest reputation in the service. When the central division arrived at Acanthus, the nature of the shore necessitated a change of plan for a time. It was no longer possible to keep up a constant communication between the army and the fleet; and accordingly the latter was ordered to make all sail for that point at which such a communication could be restored, viz. the bay of Therme⁴⁶. There a halt was again made, and the land force encamped along a considerable line of coast, "from the city Therme and Mygdonia, as far as the river Lydias and the Haliaemon, which form the boundary between Bottiæa and Macedonia⁴⁷."

From Therme a second simultaneous move of both army and navy took place. And in fact here their difficulties really began. There was now a prospect of meeting an enemy in force, which involved the necessity of concentrating the war galleys to a considerable extent; and when steps for securing this had been taken, the evil that had been foreseen occurred,—there was no port large enough to receive the whole in the event of foul weather⁴⁸. There can be no question that it was the expectation of resistance from the Greek fleet at Artemisium, that induced the Persians to bring on the same day to Sepias, so large a force as to be obliged to anchor in eight lines off the shore⁴⁹. The land forces were being pushed forward to Thermopylæ, and it was necessary to get the fleet into the bay of Pagasæ to co-operate with them⁵⁰. The enormous loss which was sustained on this occasion would undoubtedly prevent a similar risk from being unnecessarily incurred; and when the pass of Thermopylæ was at last forced, and the Greek fleet retreated to Salamis⁵¹, the two arms of the invading force once more found themselves united, with nothing in the shape of an enemy to stop them until another concen-

⁴⁴ vii. 109, *et seq.*⁴⁸ vii. 49.⁵¹ viii. 40.⁴⁵ vii. 121.⁴⁹ vii. 183.⁴⁶ vii. 121.⁵⁰ vii. 193. Compare viii. 66.⁴⁷ vii. 127.

tration should be effected in the ports of Attica. The army advanced without the least resistance, over-running Attica and sacking Phocis; and Xerxes had his head-quarters at Athens⁵², with a large force ready to be pushed on to the isthmus⁵³, at the time when the fleet entered the port of Phalerum. The question now is, what was the nature of their movements to reach this point: and common sense would suggest that squadrons were advanced in succession, perhaps within signal distance of each other, but at any rate not so near as gratuitously to risk the safety of the ships, and increase the difficulty of procuring water and other necessities for the crews. Wherever there was an extensive beach upon which the galleys might be hauled up, there, in the nature of things, it would be arranged for a large number to assemble. This would doubtless be the case at *Eretria* in Eubœa, which lies most opportunely for re-assembling the fleet after its necessary delay in passing through the narrow channel between Aulis and Chalcis. After Eretria, the next beach of any capacity would be that of the bay of *Marathon*, some fifteen miles off, in running for which the point *Cynosura*, its northern extremity, would be the natural landmark. And here, I apprehend, is to be found the solution of the problem offered by Bacis's prophecy. Seven *stades* only from Eretria, at the hamlet Amarynthus, was the temple of *Artemis Amarusia*⁵⁴, a deity worshipped with the greatest pomp under this name by Athenians as well as Eretrians⁵⁵. A fleet of 800 or 1000 ships crossing to Marathon in the order in which they would have to take up their station on their arrival, when seen from the hills overhanging Rhamnus or Tricorythus, could hardly fail to suggest to the imagination of a spectator the notion of bridging over the sea between the two points. Again, as between Marathon and Phalerum there is no facility for beaching any large number of ships, the advance from the one to the other would naturally be by detached squadrons, and the great bulk of the fleet might very well be reported at head-quarters while the rear still remained on the safe shore of Marathon (*ἀμφὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν*), and while an intermediate squadron had been advanced only as far as Ceos in their course round the southern foreland of Attica. In such circumstances the signaling them to close up, under the impression which the Persian admiral had

⁵² viii. 66.⁵⁴ STRABO, x. p. 324.⁵³ viii. 71.⁵⁵ PAUSANIAS, i. 31. 5.

formed of the intentions of the Greeks, would be exactly what we might look for. By so doing the more advanced ships would be in a position to sweep the channel between the islands of Salamis and Ægina; and it is exactly here that if any Greek vessels had stolen out from Salamis in the night, they would have been found when day broke.

I will conclude these remarks by a reference to one other passage of Herodotus, which confirms the view just taken of the movement of the squadron from Ceos. When Aristides, in the night before the engagement, arrived suddenly in Salamis and informed Themistocles that the enemy's fleet had surrounded the island, he said "that he had come from Ægina, and found great difficulty in getting *out to sea* without being seen by the squadron of observation⁵⁶." Herodotus indeed makes him add, by way of explanation, "that the whole Greek position was surrounded by Xerxes' vessels." But this circumstance would have been a hindrance to him, not in *getting out from* Ægina, but in *getting in to* Salamis. If however the squadron of observation he meant was the one which had been signaled to close up from Ceos, the difficulty is exactly what would have occurred. According to Æschylus's view, the false intelligence of Themistocles is conveyed to the Persian commander-in-chief a considerable time before sunset⁵⁷. Orders would instantly be telegraphed to the squadrons at Ceos and Cynosura, and they would get under way with all speed: and this would easily bring the former into the neighbourhood of the island Ægina before it was too dark to distinguish them. Thus commanding the space between the two islands, the difficulty of Aristides would be to get *past* them, which is exactly what appears to be indicated by the phrase (μόγισ ἐκπλῶσαι). The vessels actually surrounding Salamis would occasion him comparatively little difficulty. He was probably only in a small boat, much more speedy, and less distinguishable at night-time than a trireme would be; and when he approached the southern shore of Salamis, it would be easy for him to watch his moment, row in to land, and proceed over the hills to the Grecian camp on foot.

⁵⁶ viii. 81 : ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν, καὶ μόγισ ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας.

⁵⁷ This must have been the case; for the time was sufficient to give orders to each of the captains, and for them in their turn to get their several gallees ready to start the instant it should be dark. The entirely different view of Herodotus is remarked above, note 15.

The battle of Salamis has so long been popularly considered as an example of what may be effected by mere valour against enormous odds, that possibly some may experience a feeling of unwillingness to take any view of the subject which diminishes the disparity between the contending navies. But this is scarcely a reasonable way of looking at a matter of history. Bravery does much when directed by skill; but all experience leads us to doubt statements of any great results effected by it when without this guidance. If the foregoing views are well-founded, our wonder at the extraordinary success of the Greek fleet may perhaps be diminished; but certainly in at least as great a degree must our admiration of the acuteness and resolution of its commander be increased. With an overwhelming force opposed to him actually drawn up in order of battle, a friendly coast lined with the flower of the Persian army in its rear, he succeeds, first of all in detaching a large portion of the ships opposed to him, and placing them in a quarter where it was out of the question that they should be active; secondly, in getting the remainder out of the position they occupied into one incomparably inferior; thirdly, in exhausting the enemy's crews by keeping them in motion all night⁵⁸; and, finally, in bringing them on a sudden to action in a way which rendered their peculiar armament unavailable, and under circumstances which must have made them feel, not only that their estimate of their foes had been totally wrong, but that probably they had traitors in their own ranks.

⁵⁸ It should not be overlooked, that according to Æschylus's view the crews of the Persian fleet get their suppers *early*,—not as they would under ordinary circumstances, at nightfall. Hence, when day broke, they had not only been at the oar all night, but likewise fasting for a longer period than customary.

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΕΝΝΑΤΗ.

ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ.

- 1** ΜΑΡΔΟΝΙΟΣ δὲ¹, ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμνηε, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἦγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε². τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδέν, πολλῶ τε μᾶλλον ἐπήγον τὸν Πέρσῃν καὶ συμπρόεπεμφέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισσαῖος³ Ξέρζεα φεύγοντα, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρήκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
- 2** Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον⁴ καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ, λέγοντες
- On the return of Alexander, Mardonius moves towards Athens, assisted by the Thes-salian chiefs.
- The Thebans wish

¹ Μαρδόνιος δέ. The close connexion of this clause with the one which terminates the last book, shows plainly the arbitrary nature of the present division,—which however (it should be remembered) is an essential part of LUCIAN'S story relative to the recitation at Olympia: παρελθὼν ἐς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον οὐ θεατὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀγωνιστὴν Ὀλυμπίων παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν, ἄδων τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ κηλὼν τοὺς παρόντας, ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ Μούσας κληθῆναι τὰς βίβλους αὐτοῦ, ἐννέα καὶ αὐτὰς οὖσας. (*Aetion*. § 1.)

² ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. DIODORUS makes the number of troops levied by Mardonius, in ad-

dition to the 300,000 left with him by Xerxes, to be 200,000 (xi. 28).

³ Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισσαῖος. Thorax was one of the Aleuadæ. He is mentioned together with his two brothers, Eurypylus and Thrasydæus, below (§ 58).

⁴ κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον, "tried to stop Mardonius." This sense is readily deducible from the original idea of the word καταλαμβάνειν, on which see note 139 on i. 46, and note 55 on v. 21. Compare iii. 36: ἔσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωντόν, "restrain and controul yourself;" iii. 128: κατελάμβανε ἐρίζοντας, "stopped their disputing;" iii. 52: Περίαςδρος τοῦτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε, "Periander at-

ὥς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεώτερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνῳ· οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἐκαστέρῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον⁵ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψῃται⁶. “κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἑλλήνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἵπερ καὶ πάρος ταυτὰ ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποισι⁷. εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν,” ἔφασαν λέγοντες, “ἔξεις ἀπόνως ἅπαντα τὰ κείνων βουλευμάτα. πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἀνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλισιν· πέμπων δὲ, τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηϊδίως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων⁸ καταστρέψῃς.” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέιθετο⁹, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινὸς τις ἐνέστακτο ἡμέρος τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα

Mardonius to halt in Boeotia, and from thence to attempt to gain partizans in the several Hellenic states;

3 but he persists in ad-

tempted to manage him by these remarks.”

⁵ ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον. Before these words is to be supplied the verb ἐκέλευον, or some one of similar sense, derived by inference from the οὐκ ἔων which has gone before. See note 301 on vii. 104.

⁶ καταστρέψῃται. This is the reading of all the MSS. But Bekker adopts the correction καταστρέφεται, which is in accordance with the invariable use of Herodotus. Compare i. 8: ποίεε ὅπως ἐκείνην θεήσσαι γυμνὴν. i. 9: σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅπως μὴ σε ὄψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων. iii. 36: ὅρα ὅπως μὴ σεν ἀποστήσονται Πέρσαι. iii. 135: ἐδέετο αὐτοῦ ὅπως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὀπίσω ἦξει. v. 109: ποιεῖν χρεὸν ἔστι ὑμέας ὅπως τὸ κατ' ὑμέας ἔσται ἡ Ἰωνίῃ ἐλευθέρῃ. ix. 91: ποίεε ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσει.

⁷ κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἑλλήνας ὁμοφρονέοντας . . . ἀνθρώποισι, “for that in point of actual force, those Hellenes who before acted together, were enough to make it difficult for even all the world to hold their own against them.” The sentence if continued as begun would have ended with the words: καὶ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους καταπολεμεῖν οἴους τε, or some equivalent phrase. But as good manners would have forbidden the putting this sentiment in its direct form to the Persian commander, the normal structure is abandoned, and an *anacoluthon* results. See notes 412 on i. 117, and 200 on viii. 100. So too is to be explained the sentence ii. 66: ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. The normal structure would have been ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. But the author rightly understanding that it was not affection for the animals perishing, but a superstitious interpretation of the phenomenon which caused the mourning, intimates as much by changing the form of the sentence.

μετὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους λυπεῖ. But the author rightly understanding that it was not affection for the animals perishing, but a superstitious interpretation of the phenomenon which caused the mourning, intimates as much by changing the form of the sentence.

⁸ μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων, “with the aid of your partizans.” That there was a very powerful party, even in Athens, favourable to Persian schemes, is plain from the story told by PLUTARCH (*Aristid.* § 13). A number of Athenians of noble families, who had been ruined by the war, met together in a house at Plataea, at the very time the two armies were in position over against one another, to concoct a scheme for betraying their country to the invader; and it was only the tact of Aristides which baffled their attempt. The manuscripts S and V have μετὰ στρατιωτέων, “with the aid of a military force.” Neither of these readings appear to me to be a corruption of the other. See a similar variation in iii. 144, and note 398, thereon.

⁹ ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέιθετο. The Attic orators assert that one Arthmius of Zela was sent into the Peloponnese with a large amount of secret-service money, for the purpose of sowing dissension among the allies. DEMOSTHENES professes to quote from an inscription on the acropolis at Athens, in which a sentence of outlawry against him for that offence stood registered. (*Philipp.* iii. p. 122.) There is no direct notice of this in Herodotus, but there is not wanting very plain indirect evidence that such a policy was pursued. See note 34 on § 12, below.

vancing on Athens, which he occupies, ten months after its first capture.

ἐλέειν ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλεῖ δηλώσειν ἔοντι ἐν Σάρδισι, ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας. ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὔρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἔν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι, ἔν τε τῇσι νηυσὶ αἰρέει τε ἐρήμον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηγὴν δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμίνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον, φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε, προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας¹⁰, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφεας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης¹¹, ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης πάσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας καὶ ἐούσης ἤδη ὑπ' ἐωυτῶ τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς

5 Σαλαμίνα. Ὁ δὲ, ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν, ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην¹², ὥς οἱ

He sends one Muri-chides, a Hellespontine, to Salamis, with new overtures.

Lycidas, a member of

¹⁰ προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας. As this passage is commonly interpreted, προέχων is taken in a very unusual sense, as meaning "previously aware of." But both προέχω and its derivative πρόσχημα uniformly express the notion of "standing forward," or "putting forward." And the meaning of this passage seems to be that Mardonius sent a communication to the Athenians, on the face of which he acknowledged their enmity to Persia, but appealed to their sense of their own interest. I should translate, "putting forward indeed the unfriendly disposition of the Athenians, but hoping that they would relax in their perverseness, seeing that the land of Attica was overrun entirely, and now under his absolute command." This is exactly the view of the case, which, after the final defeat of the Persians, would be most palatable to Athenian vanity. Their enemy is made to bear testimony to their disinterested patriotism in the very wording of his overtures to them.

¹¹ ἐλπίζων δὲ σφεας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, "but expecting that they would relax something of their perverseness." The construction is the same as that of ὑπέλθης ὁργῆς (i. 156; iii. 52).

¹² Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην. BISHOP THIRLWALL, who follows the account given by Herodotus of the outrage which follows, remarks that "it is somewhat

perplexing to find this incident related by DEMOSTHENES (*De Cor.* p. 296) of one *Cyrsilus*, whom, as it would appear from the comparison he draws, he conceived to have excited the anger of his countrymen by opposing Themistocles the year before, when he proposed the evacuation of Attica. It can scarcely be doubted, that the orator alludes to the same occurrence which the historian describes. Perhaps the easiest solution of the difficulty would be to suppose that Lycidas had also been called *Cyrsilus*,—a name which might imply that he had already made himself odious or contemptible by overbearing manners." (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 327, note.) This explanation is, in my opinion, scarcely more satisfactory than the one offered by Valckenaer, viz. that on two occasions happening within a year of each other, two different persons brought upon themselves the fury of the populace by the same proceeding, and that while the one of these is noticed by Herodotus, the other is alluded to by Demosthenes. In the time of the orators, the battle of Salamis and the energetic conduct of the Athenians antecedently to it, had become so completely the principal national boast, that it is only natural that anecdotes of which the character was mainly ethical should be referred to that time rather than the year following. See, for an exemplification of

ἔδοκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον τὸν σφι Μουρυχίδης the council, is stoned to death for proposing to entertain them.
 προφέρει, ἐξευεῖται ἐς τὸν δῆμον ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴ τε δὴ δεδεγμένους χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου εἴ τε οἱ καὶ ταῦτα ἐάνδανε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι, οἳ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάντες Λυκίδα κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδα ἀπέπεμψαν ἄσινέα· γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδα, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων· The women stone his wife and children afterwards.
 διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικί, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα, ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίῃν ἦσαν αὐτοκελέες¹³, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε· ἕως μὲν 6
 προσεδέκοντο τὸν¹⁴ ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν τιμωρή- Circumstances under which the Athenians cross to the island
 σοντά σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμεινον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερα τε καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ ἐλέγετο εἶναι¹⁵, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα· ἐς Λακεδαίμονά τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους¹⁶, ἅμα μὲν μεμφομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφῶν ἡντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτὴν, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν· προεῖπαί τε, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἄλεωρὴν εὐρήσονται¹⁷. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι at the time

the way in which the historic details of an ethical story vary, notes 90 on ii. 30, and 9 on iii. 4.

¹³ αὐτοκελέες. One manuscript (F) has αὐτομολέες. But the word seems to be genuine, and to have the force of αὐτόκλητοι.

¹⁴ τόν. Gaisford, on the authority of five MSS, omits the article. But it is found in the rest.

¹⁵ καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ ἐλέγετο εἶναι. The manuscripts A, B, S, V, have ἐς τὴν Βοιωτὴν ἐλέγετο εἶναι, which may perhaps be defended, if the reading of Gaisford and the MSS in i. 21, ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν, is the true one. But such a construction is not the usual one in Herodotus. (See note 72 on that passage.) The connexion of the particle δὴ with ᾗδη is well shown by this expression. The rumour of the enemy having reached Boeotia was what made the cup of impatience run

over. The Athenians were uneasy at the Lacedæmonian slowness, but still refrained from incurring the inconveniences of crossing to Salamis; when however at last (καὶ δὴ) accounts reached them of Mardonius being in Boeotia, then, under such circumstances (οὕτω δὴ), they transported all their moveables, and went over in person. See note 21 on § 7, below, and note 6 on i. 1.

¹⁶ ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους. Aristides appears to have been the framer of the resolution in virtue of which these commissioners were sent. In subsequent times he himself was said to be one. But PLUTARCH remarks that his name does not occur in the decree, but those of Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides. (Aristid. § 10.)

¹⁷ ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἄλεωρὴν εὐρήσονται. See above, note 307 on viii. 144.

of the Lacedæmonian *Hyacinthia*. ὄρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καί σφι ἦν Ῥακίνθια¹⁸. περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν ἅμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφι τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ εἰτείχεον καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξεις ἐλάμβανε.

7 Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἔκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἔκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον τὰδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους· “ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μῆδων, τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀποδιδού, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ' ἴση τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ ποιήσασθαι, ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης· ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώραν πρὸς τῇ ἡμέτερῃ διδόναι τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐλώμεθα, ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήμιον αἰδεσθέντες¹⁹ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι, οὐ καταινέσαμεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερόν ἐστι ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον²⁰ ἢ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον ἐὼν νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὑμεῖς δὲ, εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπεὶ τε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν

¹⁸ καὶ σφι ἦν Ῥακίνθια. The celebration of the *Carnea* had last year interposed an obstacle to the concentration of a force at Thermopylae (vii. 44); nevertheless king Leonidas absented himself from it. The *Hyacinthia* however was a festival which seems to have been of a more popular character; for all the citizens, and indeed the slaves also, took a part in it. This would be very natural if it were a festival of the ante-dorian times; and that it was so seems certain, both from its nature (see note 207 on ii. 79) and from the circumstance that during its celebration Sparta was deserted for *Amyclæ*. (POLYCRATES *ap. Athenæum*, iv. p. 139.) See note 189 on v. 72. To neglect the ceremonial would consequently have been a much more dangerous experiment on the temper of the bulk of the citizens, than the proceeding of Leonidas was, even supposing the Spartan magnates to have been strongly inclined to march—itself a doubtful matter. (See note 34 on § 12.)

¹⁹ Δία τε Ἑλλήμιον αἰδεσθέντες. It is not very plain to what *Zeus* the ambassadors refer under this title. Perhaps it

may be the Olympian. But, on the other hand, it is far from impossible that it was the deity worshipped under the name of Πανελλήνιος at Ægina; for the temple there was regarded as possessing a peculiar sanctity. It was mythically connected with *Æacus*, by whose mediation alone the Delphic oracle declared that Hellas could be relieved from a drought which desolated both the region within and that without the isthmus. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 29. 6.) It will be remembered, that the presence of the Æginetan *Æacids* was considered of vital importance at Salamis, as well as on another occasion (v. 80; vi. 84), and that the Delphic deity expressly required an offering from the Æginetans after that victory. Up to this time, therefore, the reputation of the Æginetan *Zeus* must have been very great. After the battle of Platea (in which the Æginetans appear not to have taken any active part), the Olympian *Zeus* may reasonably have been preferred. See below, § 81.

²⁰ κερδαλεώτερον . . . μᾶλλον. See note on vii. 143, above.

τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τείχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαννόμενον ἐν τέλει ἔστι, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε²¹. συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσῃ ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην προδεδώκατε, περιεϊδέτε τε ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐς μὲν νυν τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτηδέως· νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὡς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτῆς, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεωτάτον ἔστι ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίου²².” Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ 8
ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίνην ὑποκρίνασθαι· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίνῃ, ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην. τοῦτο· καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐπόλεον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον, σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι· καὶ σφί ἦν πρὸς τέλος. οὐδ' ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ αἴτιον, διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς Ἀθήνας σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφί ἐτετείχιστο, καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δέεσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐκ ἂν ἐτετείχιστο· ἐργάζοντο δὲ μέγας καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

Τέλος δὲ, τῆς τε ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων 9
ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε· τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσεως μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι²³, Χίλεις, ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστα ξείνων²⁴, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν

The Ephors put off giving them an answer day by day for ten days, until at last the lines at the Isthmus are complete.

A strong representation in behalf of the Athenian de-

²¹ καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, “come to take no account of the Athenians.” So above (§ 6), καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, “came to be talked of as being in Boeotia.” See note 15, above.

²² ἐπιτηδεωτάτον ἔστι ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον. The suggestion of the Thriasian plain as a desirable locality for engaging an enemy who was possessed of an overwhelming force of cavalry, strikes at first as somewhat strange. But apparently the Athenians considered that the command of the sea would give them great advantages if the enemy were brought to action there. They would have menaced his rear by crossing over from Salamis; and in the event of his

being defeated, might have closed up the pass from the Thriasian plain into the plain of Athens. This would have compelled Mardonius to retire into Boeotia by Phyle alone, if the victorious Peloponnesians succeeded, as they probably would have done, in stopping the road by Ctenoe, by which alone Cithæron could be crossed.

²³ τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσεως μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι, “on the eve of the last audience there was to be.” Compare viii. 141.

²⁴ δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστα ξείνων. That a Tegean should then have great influence at Lacedæmon, probably arose from the circumstance of the Achæan party being likewise strong there, and at the time jealous of their influence

mand is
made by
one Chi-
leus, a
Tegean,

δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεις ἔλεγε ἄρα σφί τάδε·
“οὕτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι· Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἑόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων
τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ
ἐλληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτεάται²⁵ ἐς τὴν
Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ’ ἐσακούσατε, πρὶν τι ἄλλο Ἀθη-
ναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι.” Ὁ μὲν σφί ταῦτα
συμβούλευε· οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον, αὐτίκα, φράσαντες
οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολιῶν, νυκτὸς
ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχίλους Σπαρτιητέων, [καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ
ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἰλώτων²⁶,] Πausanίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου
ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγένετο μὲν νυν ἡ ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου
τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τοῦτου ἐπίτροπός τε
καὶ ἀνεψιός· Κλεόμβροτος γάρ, ὁ Πausανίεω μὲν πατήρ Ἀναξ-
ανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς, οὐκέτι περιῆν· ἀλλὰ ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ
τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν²⁷, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλόν

being impaired. Leonidas, the hero of Thermopylae, had married the daughter and heiress of Cleomenes, who scorned the name of Dorian, and called himself an Achæan. The child Pleistarchus was therefore the representative both of the Eurystheneid line of kings and of the Achæan party, while his uncle Cleombrotus (his legal guardian) was by a different mother from Cleomenes, and (by the death of his elder brother Dorieus) had become representative of the Dorian party. That his son Pausanias should have retained the partialities of his grandmother’s connexions, seems likely from his association of Dorieus’s son Euryanax with himself in the command of the army (§ 10). Under these circumstances there was apparently some cause for uneasiness on the part of the Achæan faction; and the existence of this would give great weight to the representations of an ally who belonged to the same race.

²⁵ μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτεάται. This phrase appears to have been taken by POLYÆNUS as if specially referring to the means of invading the Peloponnese, which the possession of the Athenian fleet would confer upon the Persians: πολλὰς διαβάσεις ἔχουσιν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἱ βάρβαροι (v. 30). And PLUTARCH puts the matter with special reference to the utility of the lines at the isthmus: τοῦ διατειχίσματος οὐδὲν ὠφελός

ἐστὶ Πελοποννήσῳ, ἂν Ἀθηναῖοι Μαρδονίῳ προσγένωνται (ii. p. 871). The phrase became in subsequent times almost a proverbial one. Plutarch has μεγάλας ἐπ’ Ἀντίοχον Ῥωμαίους ἀναπετάσας κλισιάδας (Comparat. Arist. c. Cat. § 2): μεγάλας αὐτῷ κλισιάδας ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀνοίγοντος τοῦ τε γένους καὶ τοῦ πλοῦτου (Alci- biad. § 10): μεγάλας μὲν τῷ ἀθέῳ λεῶ κλισιάδας ἀνοίγοντες (De Iside et Osiride, § 23). ST. PAUL uses the same figure in 1 Cor. xvi. 9, and 2 Cor. ii. 12; but in Coloss. iv. 3, ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου, this does not seem so clear.

²⁶ [καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες τῶν εἰλώτων.] These words do not exist in S and V, nor in the translation of Valla. Wesseling supposes them to have been introduced into the text from § 28.

²⁷ ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν. THIRLWALL considers that the retirement of Cleombrotus to Sparta from the lines across the isthmus, took place during the time that the Athenian envoys were at Sparta; and he endeavours to explain the conduct of the Lacedæmonians,—which on the face of things he regards as capricious and childish,—from this circumstance. “If Cleombrotus brought his army back during the ten days that the envoys were detained, his illness and death, and the appointment of the new

χρόνον τινὰ βιούς ἀπέθανε. (ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε²⁸. θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ²⁹.) προσαιρέεται δὲ ἑωυτῷ Πανσανίης Εὐρύνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς. Οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Πανσανίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρῃ ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὲ ἔχοντες³⁰ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε· ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένοντες, Ῥακινθία τε ἄγετε, καὶ παίζετε καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ὡς ἀδικέμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, χῆτι συμμάχων³¹, καταλύονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτω ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται καταλυσάμενοι δὲ, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὁκοῖον ἂν τι

11

commander-in-chief, might render so long a delay unavoidable, and the departure of Pausanias, instead of having been deferred to the last moment, may have taken place at the very first that admitted of it; yet it may at last have been both sudden and secret." (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 329.) But it seems extremely unlikely that the army of the confederates should have been employed during the winter months in completing the lines. There is no instance of any thing like such a continued retention of a whole army under arms in ancient history, and the commissariat requisite for the purpose would have far exceeded the resources of the country. The course of events seems to have been, that immediately after the battle of Salamis, the thought of attacking the Persian army occurred to Cleombrotus. But the eclipse seemed to forbid the step. The Persian army appeared to be in full retreat, and it was the Spartan principle to give a *pont d'or* to a flying enemy. Accordingly he broke up his position and returned home, imagining the war at an end. But in the spring Mardonius showed that he was going to try his fortune again. He had halted in Thessaly, and his movements "woke the Greeks up" (ἤγειρε). The land force had been disbanded and not reassembled: οὕκω συνελέγετο (viii. 13).

²⁸ ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν . . . διὰ τόδε. There is nothing at all in the text to jus-

tify the assertion that the eclipse "terrified Cleombrotus so that he returned home with his army." All that would be gathered from the omen by the Spartan chief would be, that the step he contemplated was not to be made. If he put any more special interpretation upon the appearance of the sun, it would probably be one unfavourable to the prospects of Xerxes. See the passage of ARISTOPHANES cited in note 133 on vii. 37.

²⁹ ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. LARCHER states, on the authority of M. Pingré, that there was an eclipse of the sun of from six to seven digits on the 2nd of October, B.C. 479. Petavius had considered the one in the text to have happened on the 2nd of October, the year before. Larcher believes that it is the eclipse of 479 to which Herodotus refers, but that he puts it *before* the battle of Platæa, whereas it did not occur until afterwards. If so, the story relative to Cleombrotus (who would have been dead when the eclipse really took place) must have grown up some time after the actual event. See, for what appears like a parallel case to this, note 132 on vii. 37.

³⁰ ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες, "intending, at last." See above, note on § 6.

³¹ χῆτι συμμάχων. This is the reading adopted by Gaisford, on the authority of S and V. Most of the MSS have χῆτεῖ τε, and two χῆτι τε.

ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνειν.† ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὄρκου, καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ³² στείχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· (ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους³³.) οἱ δὲ ὥς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτεον τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἔόν· ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι, ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι, τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεον.

which is surprised on hearing it, and follows with 5000 more picked hoplites from the perioecian Lacedæmonians.

12 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἡπείγοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Πausανιέω ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα, τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι³⁴. ὃς ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἔλεγε τάδε· “Μαρδόνιε, ἔπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὥς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἴσχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὖ 13 βουλευόμενος.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ, εἰπας ταῦτα, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω· Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ,

The Argives send intelligence of this move to Mardonius,

³² ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ. Two manuscripts (F and c) have Ὀρεσθείῳ. The *Oresteum* here mentioned is apparently in the vicinity of Tegea, upon the mountain Mænalus, τὸ Ὀρέστειον Μαιναλίας as THUCYDIDES calls it (v. 64). The town was a very ancient one, and in the local traditions reputed to have been founded in the third generation after *Pelagius*, by his grandson *Orestheus*, from whom it was at first called *Oresthasium*. The name was afterwards called *Oresteum*, from *Orestes*. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 3. 2.) From an anecdote related of an heroic action of a hundred volunteers of the town, who, by the sacrifice of themselves, purchased the return of the population of Phigalia, it may be inferred that the name could not have been changed, and consequently the tutelary hero altered, until the latter part of the seventh century B.C. (PAUSANIAS, viii. 39. 3.) But the dramatic poets paid no regard to such chronological considerations. EURIPIDES makes the Dioscuri say to *Orestes*:

Σὲ δ' Ἀρκάδων χρὴ πόλιν ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ
ῥοαῖς
οἰκεῖν, Λυκαίου πλησίον σηκώματος·
ἐπώνυμος δέ σου πόλις κεκλήσεται.
(*Electr.*, 1273.)

In the *Orestes*, too, Apollo orders him to pass a year before lustration in the Parra-sian plain, of which he says:

κεκλήσεται δὲ σῆς φυγῆς ἐπώνυμον
Ἀζᾶσιν Ἀρκάσιν τ' Ὀρέστειον καλεῖν.
(1647.)

³³ ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. See note on ix. 55.

³⁴ ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι. In what way did the Argives expect to be able to hold the Spartans in check? Certainly it could not have been by any force they could hope to bring into the field. Possibly they tried to foment the jealousy of the pure Spartans at Lacedæmon against the Achæan portion of their fellow countrymen. They had been so much alarmed by the designs of Cleomenes, as to render this no difficult task. A current report in Hellas in the time of Herodotus, was that the Argives actually invited the Persians, in consequence of the blow which had been struck by that king (viii. 152). If there is any truth in the statements of the Attic orators, there was no want of money for the purpose of furthering intrigues in the Peloponnese. See note 9, above, and note on § 88, below.

ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μὲν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι, ἀνεκώχενε, θέλων who ravages Attica and falls back upon Boeotia,
 εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσιν καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμεινε
 οὔτε ἐσίνετο ³⁵ γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ³⁶, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
 ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα
 λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Πausανίῳ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν,
 ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν
 τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρώων, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ
 συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυνε δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἵππασίμῃ ἢ
 χώρῃ ἦν ἡ Ἀττικὴ, εἴ τε νικῶτο συμβαλὼν ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν
 ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινὸν ³⁷, ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν.
 ἐβουλεύετο ὦν, ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας, συμβαλεῖν πρὸς
 πόλιν τε φιλήν καὶ χώρην ἵππασίμῃ ³⁸.

Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε· ἤδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ 14
 ἦλθε ἀγγελίη, πρόδρομον ³⁹ ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἦκειν ἐς Μέγαρον,
 Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο, θέλων
 εἴ πως τούτους πρῶτον ἔλοι· ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε
 ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρον· ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην after first attempting fruitlessly to cut off the advanced guard of the enemy in Megara.

³⁵ ἐσίνετο. This is the reading of all the MSS but one (S), which has ἐσινέετο, and this is adopted by Gaisford. In iv. 123, the same MS alone has σινέεσθαι, which he also adopts. In v. 81, that MS has the common form ἐσίνοντο, and so have all the others except one (M). But Gaisford here adopts the exceptional reading. I have throughout preserved the common form, it being sanctioned by the majority of MSS, and the Ionic form apparently arising from an arbitrary alteration to produce conformity with the canons of the Alexandrine grammarians. In the existing state of the text, it appears in most instances quite futile to attempt to ascertain what form the author actually used; but the safest course probably is, in every case to adopt the common form, unless the weight of MS authority decidedly predominates on the other side.

³⁶ οὔτε ἐπήμεινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν. While Mardonius held the country, it would have been bad policy in him to have injured the crops, as he would in so doing have been impairing his own resources. When, on the other hand, he determined to retreat into Boeotia, it became no less desirable to prevent them from falling into the hands of the

enemy. To the reasons assigned in the text for his evacuation of Attica, may be added that by this means he approached nearer to his own magazines, and removed the allies farther from theirs.

³⁷ ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν. If he had fought the battle in the Thriasian plain, and been defeated, he would probably have had to withdraw by the pass of Phyle alone. See above, note 22. If again he had engaged in the plain of Athens, his only road in case of defeat would have been by Decelea.

³⁸ ἵππασίμῃ. The manuscripts V, P, K, F, a, and c, have the form ἵππασίμῳ, and S τῇ ἵππασίμῳ, although the same unanimously agree in ἵππασίμῃ in the preceding sentence.

³⁹ πρόδρομον. This is the conjecture of Schweighäuser, and adopted by Bekker. The MSS and Gaisford have πρόδρομος. But ἀγγελίη πρόδρομος is an expression which occurs nowhere else, and affords no satisfactory sense, while πρόδρομοι ἱππείας is found in iv. 121, and πρόδρομοι in iv. 122, for the advanced posts; and in vii. 203, it is asserted of the body of troops under the command of Leonidas: ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων.

τὴν Μεγαρίδα. (ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης⁴⁰ τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἢ Περσικῇ αὐτῇ στρατιῇ ἀπίκετο.) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἀλέες εἴησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ· οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελῆς· οἱ γὰρ βιοιτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων· οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐς Τανάγρην· ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλίσάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον, ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν⁴¹. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὔτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος. βουλόμενος ἔρυσσεν τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνειν ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρήκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιᾶς· κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν⁴², παρὰ⁴³ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον· οὐ μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτον ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστ' αὖ κη μέτωπον ἕκαστον.

16 Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγῖνος

⁴⁰ ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης. See note on viii. 70. Some difficulty has been occasioned by the circumstance that Delphi is considerably to the west of the Megarid; so that the plunder of that temple by the Persian detachment militates against the assertion in the text. This difficulty may be explained away by considering that ἡ Περσικῇ αὐτῇ στρατιῇ refers only to the second campaign under Mardonius in person. But I rather doubt whether this is the true solution. The determination of the cardinal points is a much more recent discovery than the time of Herodotus; and it seems likely that the narrator, taking an imaginary standing place at the Dardanelles, would consider generally that the farther the invader went, the greater his westing would be. In fact, the text does not mean, "This was the westernmost point of Europe reached," but "This was the farthest point of Europe, looking westward, which was reached."

⁴¹ ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. I suspect that the two next sentences are transposed in the MSS from their original order, and that the text ran: ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν βουλόμενος ἔρυσσεν τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, κ.τ.λ. PAUSANIAS

speaks of *Scolus* as if it had been on the Platean side of the Asopus, and apparently forty stades down the stream from the point where the road from Platea to Thebes crossed that river. That this log fortification, or *palisade*, was actually completed before the general action, seems to follow from the account of the difficulty of its capture (§ 70, below).

⁴² κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν. Just at the entrance of the domain of Platea were the barrows (three in number) of the Athenians, Lacedæmonians, and other Greeks, who fell in the battle. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 2. 5.)

⁴³ παρὰ. The MSS vary between this word and *περί*. I suspect that not only is *περί* the true reading, but that ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων and *περί Ὑσιᾶς* are alternative readings which have become combined in the MSS. *Erythræ* and *Hysie* are mentioned by PAUSANIAS as if the ruins of the two were close to each other, on the right hand of the road leading from Eleutheræ to Platea. Just after returning to the main road, the tomb of Mardonius was seen, likewise on the right of *Hysie* (ix. 2. 1 and 2). See note 197 on v. 74, above.

ὁ Φρύνωνος, ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος, παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως⁴⁴, ἐκάλεσε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους· κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι ἔποντο· ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιούμενον ἐν Θήβῃσι. τὰ δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὁρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὁρχομενῷ· ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο· κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα· καὶ σφεων οὐ χωρὶς ἐκατέρους κλίνειν, ἀλλὰ Πέρσῃν τε καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκάστη· ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων⁴⁵, τὸν Πέρσῃν τὸν ὁμόκλινον, Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἰέντα, εἶρεσθαι αὐτὸν ὁποδαπὸς ἐστι· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς εἴη Ὁρχομένιος· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν “ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ βουλευέσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευόμενον· τούτων πάντων ὄψεαι, ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος, ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους.” ταῦτά τε ἅμα τὸν Πέρσῃν λέγειν, καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων· αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν “οὐκῶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν, καὶ τοῖσι μετ’ ἐκείνου ἐν αἴνῃ ἐοῦσι⁴⁶ Περσέων·” τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ξείνε, ὃ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπων· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδεὶς·

He and fifty of his principal officers are entertained by one Attaginus, a Theban, in Thebes.

Story told to the author by Thersander of Orchomenus, who was one of the company.

⁴⁴ παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως. The constitution of Thebes appears at this time to have been a very close oligarchy, the members of which (to judge from the instance of Attaginus and some of his party, see below, § 83) were men of very great wealth. The Theban orator in THUCYDIDES, iii. 62, so describes the matter: ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ’ ὀλιγαρχίαν· ἰσόνονον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὕπερ δὲ ἐστὶ νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα. Of course, after the defeat of Mardonius, and the expulsion of the heads of the Persian party (below, § 83), the constitution would be in some way or other changed. At the time of the battle of Ctenophyta, which happened quite at the beginning of the year 456 B.C., it was a democracy;

and the consequence of the loss of the battle was the destruction of that form of government. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* v. 2. 6.)

⁴⁵ διαπινόντων. This phrase is especially applicable to the conviviality of a drinking party, where the cup is passed from the one to the other, and so goes *through* the whole number. Similarly διακελεύειν is to pass an order through a number of persons, from one to the other. The expression rests on the same idea with the English phrase, “to drink about.” Compare v. 18, ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τὰδε.

⁴⁶ ἐν αἴνῃ ἐοῦσι. This same expression is applied to Prexaspes, iii. 74, and to Themistocles, viii. 42: πυνθανόμενοι ὥς εἴη ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστη τῶν στρατηγῶν.

ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδε-
δεμένοι⁴⁷. ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ
φρονέοντα μηδεὺς κρατέειν." ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου Θερ-
σάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ τὰδε πρὸς τούτοισι, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγει
ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν
μάχην.

17
Proceedings
of Mardo-
nius to-
wards a
body of
1000 Pho-
cian hop-
lites, who
came late
into the
field.

Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ στρατοπεδευομένου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατιῇν, καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας ὅσοι-
περ ἐμῆδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν τάντῃ οἰκημένων· μόνοι δὲ Φωκέες
οὐ συνεσέβαλον· ἐμῆδιζον γὰρ διὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι⁴⁸, οὐκ ἐκόντες
ἄλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης· ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν
ἐς Θήβας ὕστερον, ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται χίλιοι· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς
Ἀρμοκύδης, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος⁴⁹· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικάτο καὶ
οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας, ἐκέλευσέ σφεας ἐπ'
ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι⁵⁰. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα
παρὴν ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων⁵¹ ἑόντος φήμη, ὡς
κατακοντιεὶ σφέας· διεξῆλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τούτῳ τοῦτο·
ἔνθα δὴ σφί οἱ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίνειε λέγων τοιάδε· "ὦ
Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἀνθρωποι μέλλουσι προ-
όπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ
εἰκάω· νῦν ὦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρεόν ἐστι γενέσθαι
ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι
τὸν αἰῶνα, ἢ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ· ἀλλὰ
μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἑόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἑλλήσι ἀνδράσι
18 φόνον ἔρραψαν." Ὁ μὲν ὦν ταῦτα παραίνειε· οἱ δὲ ἱππείες, ἐπεὶ
τέ σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλανον ὡς ἀπολεύντες, καὶ διὴ διετεί-

⁴⁷ ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι. A similar ex-
pression is used i. 11 : ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν.

⁴⁸ ἐμῆδιζον γὰρ διὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι,
"for these too came to profess Persian
views strongly." The Phocians had at
first refused to join the invaders (viii. 30),
but seem to have been thoroughly cowed
by the sufferings inflicted upon them by
that division of Xerxes's army which
overran their territory (viii. 32, 33). The
expression *μηδίζοντες* *μεγάλως* is used of
the Thebans (§ 40, below), and some of
the MSS have *μεγάλως* instead of *σφόδρα*
in this passage. The affectation of violent

attachment to the cause of the invader
was perhaps produced by a desire to out-
bid the Thessalians, if the statement of
Herodotus as to the feelings of the Pho-
cians (viii. 30) be correct; and to the last
some seem to have stood out, and carried
on a guerilla warfare against the enemy
(§ 31, below).

⁴⁹ δοκιμώτατος. The manuscripts M,
P, K, F, have *δυνατώτατος*.

⁵⁰ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἵζεσθαι. See below, note
on § 38.

⁵¹ Μήδων. S has *Μήδου*.

νοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσουντες· καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστασαν, πάντη συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες⁵² ὡς μάλιστα· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵππῳται ὑπέστρεφον, καὶ ἀπήλαννον ὀπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολόοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξεισιν τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαννον ὀπίσω· ὡς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος· οὐτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι⁵³. ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἵππῳται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε· “θαρσέετε, ὦ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἔοντες ἀγαθοὶ, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην· καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίῃσι γὰρ οὐ νικῆσετε οὔτε ὦν ἐμὲ, οὔτε βασιλέα.” τὰ περὶ Φωκῶν μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατο-
 πεδεύοντο· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ⁵⁴ Πελοποννήσιοι
 τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἐάνδανε, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀρέοντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας,
 οὐκ ἔδικαίεν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὦν
 τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ, καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν, ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ
 ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσίνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρὰ, ὡς
 σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε⁵⁵, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι
 διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. ὡς δὲ
 ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτῆς ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρ-
 βάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδενομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο
 ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος. Μαρδόνιος δὲ,
 ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίου, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς
 πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱππάρχεις Μασίστιος, εὐδοκίμων παρὰ
 Πέρσῃσι, (τὸν Ἕλληνας Μακίστιον⁵⁶ καλέουσι,) ἵππον ἔχων

19

The allies assemble at Eleusis and march to Erythrae in Boeotia, where they find the enemy encamped on the Asopus.

20

They are attacked by the Persian cavalry under Masistius.

⁵² πάντη συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες. S has πάντες στρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ κυκλώσαντες. The phrase συστρέφειν is used by Herodotus to denote the policy of Deioces, by which he brought the Median clans into one nation (i. 101). In a military sense συστρέφειν answers to the Latin “conglobari.”

⁵³ εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. Two of the manuscripts (b and d) have εἴ τι ἀλκῆς ἔχουσι, which Valckenaer would adopt. But a very good sense may be given to the compound verb, even without taking

ἀλκῆς after μετέχουσι,—to which however there is no objection. See note 686 on i. 204, and 63 on vi. 23.

⁵⁴ λοιποί. This word is omitted by S.

⁵⁵ ὡς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε. Gaisford reads, ὡς σφι ἐκαλλιερέετο, πρόσω. But the form καλλιερεῖν is used in the sense required here, not only two lines back, but in vii. 134. Bekker reads accordingly ὡς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο.

⁵⁶ Μακίστιον. The name Masista is said in Zend to have the signification of μέγιστος. But it does not appear to me likely that the variation of the name to

Νισαῖον⁵⁷, χρυσοχάλινόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς· ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἵππότες πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα⁵⁸. προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο, καὶ γυναικάς σφεας ἀπεκάλεον. Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες

21

The Megarians are
hardest
pressed,

ἔτυχον ταχθέντες ἢ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός· καὶ πρόσδοδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγένετο τῇ ἵππῳ· προσβαλούσης ὦν τῆς ἵππου, οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κήρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· “Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοὶ εἶμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μόνον, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρήν τε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀντέχομεν, καίπερ πιεζέμενοι· νῦν τε, εἰ μὴ τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξις, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείφοντας τὴν τάξιν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε· Πανσανίης δὲ ἀπεπειράτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινας ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἵεναι τε ἐς τὸν χώρον τοῦτον, καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο, καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες τῶν ἐλοχίγηε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος. Οὗτοι ἦσαν

and the
Athenians,
under
Olympio-
dorus,

22

alone volun-
teer to re-
lieve them.

οἱ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι, καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι· μαχομένων δὲ σφῶν ἐπὶ χρόνον, τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης· προσβαλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά· ἀλγήσας δὲ, ἵσταται τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Μασίστιον· πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπέκείατο· τὸν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι

Masistius
is slain
with much

Macistius arose out of any consciousness of this, and a desire to convey the sense of the word. I should rather conceive it to have sprung out of a kind of jesting allusion to the stature of the Persian chief. (See § 25.) Both PLUTARCH and PAUSANIAS speak of the individual by the name *Masistius*, without any hint of a variation.

⁵⁷ Νισαῖον. The manuscripts S, F, c, have Νησαῖον. Of these horses see note 307 on iii. 106, and 141 on vii. 40.

⁵⁸ προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα. The manœuvre apparently was an attack by squadrons, each successive one delivering its javelins as it reached the line of the Greeks, but not attempting to break the

phalanx. After the discharge of the missiles, each squadron would make room, by a movement in column, for its successor to attack. The greater the rapidity with which the whole were brought up one after the other, the more effective the operation would be; and this rapidity no doubt it was which prevented the troops from discovering that their commander had fallen, until the whole body had delivered their missiles and reassembled themselves. When this at last took place, they were in a situation to charge in a body, which they accordingly did (ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, οὐκ ἐτι κατὰ τέλεα, §§ 22, 3).

καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι· ἐνεσκεύ-
αστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσειον λεπιδωτόν· κατύπερθε
δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνδεδύκεε· τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν
θώρηκα, ἐποίεον οὐδέν· πρὶν γε δὴ μαθῶν τις τὸ ποιούμενον, παίει
μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δὲ
κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθее τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα
μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα· ἀναχωρήσιός τε
γυνομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἐπεὶ τε δὲ
ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν⁵⁹, ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσω·
μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλανον τοὺς ἵππους
πάντες, ὥς ἂν τὸν γε νεκρὸν ἀνελοιᾶτο. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντας,
τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας ἐβώθее⁶⁰,
ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὀξεῖα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἕως μὲν νυν μούνοι
ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι, ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον·
ὥς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησαν, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππῶται
ὑπέμενον, οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι· ἀλλὰ πρὸς
ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπόλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες⁶¹ ὧν
ὅσον τε δύο στάδια, ἐβουλεύοντο ὅ τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιεῖν; ἐδόκεε
δὲ σφι, ἀναρχίης ἐούσης, ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. Ἀπικο-
μένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασσι-
στίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε
αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια⁶², οἰμωγῇ τε
χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῳ· ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτὴν κατεῖχε ἡχώ⁶³.

difficulty
from the
excellence
of a shirt of
gold-mail
which he
wore under
his clothes.

23

A hard fight
takes place
for the pos-
session of
his corpse,
which at
last the
confederates
carry off.

24

Public
mourning
of the Per-
sians for
Masistius.

⁵⁹ ἐπόθεσαν. This is the reading of all the MSS, but it is probably corrupt. The most probable conjecture is ἐπόθησαν, a word used by Herodotus in the sense of "missed" (iii. 36).

⁶⁰ ἐβώθее. See note 4 on viii. 1, above.

⁶¹ ἀποστήσαντες, "having retired." The word seems used technically to denote the manœuvre which was the opposite of προσελαύνειν.

⁶² σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. I am not aware of any thing confirming the inference which might be drawn from this passage, that the Persians cut the manes and tails of their horses as a mark of mourning. But such was really the practice of their

Thessalian allies. PLUTARCH (*Pelopid.*, § 33.) Thus EURIPIDES makes Admetus on learning the death of his wife, give the order:

τέθριππά τ' οἷ ζεύγνυσθε
καὶ μονάμπυκας
πῶλους, σιδήρῳ τέμνεται
αὐχένων φόβην.

(*Alcest.* 428.)

⁶³ ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτὴν κατεῖχε ἡχώ. This is not to be considered a simple exaggeration, meaning that the sound was so great that the noise of the mourners in the camp was heard all over the country. A general order was no doubt given for the highest funeral honours to be bestowed on Masistius; and

ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετὰ γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρὰ τε
 25 Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλείῃ. Οἱ μὲν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ
 ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἵππον
 ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσιν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥσαντο, ἐθάρσησάν τε
 πολλῶ μάλλον, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἅμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν
 παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος, μεγάθεος
 εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος· τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησιν· ἐκλείποντες
 τὰς τάξεις ἐφοίτεον θεησόμενοι Μασίστιον· μετὰ δὲ, ἔδοξέ σφι
 ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χώρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῶ ἐὼν
 ἐπιτηδεωτέρως σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταιῆκος τοῦ Ἐρυ-
 θραίου, τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ εὐνδροτέρος· ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χώρον, καὶ
 ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην⁶⁴ τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ εἶδον,
 ἔδοξέ σφι χρὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπε-
 δεύεσθαι ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα, ἦϊσαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ
 Κιθαιρώνος παρὰ Ὑσιᾶς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ
 ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ
 τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος⁶⁵, διὰ ὄχθων τε οὐκ
 ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χωρίου.

26 Ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγων πολλὸς⁶⁶ ὠθισμὸς

the result of this would be a wailing and lamentation wherever troops were posted. If the numbers of Mardonius's army were any thing like what is related, the extent of his line must have been such that the assertion in the text may well be true, almost to the letter. A traveller would no sooner get beyond the sound of the cries of one body of troops than he would begin to hear those of another.

⁶⁴ Γαργαφίην. This is the reading of all the MSS except S, which both here and below (§ 49) has Γαρσαφίην. The fountain has been identified with one named in the present day *Vergentiani*, a copious stream just on the left of the road leading from the pass of Cithæron (formerly called Δρύος κεφαλαί) to Platæa. During the summer months it supplies with water the villages of Gondara and Velia, the former of which is supposed to occupy the site of part of *Hysie*. From the pass Δρύος κεφαλαί to the vestiges of the ancient Platæa is about three miles, and about half-way is a low range of hills running northward from the main range of Cithæron, and forming a watershed be-

tween one of the feeders of the Asopus, which falls into the Ægean, and another river, probably the *Oeroe*, the waters of which after passing by Platæa fall into the gulf of Corinth. Both the Asopus and this river have separate branches in the mountain, and the latter precisely forms that sort of island, described by Herodotus (below, § 50). Its streams, like those of other Grecian rivers, are merely torrents in the winter; but the Asopus, which is rather more considerable, has stagnant pools in different parts of its channel, even throughout the summer. (COLONEL SQUIRE, *ap. Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 338.)

⁶⁵ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος. This fane stood on the right hand of the road which led direct from Platæa to Thebes (THUCYDIDES, iii. 24), and must have been quite close to the former.

⁶⁶ πολλὸς. Several of the MSS have πολλῶν, but Gaisford has followed the reading of S and V. It is defended by the general use of Herodotus. Compare vii. 225: Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων

Exultation of the allies, who move from the neighbourhood of Erythræ to that of Platæa and the Gargaphian fountain, and occupy a position accessible to cavalry.

Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἐδικαίουν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔχειν Dispute for precedence between the Tegeans and Athenians. τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε· “ἡμεῖς αἰεὶ κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, ὅσαι ἤδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοις καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν⁶⁷ καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεὶ τε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρώντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον. τότε εὐρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ⁶⁸, ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἰζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιούσι· τότε ὦν λόγος Ὑλλὸν ἀγορεύσασθαι, ὡς χρεὸν εἴη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου, τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον τοῦτόν οἱ μονομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοις. ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοις ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα, καὶ ἔταμον ὄρκια ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε· ἦν μὲν Ὑλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίῳν ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώϊα· ἦν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν· ἑκατόν τε ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων συμμάχων ἐθελοντῆς Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου, τοῦ Φηγέος⁶⁹, στρατηγός τε ἔων καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος· καὶ ἐμονομαχῆσέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὑλλὸν· ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοις τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες⁷⁰, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἐτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμο-

ῶθισμός ἐγένετο πολλός. viii. 78: ἐγένετο ὠθισμός λόγων πολλός.

⁶⁷ τὸ παλαιόν. S and V have τὸ πάλαι, which perhaps may have been altered in the other MSS for the sake of symmetry.

⁶⁸ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. The Ionians referred to here are the inhabitants of the *Megarid*, who, according to the *Attic traditions*, although not according to their own, were Ionian, and ethnically identical with the race inhabiting Attica, until the invasion of the latter by the Peloponnesians in the time of Codrus. (See the note 203 on v. 76.) Herodotus, therefore, would seem here to be giving an *Athenian* account of the incident which he describes.

⁶⁹ Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου, τοῦ Φηγέος. PAUSANIAS (viii. 5. 1) makes not *Phe-*

geus, but *Cepheus*, to be the grandfather of Echemus. It need not necessarily be supposed that he found a different reading in Herodotus. The traditions of the Greeks were, he says, very different from one another, and especially in the genealogies (viii. 53. 5). Phegeus has every mark of being a genuine Arcadian name. The combat in which Hyllus was slain was on the confines of the Megarian and Corinthian territory.

⁷⁰ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες. What these privileges were, it is now impossible to do more than conjecture; but it seems likely that the influence of the Tegean Chileus mentioned above (§ 9) was not a merely personal one, but arose, partly at least, out of the position which he held as representative of his countrymen at Sparta. It will be seen, that in

νεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν μὲν νυν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἀντιέμεθα· ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν, παρίεμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ἰκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν, κατὰπερ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρὶς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηρημένου ἔργου, ἀξιονικότεροί εἰμεν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν· πολλοὶ μὲν γάρ τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας⁷¹ ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους· οὕτω ὦν ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, ἥπερ Ἀθηναίους⁷². οὐ γάρ σφί ἐστι ἔργα οἷά περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὐτ' ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά.”

27 Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε· “ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἵνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης⁷³ προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ ἐκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέρχασται χρηστὰ, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας, ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώϊόν ἐστι, ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ, πρῶτοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι⁷⁴.

the disposition of the troops, the Tegeans are quite separated from the rest of the Arcadians, and placed next to the five thousand Spartans,—in a more honourable position therefore than even the picked Lacedæmonian perioecian hoplites, —καὶ τιμῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς (below, § 28). Perhaps one of the conditions under which they submitted to the supremacy of Sparta, after the long series of wars, was that they should in all respects be on a superior footing to these, and always rank next to the pure Spartans. This, in time of war, would give them one of the wings where the force was purely Peloponnesian, and in time of peace might entitle those of them that were in Sparta to an honourable place at festivals, and such like distinctions. It would be only natural, if the Tegeans stood in a better position than the non-Spartan Lacedæmonians, that the latter should be exceedingly pleased with any opportunity of humbling them, and should for this purpose take advantage of the new case which offered, of Athenians joining the Peloponnesian confederacy. The terms in which they decided in favour of the claim of these contain a supercilious reflection on their opponents. See note 77 on § 27, below.

⁷¹ πρὸς ὑμέας. See above, i. 67.

⁷² οὕτω ὦν ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, ἥπερ Ἀθηναίους. This passage is generally considered as an instance of the use of the positive adjective in precise equivalence to the comparative; and if it be not corrupt, it certainly is so; for there is nothing in the words which allow even of the inference of a comparative sense, such, for instance, as in the passage of THEOCRITUS (ix. 20):

ἔχω δέ τοι οὐδ' ὕσον ὦραν
χείματος ἢ νωδὸς καρύων, ἀμύλοιο παρόν-
τος,

or as in πρῶτοις εἶναι ἢ Ἀρκάσι in the next section, supposing the reading of S to be adopted. I doubt whether any real case can be produced from early authors of an interchange of degrees such as that in the text. But the manuscripts are unanimous; and the reading, if corrupt, is probably as ancient as the Alexandrine times, when apparent solecisms came to be studiously imitated, and thus to produce real ones.

⁷³ ὁ Τεγεήτης. See note 511 on i. 152.

⁷⁴ μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. This appears to be the reading of all the MSS except one (S), which omits the word μᾶλλον. Gaisford however follows it, considering the word μᾶλλον in the rest to have been in-

Ἡρακλείδας τῶν οὔτοι φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἴσθμῳ, τοῦτο μὲν τούτους πρότερον, ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοῖατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι, τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατέλοιμεν, σὺν κείνοισι μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον· τοῦτο δέ, Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους, ἀνελεῖσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φάμεν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας, τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν⁷⁵. καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωϊκοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλείπομεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμενησθαι καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἔοντες ὧντοὶ νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἔοντες φλαυροὶ νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνουες. παλαιῶν μὲν νυν ἔργων αἴλις ἔστω. ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τέοισι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν, καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ· οὔτινες μῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μονομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ, καὶ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες, περιεγενόμεθα, καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα⁷⁶. ἂρ'

serted as a gloss. This is possible; but it seems to me more probable that it has been omitted from S by an error of the copyist, who originally left out ἡ also.

⁷⁵ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν. The celebrated Hill of Mars was the site of the Amazonian encampment, and their settlement upon it was in the Attic older legends represented as an ἐπιχειρισμὸς against Athens. In this way ÆSCHYLUS alludes to it (*Eumenid.* 685—690). See note 273 on v. 94. The historical fact lying at the bottom of the myth is the existence of a community in Attica, identical in religious traditions and in race with another localized in the neighbourhood of the river Thermodon. This race formerly spread over the north and west coasts of Asia Minor, and into the islands, Ephesus, Smyrna, Cuma, Myrine, Paphos, and other places, being said to be named after Amazonian founders. In the time of STRABO they were said to exist continuously to the Gargares, whom Metrodorus the geogra-

pher placed on the northern flanks of Caucasus (xi. c. 5, pp. 418—420). He remarks that the traditions of this race are the only instance in which it is impossible to draw the line between fable and history. On the subject of them, the essay entitled *Amazons* in the CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL MUSEUM (vol. i. p. 106) may be studied with great advantage.

⁷⁶ ἔθνεα ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. Few persons will be inclined to believe that troops from so many different nations were embarked in six hundred ships for the purpose of invading Greece; but it would be very interesting to discover the origin of the notion. It seems possible that its source is some arrangement (perhaps for the purpose of military service) in which the subjects of the Persian king were classed under forty-six different heads. Such, for instance, may have appeared on the στήλαι which Darius set up at Byzantium (iv. 87, where see notes 245 and 247). The circumstance of the Athenians having been alone at the battle

οὐ δίκαιοι εἶμεν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξιος εἵνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι εἶμεν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεώ-
 τaton ἡμέας εἶναι ἐστάναι, καὶ κατ' οὐστυνας· πάντη γὰρ τετα-
 γμένοι πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέσθε δὲ ὡς πείσομένων." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἅπαν τὸ
 στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικοτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἢ περ
 Ἀρκάδας⁷⁷. οὕτω δὲ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς
 Τεγεήτας.

The Lacedæmonians unani-
 mously
 decide for
 the Athe-
 nians.

28

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε⁷⁸ οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ
 ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων· τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαι-
 μονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους, ἔοντας Σπαρ-
 τήτας, ἐφύλασσαν ψιλοὶ τῶν εἰλωτέων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισ-
 μύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δέ σφι
 εἶλοντο ἐστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας, καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα
 καὶ ἀρετῆς· τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὀπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντηκόσιοι. μετὰ
 δὲ τούτους ἴσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι· παρὰ δέ σφι
 εὔροντο παρὰ Πausανίῳ⁷⁹ ἐστάναι Ποτιδαϊητέων τῶν ἐκ Παλ-

Arrange-
 ment of the
 line of the
 allies,

of Marathon, not only served them in good stead for the purpose of gratifying their national vanity, but likewise enabled them to put the facts of the transaction in their own way without the danger of contradiction,—a circumstance of which they took full advantage, if we may believe THEOPOMPUS, who speaks of this as one of several matters, in which ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις ἀλαζονεύεται καὶ παρα-
 κρούεται τοὺς Ἕλληνας. By the begin-
 ning of the Peloponnesian war, every other state was heartily weary of it; and when an Athenian put it forward, a hub-
 bub was sure to follow: τὰ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ἐξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι' ὅχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλο-
 μένοις, ἀνάγκη λέγειν. (THUCYDIDES, i. 73.)

⁷⁷ Ἀρκάδας. The use of this word should not be overlooked. It seems to be substituted intentionally for Τεγεήτας by the Lacedæmonians. The Tegeans probably would not feel flattered by being massed together with the inhabitants of insignificant hamlets under this name. (See note 70 on § 26, above.)

⁷⁸ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε. PAUSANIAS, describing the statue of Zeus at Olympia, which was put up there by the allies who

fought at Platæa (below, § 81), gives a somewhat different list of the contingents from Herodotus. The names of the states were inscribed on the base of the statue, and stood in the following order: Lacedæmonians; Athenians; Corinthians and Sicyonians; Æginetans; Megarians and Epidaurians; Tegeans and Orchomenians; Phliuntians, Troezenians, and Hermionians; Tynnthians; Plateans; Mycenæans; Cæans and Melians; Ambracians; Tenians and Lepreatæ from Triphylia; Naxians and Cytherians; Styres from Eubœa; Eleans, Potidæans, and Anactories; Chalcidians from the Euripus (v. 23, 1). Those in italics are not mentioned by Herodotus, who, on the other hand, introduces Eretrians, Leucadians, and Pales from Cephallenia. Also he makes Eleans form part of the army at the isthmus the year before (viii. 72). DIODORUS expressly declares that they did not take an active part against the invader.

⁷⁹ εὔροντο παρὰ Πausανίῳ, "they obtained leave from Pausanias." The request was doubtless made on account of Potidæa having been a colony from Corinth. (THUCYDIDES, i. 56.)

First position of the fleets in the afternoon before the battle.

aaaa

Egyptians

bbbb

Phoenicians

cccc

Cyprians & Cilicians

dddd

Ionians

mmmm

Greek Fleet at Salamis.

Second position of the fleets at day break on the day of battle.

BBBBB

Ionians

ééééé


Cyprians & Cilicians.

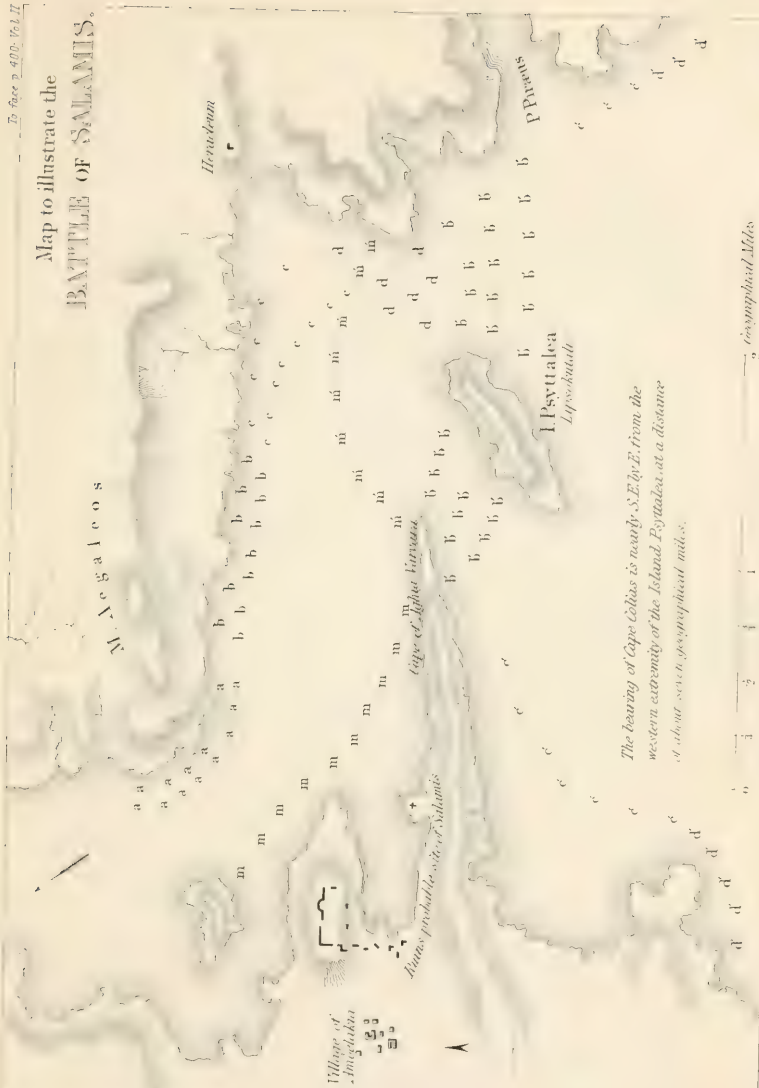
ddddd

Ionians

mmmm

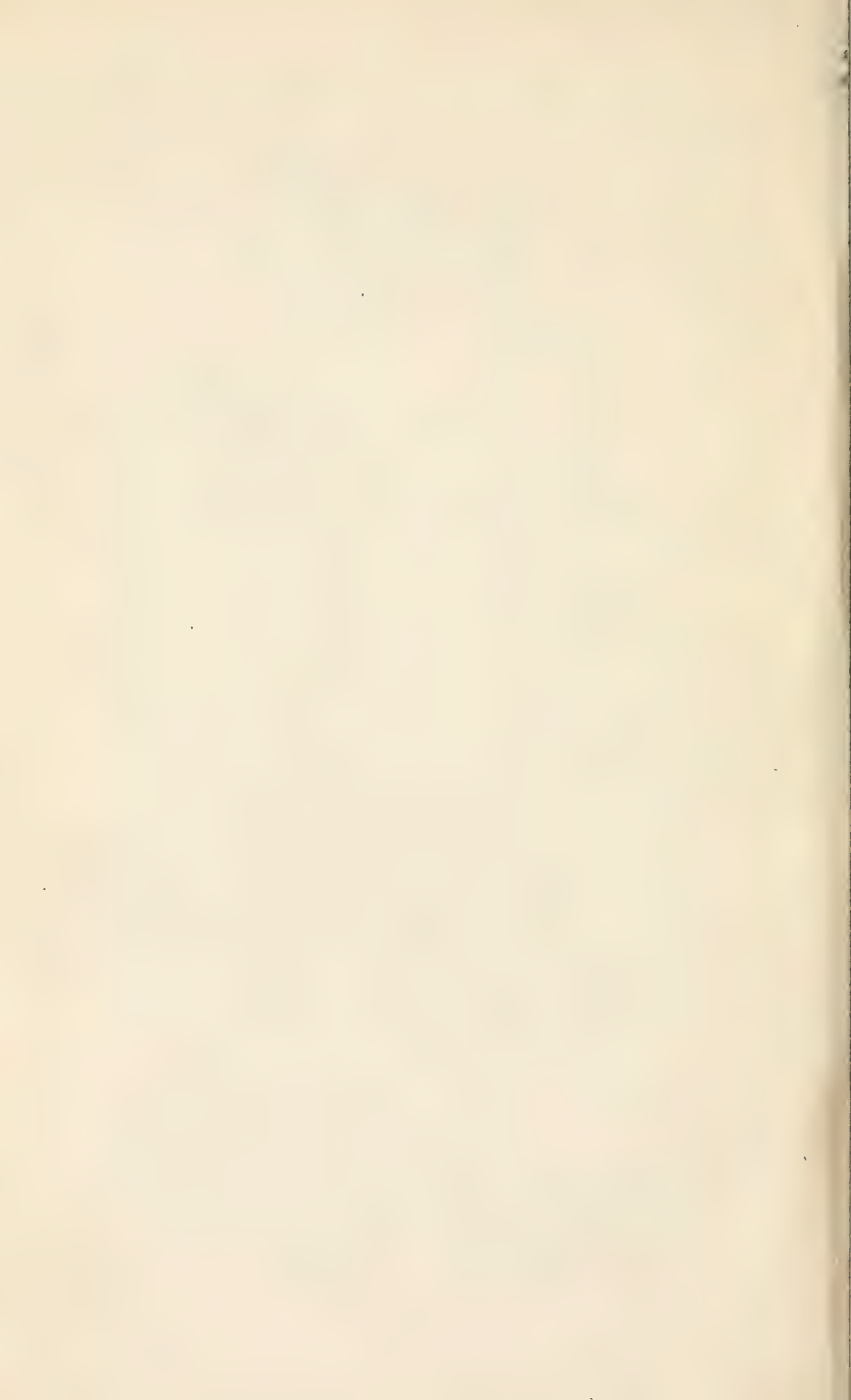
Greek Fleet making the attack.

The Egyptians have in the night moved in the direction  to block the western entrance of the channel.



The bearing of Cape Iólus is nearly S.E. by E. from the western extremity of the Island Pyttalea at a distance of about seven geographical miles.

Geographical Miles



λήνης τοὺς παρέοντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι τούτων δὲ, Σικυνῶνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἶχοντο Ἐπίδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι. Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Λεπρητέων διηκόσιοι· τούτων δὲ, Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Φλιάσιοι χίλιοι· παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστασαν Ἑρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἑρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι· τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι· τούτων δὲ, Ἀμπρακιητέων⁸⁰ πεντηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἔστασαν· τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι, Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Αἰγινητέων πεντηκόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων, Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι· ἐστρατήγεε δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ and numbers of the aggregate of the several contingents.

Λυσιμάχου. οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὀπλίται, συνάπαντες ἔοντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἐπτὰ. Ὀπλίται μὲν 29 οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε· τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξις πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἔόντων ἐπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα· καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοὶ, ὡς εἰς περὶ ἕκαστον ἔων ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι⁸¹ ἦσαν ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάδες⁸² καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε⁸³. Τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος 30 Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σὺν τε ὀπλίτησι καὶ

⁸⁰ Ἀμπρακιητέων. S and V have Ἀμπρακιωτέων, but all the other MSS support the reading of the text. In § 31, below, S has Ἀμβρακιώτας, and V and d Ἀμπρακιώτας. In iv. 123, the forms Μαιήτιν and Μαιητέων are supported by all the MSS.

⁸¹ πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι. According to Herodotus's own statement, the numbers of the light-armed troops, independently of the Helots, should be 33,700, or 800 less than he here puts them at. But the incorrect number seems to arise only from an error of cal-

culatation, and not from any lacuna in the MSS, as the aggregate of the various contingents agrees with the sum given in the text for the numbers of the hoplites.

⁸² καὶ ἑννέα χιλιάδες. These words are omitted from S and V, but apparently only by an error of transcription in the archetypal MS.

⁸³ πέντε. Two MSS have ἑπτα, which, as in other respects they do not vary from the others, would give too great a numerical force of the light-armed troops by 1000.

ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἔνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μῆς χιλιάδος πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι· σὺν δὲ Θεσπείων τοῖσι παρευοῦσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἔνδεκα μυριάδες· παρήσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπείων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιέοντες⁸⁴, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

31 Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον⁸⁵ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἀπεκίδευσαν Μασίστιον⁸⁶, παρήσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτην ῥέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου· κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας· καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιέασαν⁸⁷ πλήθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξις πλεῦνας ἐκεκοσμέατο, καὶ ἐπέιχον τοὺς Τεγεῖτας· ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω ὅ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτοῦ δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας, ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων· τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεῖτας· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαίητας, καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικωνίους. Μήδων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους, καὶ Λεπρείτας τε καὶ Τирυνθίους, καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλιασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἑρετριέας, καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε· οἱ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακίητας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους, καὶ

⁸⁴ οἱ περιέοντες. Thespiæ had been destroyed by the army of Xerxes the year before, on which occasion the inhabitants found refuge in the Peloponnese (viii. 50). But the phrase seems to refer especially to the loss they sustained at Thermopylæ, where 700 were with Leonidas (vii. 220), and remained voluntarily with him after his position was turned (vii. 222, where see note 557).

⁸⁵ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον. This is the reading of all the MSS except one (F), which has ἀμφὶ περὶ Μαρδόνιον,—obviously an union of two alternative readings.

⁸⁶ ὡς ἀπεκίδευσαν Μασίστιον, "as they finished lamenting for Masistius." Compare ii. 40: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, "when they have done beating their breasts." ii. 73: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ, "when it has completed its practice."

THUCYDIDES uses the word ἀπαλγεῖν to denote the remission of pain which followed the paroxysms of the plague patients in Athens (ii. 61). An excellent illustration of this force of the preposition is supplied by some verses of ALEXIS as corrected by Valckenaer:

πολλή γ' ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπο-
ζῆσαι
πρώτιστον, ἀφ' ὑβρίσαι τ', ἀπανθή-
σαντα δὲ
σκληρὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ καταστῆναι πάλιν.

⁸⁷ περιέασαν. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the single manuscript S, all the rest having περίεσαν, which I should prefer. Still, in i. 187, the simple form εἶας is adopted on the authority of the majority of MSS, and in ii. 19 they are unanimous for εἶα.

Λευκαδίους, καὶ Παλέας, καὶ Αἰγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ Λοκροὺς, καὶ Μηλίας τε καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς, καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκῆες ἐμήδισαν· ἀλλὰ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἠῦξον, περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι⁸³. καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμεώμενοι, ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τήν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιήν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔοντας Ἑλλήνων· ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας⁸⁹ τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους⁹⁰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὀνομασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τάπερ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες ἀναμειγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηίκων, καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων (οἳ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι⁹¹) μαχαιροφόροι· οἵπερ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μῦνοι μάχιμοι· τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἔων ἀπὸ τῶν νηῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο, ἔοντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὥς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται⁹². τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμὸν· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἠριθμήθησαν· ὥς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν· ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες⁹³ οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τε ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ 33
τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἑλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἶπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν, ἔοντα Ἥλειον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην⁹⁴, Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποίησαντο λεωσφέτερον·

32
Numbers of
Mardonius's
army.

33
Both sides
sacrifice for
auspices,
the allies by
Tisamenus
of Elis.
Circum-
stances

⁸³ περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι. See viii. 32, and note 43 on § 17, above.

⁸⁹ ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας. These were the contingent furnished by Alexander the king of Macedonia, who commanded them in person (§ 44, below).

⁹⁰ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους. These would doubtless be the clansmen and retainers of the Aleuadae and Scopadae, serving with Mardonius.

⁹¹ οἳ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι. Of these soldiers see note 506 on ii. 164.

⁹² τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὥς καὶ πρότερον

δεδήλωται. These numbers are given above (viii. 113), but there the thirty myriads seem to include the cavalry. And of these thirty myriads, six attempt unsuccessfully to take Potidaea (viii. 126), and suffer very great loss before they raise the siege (viii. 129). Diodorus puts the numbers of the allies at 100,000, and those of the invading army at half a million (xi. 30).

⁹³ πάντες. This word is omitted in S and V.

⁹⁴ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην. This is the reading of all the MSS except

under which
he was made
a Lacedæ-
monian
citizen.

Τισαμενῷ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου⁹⁵, ἀνέειλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε· ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρηστηρίου, προσείχε γυμνασίοισι ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας· ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε⁹⁶ νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικούς ἀλλ' ἐς ἀρήϊους ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήϊον, μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντο πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων· ὁ δὲ ὀρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνων σφι, ὡς ἦν μιν πολὴν τὴν σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα· ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ' οὐ· Σπαρτιῆται δὲ, πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῖντο, καὶ μετέλεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης^a τὸ παρίπαν· τέλος δὲ, δείματος μεγά-

S, which has Κλυτιάδου instead of Κλυτιάδην. But it occasions a good deal of difficulty; for both Ἱαμιδης and Κλυτιάδης are gentile names; and CICERO (*De divinatione*, i. 41) expressly states that there were in Elis two families specially distinguished for their skill in divination, the *Iamidæ* and the *Clytiadæ*. It would seem certain, therefore, that if Tisamenus belonged to the one, he could not bear a name implying that he was a member of the other. It is remarkable too that PAUSANIAS, in relating the story of this Tisamenus, and obviously from this passage of Herodotus, does not mention the name *Clytiades* at all (iii. 11. 6). Under these circumstances I am inclined to suspect, that here, as in many other places, alternative readings have been combined in the text. The tradition relative to Tisamenus may very well have varied, some accounts making a member of one of the two families, and some one of the other. Thus some of the MSS will have run: τὸν, ἔοντα Ἡλείον Κλυτιάδην, and others: τὸν, ἔοντα Ἡλείον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἱαμιδέων. After the two variants were incorporated into one, the scribe of S (or of its archetype) appears to have endeavoured to soften down the incongruity by making Tisamenus the son of a Clytiades.

⁹⁵ μαντευομένῳ . . . περὶ γόνου. Schweighäuser seems to think that there must be some error in the text, because in the answer of the oracle there is no reference to the subject about which Tisamenus inquired.

But although the desire of a family may have been the special cause which took him to Delphi, there may well have been something in the reply which led to further inquiries as to his career in after-life. Besides, it seems to have been no uncommon practice at Delphi to make answer quite beside the scope of the question put by the votary. (See iv. 150 and 155.)

⁹⁶ παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε, "he had it turn on the issue of one fall in wrestling." In the way in which PAUSANIAS puts the matter, one is led to suppose that having beaten Hieronymus in running and leaping, and probably been beaten by him in throwing the javelin and the discus, the victory remained to be finally determined by the issue of the wrestling bout. The expression παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα may be illustrated by ISÆUS (iii. p. 41): παρὰ τέτταρας ψήφους μετέσχε τῆς πόλεως, "his citizenship was established by four votes,"—that number being the excess of the majority. DEMOSTHENES (c. *Aristocrat.* p. 688): παρὰ τρεῖς μὲν ἀφείσαν ψήφους τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι, "they acquitted him, saving him from capital punishment by three votes." The common formula παρ' ὀλίγον is a familiar instance of the same idiom.

^a τῆς χρησμοσύνης, "of their need." This word seems to have been employed by *Heraclitus* as a philosophical term, and the opposite of *κόρος*. PHILO JUDÆUS, speaking of the professors of one particular form of pantheism, says that such a one

λου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος, καταίνεον μετιόντες· ὁ δὲ γνούς τετραμμένους σφέας, οὐδ' οὕτω ἔφη ἔτι ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἑγήνην.⁹⁷ γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμιμέετο Μελάμποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιλῆην τε καὶ πολιτῆην, αἰτεόμενος· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους, τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὡς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναικας τῆς νούσου, μισθὸν προετίνατο τῆς βασιλῆης τὸ ἥμισυ· οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἀλλ' ἀπίωντων, ὡς ἐμαίνοντο πολλῶ πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτω δὲ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετίνατο, ἥϊσαν δώσουντές οἱ ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται, ὁρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φὰς, ἣν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιλῆης, οὐ ποιήσειν τὰ βούλονται· οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν, καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα. Ὡς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως 35 συνεχώρεόν οἱ· συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὲ πέντε σφί μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἥλεις, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταίρει· μῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτησι πολιῆται.⁹⁸ οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἶδε ἐγένοντο· εἷς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος, οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι· ἐπὶ δὲ, ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους.⁹⁹

34

Similar story of Melampus.

35

is Ἡρακλείτειον δόξης ἑταῖρος, “κόρον καὶ χρησιμοσύνην,” καὶ “ἐν τῷ πᾶν,” καὶ “πάντα ἀμοιβῇ” εἰσάγων. (*Legum allegoriæ*, iii. p. 39, Mangey.) In another passage, giving a mystical meaning to the practice of dividing into portions an animal offered as a victim, he says, ἡ δὲ εἰς μέλη τοῦ ζώου διανομὴ δηλοῖ, ἥτοι ὡς ἐν τὰ πάντα, ἡ ὅτι ἐξ ἑνὸς τε καὶ εἰς ἕν· ὅπερ οἱ μὲν κόρον καὶ χρησιμοσύνην ἐκάλεσαν, οἱ δ' ἐκπύρῳσιν καὶ διακόσμησιν. (*De animal. sacrificio idoneis*, p. 242.) PLUTARCH (*De ei Delphico*, § 9) refers to the same nomenclature: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἴσος ὁ τῶν περιόδων χρόνος, ἀλλὰ μείζων ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας, ἣν κόρον καλοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ τῆς χρησιμοσύνης ἐλάττω.

⁹⁷ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἑγήνην. Tisamenus appears to have had a grandson of the same name with his brother. He was said to have been Lysander's seer, and by

his auguries to have brought about the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami. This was the tradition attached to a bronze statue of him which PAUSANIAS saw at Sparta (iii. 11. 5). But the statue certainly cannot have been an original one; for it stood by the side of the altar of a temple dedicated to Augustus Cæsar. See note 109 on i. 31.

⁹⁸ μῦνοι δὲ δὴ . . . πολιῆται. The instance of Tyrtaeus refutes this observation. (PLUTARCH, *Apophth. Lac.*, § 15, p. 230.) But it has been before remarked, that Herodotus appears to be ignorant of all the particulars of the Messenian wars, with the common narrative of which Tyrtaeus is mixed up, and to which Pausanias's apophthegm recorded by Plutarch refers.

⁹⁹ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους. This battle will probably have been at the

γενόμενος· μετὰ δὲ, ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι¹⁰⁰ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας, πλὴν Μαντινέων· ἐπὶ δὲ, ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ¹⁰¹. ὕστατος δὲ, ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ¹⁰² πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

36 Οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ὁ Τισαμενὸς, ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρ-
 37 τητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἕλλησι
 καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά, ἀμυνομένοισι· διαβάσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ
 μάχης ἄρχουσι, οὐ. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν,
 οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά· ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλὰ· καὶ
 γὰρ οὗτος Ἕλληنيκοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρέετο¹⁰³, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησί-
 στρατον, ἄνδρα Ἡλείῳν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδῶν ἐόντα λογιμώ-
 τατον· τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῇται λαβόντες ἔδησαν
 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

The omens
unfavour-
able on both
sides for
attacking.

Story of
Mardonius's
seer, Heger-
sistratus of
Elis.

time when the Achaean population were possessed of considerable influence in Argos, after the revolution noticed in vi. 83, where see note 189. Just before the battle of Plataea the alliance of Tegea and Sparta must have been very close. (See note 70 on § 26, above.) But the policy of Pausanias seems to have been an opposite one to that of Cleomenes; for he voluntarily associated with himself Euryanax, the son of the self-banished Dorieus. See note 24 on § 9, above.) The rejection of the claim of the Tegeans therefore to the second post of honour may very well have been afterwards followed by the abridgement of other special privileges, and thus they may have become alienated from Sparta, and disposed to take part with Argos, at that time stripped bare of the Cadmaeo-dorian part of her citizens.

¹⁰⁰ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι. *Dipaeus* was an Arcadian hamlet in the region of Mænalus. (PAUSANIAS, iii. 11. 7.) The battle fought against "all the Arcadians" will, I apprehend, have occurred in that war which was kindled by Cleandrus the prophet from Phigalia, mentioned in vi. 83, where see note 190.

¹⁰¹ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ. See note 138 on iii. 47. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS, but P, K, and F, have πρὸς Ἴσθμῳ, which Gaisford adopts. PAUSANIAS, going through the five victories, thus describes this one: τέταρτον δὲ ἡγωνίσατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας ἀπὸ τῶν Εἰλώτων. ἀπέστησαν δὲ οὐχ ἅπαντες οἱ Εἰλωτες ἀλλὰ τὸ Μεσσηνιακὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων Εἰλώτων ἀπο-

σχισθέντες. . . . τότε δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους εἶσαν Τισαμενῶ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίῳ πειθόμενοι (iii. 11. 8). In the passage of Pausanias, Wesseling proposes to read τοὺς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας τῶν Εἰλώτων (which Bekker adopts), and in the text here Palmer (likewise followed by Bekker) changes the reading of the manuscripts P, K, F, into πρὸς Ἰθώμην. But there seems no reason at all for either change. It is true that there is no mention elsewhere of a battle at the Isthmus, but neither is there of any one at Ithome, unless that at Stenyclerus (§ 65, below) may be deemed such; and in that the Messenians were victorious. From the words of Pausanias one may gather that a considerable body of Helots, the descendants of the Messenians who survived the second Messenian war (which ended with the capture of Ira) were at the Isthmus, and revolting, took refuge at Ithome. There may very well have been a conflict with them before they fled thither, and the importance of this may have arisen not so much from the amount of their force as from the helplessness of Sparta, just at that time overthrown by an earthquake. See ARISTOPHANES, quoted in note 138 on iii. 47.

¹⁰² ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ. This is the battle mentioned by THUCYDIDES, i. 108.

¹⁰³ ἐχρέετο. This is the reading of B and Aldus, and is adopted by Gaisford. S and V have ἐχράτο, and M, P, K, F ἐχρέατο, which is apparently a corruption from ἐχρέετο.

ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς
 πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος¹⁰⁴ πολλά τε καὶ λυγρὰ, ἔργον
 ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγῳ· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ,
 ἐσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἄν-
 δρειότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· σταθμισάμενος γὰρ
 ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδὸς, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν
 ἐωυτοῦ, ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὥστε φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων,
 διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην¹⁰⁵, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευό-
 μενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος· οὕτω
 ὥστε, Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ διζημένων, τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι
 ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης,
 ὁρέοντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κάκεινον οὐ δυναμένους
 εὔρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους, καταφεύγει ἐς
 Τεγέην, ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἄρθμῃν Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁴ πεισόμενος. This reading is supported by A, B, F, S, P. Aldus and one manuscript (b) have πησόμενος, which would be a legitimate form from a present πῆθω, of which a trace appears in the substantive πῆμα, the aorist ἔπαθον, and the participle πήσας. See ÆSCHYLUS, *Agam.* 1633: πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ πῆσας μογῆς.

¹⁰⁵ ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην. PLUTARCH (*De fraterno amore*, § 3) calls Hegesistratus an *Arcadian seer*. Possibly this may arise from a misconception of the circumstance of his taking refuge in Tegea. At the same time, there was always a friendly intercourse between Elis and Arcadia, and possibly there may have been a branch of the Telliads in the latter country as well as the former. The very strongest community of feeling existed between the Eleans, Arcadians, and Messenians throughout the second Messenian war. Theoclus, an Iamid, was the adviser of Aristomenes from the very beginning to the end of the war, the Arcadians were his fast allies, and the palladium of Messenian independence was a brass jar containing a secret ritual of the *Great Goddesses* written on sheets of lead, described in a dream to Epaminondas as τὴν γραῦν τὴν ἐν χαλκῷ καθειργμένην θαλάμῳ καὶ ἤδη λειποψυχοῦσαν. (PAUSANIAS, iv. 26. 7.) The common bond therefore of the three parties was an attachment to the antedorian religion of the Peloponnese, and the modes of life to which it belonged.

In accordance with this, when Epaminondas 287 years afterwards re-established the Messenians in their own country, the religious solemnities performed by the confederates belonged, without any exception, to the antedorian period. The Thebans and Epaminondas sacrificed to Dionysus and the *Ismenian* Apollo, the Argives to their *Here* and the *Nemean* Zeus, the Messenians to the *Ithomatan* Zeus and the *Dioscuri*, and their priests to the Great Goddesses and Caucon. The Arcadians furnished victims for the whole; and the whole invoked *in common*, as ἡρώας συνόλκους, Messene, the daughter of Triopas (of whom see notes 492 and 587 on Book I.) in the chief place, and after her Eurytus (a hero to whom libations were offered preliminary to the orgies of the Great Goddesses, PAUSANIAS, iv. 3. 10; iv. 33. 5); Aphareus, and his sons Idas and Lynceus (the hereditary hierophants of the Great Goddesses, PAUSANIAS, iv. 2. 6); and of the Heraclides only Cresphontes and his son Æpytus (the grandson of an Arcadian king, and re-established in his Messenian dominions by Arcadian arms, PAUSANIAS, iv. 3. 6). The only music allowed was Boeotian and Argive *wind instruments*, and the melodies most conspicuous were those of Sacadas and Pronomus. (PAUSANIAS, ll. cc.)

¹⁰⁶ ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἄρθμῃν Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. This time must have been antecedent to that arrangement by

ύγιης δὲ γενόμενος, καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα, κατ-
εστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰθείης Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος· οὐ μέντοι γε
ἐς τέλος οἱ συνήνικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρη-
μένον· ἦλω γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπ-
έθανε. ὁ μὲν νυν θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν
Πλαταιῶν τότε δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος
οὐκ ὀλίγου, ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατὰ τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ
Λακεδαιμονίων¹⁰⁷ καὶ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος.

38

Mardonius
is advised to
watch the
passes of
Cithæron,

Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι, οὔτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσῃσι,
οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι
ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν¹⁰⁸ μάντιν Ἰππόμαχον, Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα) ἐπιρρε-
όντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ
Ἑρπυος, ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος, συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς
τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ

39

and eight
days after
the arrival
of the armies
in presence
of each
other, cuts
off a convoy
bringing
supplies to
the allies.

ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συχνούς. Ἡμέραι δέ
σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτὼ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκείνος
συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ· ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν,
ὡς εὐφρόνῃ ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαι-
ρωνίδας, αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι¹⁰⁹. τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς
Κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς Κεφαλὰς. πεμφθέντες δὲ
οἱ ἱππῶται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδῖον
λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγιά τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελο-
ποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ εἶποντο τοῖσι
ζεῦγεσι· ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφό-
νευον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου· ὡς
δὲ ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἡλαυνον περιβαλλό-
μενοι¹¹⁰ παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

which the Tegeans obtained the peculiar
privileges at Lacedæmon of which they
boast above (§ 26), or at least ante-
cedent to the time when they were se-
cured and ratified by the common prac-
tice.

¹⁰⁷ κατὰ τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων,
“in accordance with his hatred of the
Lacedæmonians.” Compare viii. 30: κατὰ
τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν.

¹⁰⁸ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν, “exclusively for them-
selves.” So above (§ 17) the commander
of the Phocian contingent orders his men
ἵζεσθαι ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, “to take

up a position by themselves in the plain;”
and the Amazons, unwilling to join the
tribe of their new husbands, urge them to
form a separate settlement, οἰκέωμεν ἐπ'
ἡμέων αὐτέων (iv. 114).

¹⁰⁹ αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι. This
pass is apparently to be looked for to the
west of that which lay between Cænœ and
Hysia; and led direct to Thebes. It was
probably a mere mountain track, not a
road, and like the packhorse routes in
Switzerland.

¹¹⁰ περιβαλλόμενοι, “securing them.”
The metaphor is apparently taken from a

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι 40
 βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαν· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήϊσαν
 οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι·
 ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἰὲλ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς
 Ἑλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως
 ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ αἰὲλ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης¹¹¹. τὸ δὲ
 ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι, μάλα ἔσκον οἷ
 ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετὰς.

The next two days the Greeks are constantly galled by the enemy's cavalry.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεὺν ἐγίνετο 41
 τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρῃ ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλα-
 ταίῃσι, οἳ τε δὴ Ἑλληνες πολλῶ πλευνες ἐγεγόνεσαν, καὶ Μαρ-
 δόνιος περιημέκτεε¹¹² τῇ ἑδρῇ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνιος
 τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος¹¹³, ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοις
 Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρῃ· βουλευομένων δὲ αἶδε
 ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι· ἡ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου, ὡς χρεὼν εἶη ἀναξεύζαντας
 τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν¹¹⁴, ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ
 Θηβαίων, ἐνθα σῖτόν τε σφί ἐσσηνεῖσθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον
 τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοις· κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἰζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι
 ποιεῦντας τάδε· ἔχει γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον, πολλὸν
 δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων
 φειδομένους μηδενὸς, διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ
 μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι· καὶ ταχέως σφέας
 παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην, μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας¹¹⁵.
 τούτου μὲν νυν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότες

On the eleventh day a dispute takes place between Mardonius and Artabazus as to the best course to pursue.

person who wraps a mantle round him. It is used above, 371: ἰδίῃ περιβαλλόμενος ἑωυτῷ κέρδεα, and viii. 8: πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο.

¹¹¹ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, "took the lead until it came to fighting." There is in this phrase and in the succeeding one, μάλα ἔσκον οἷ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετὰς, an insinuation unfavourable to the prowess of the Thebans which bespeaks a hostile feeling towards them.

¹¹² περιημέκτεε. See note 134 on i. 44.

¹¹³ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος. In the roll of the army (vii. 66) this individual is represented as the commander of the Parthians and Chorasmians,—names which

do not appear in the list of troops brought into line at Plataea (ix. 30). But it is possible that a change of command had taken place when Xerxes determined upon retreating; as we find Artabazus at the head of a detachment from the 300,000 troops selected by Mardonius (viii. 126—129). It will be observed, that the system of corruption which he recommends had been tried by himself at Potidæa, and with apparent success until detected accidentally.

¹¹⁴ ἀναξεύζαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν. See note 118 on viii. 60.

¹¹⁵ συμβάλλοντας. One manuscript (S) has συμβαλόντας. The sense seems rather to require κινδυνεύσειν συμβάλλοντας.

πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου· Μαρδονίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρῃ τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρῃ, καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένην· δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῶ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην¹¹⁶, μὴδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων· τὰ τε σφάγια τὰ Ἑγησιστράτου ἔαν χαίρειν· μὴδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους
 42 συμβάλλειν. Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιοῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδεὶς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γνώμῃ· τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμφάμενος ὦν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἑωυτοῦ ἑόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἶδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων, ὡς διαφθερέονται¹¹⁷ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι; σιγῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλητών, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδόντων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδόντων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν, ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος· ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεὸν ἔστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν¹¹⁸ ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι, οὔτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο¹¹⁹ οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν· ταύτης τε εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίας οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὖνοιοι ἑόντες Πέρσῃσι, ἦδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων.” ταῦτά σφι εἶπας, δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαι τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα¹²⁰ ποιέεσθαι, ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

43 Τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Ἑγχέλεων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιη-

An oracle is said to portend destruction to Persians after sacking the temple of Delphi.

This oracle really re-

¹¹⁶ συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην. This clause is not to be taken after δοκέειν, but after Μαρδονίου ἢ γνώμη ἦν. “The view of Mardonius was more a violent and headstrong one, and in no respect inclined to mild measures. [It was to the effect] that he thought their own force far superior to that of the Greeks, and that they should fight as soon as possible, and not look on at the assemblage of additional troops in greater numbers than were already concentrated.” There seems to have been a kind of reaction in the mind of Mardonius, perhaps arising from mortification at the disappointment of his

schemes; for it is plain that the policy recommended by Artabazus had been pursued by himself. (See above, notes 9 on § 3, and 34 on § 12, and 282 on viii. 136.)

¹¹⁷ διαφθερέονται. This is Gaisford's reading. The MSS vary between διαφθαρέονται (which is adopted by Wesseling and Bekker), διαφθορεῦνται (the reading of S and V), and διαφθερέοντας.

¹¹⁸ διαρπαγὴν. One manuscript (S) has ἀρπαγὴν.

¹¹⁹ τοῦτο. S omits this word.

¹²⁰ εὐκρινέα. S has εὐκρινα, and P εὐκρινέα.

μένον¹²¹, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐστι¹²² ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην πεποιημένα·

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμῶδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίῃ
Ἑλλήνων σύνδοον, καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰυγὴν
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ Λάχεσιν τε μύρον τε
τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἵσιμον ἡμαρ ἐπέλθῃ.

lated to some *Ilyrians* and *Encheles*, but there are some oracles of *Bacis* and *Musæus* which did apply to the Persians.

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μουσαίου¹²³ ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας· ὁ δὲ Θερμῶδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρας τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ 44
Μαρδονίου, νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὥς δὲ Τreachery of Alexander the Macedonian.
πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο, καὶ ἡσυχίῃ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ, τηνικαῦτα προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων¹²⁴, ἐδίξητο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν· τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες παρέμενον, οἱ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον, ὥς ἄνθρωπος ἥκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοὶ ἔπος, στρατηγούς δὲ ὀνομάζων, ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα 45
ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἶποντο ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε· “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι¹²⁵, παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ

¹²¹ ἐς Ἰλλυριοῦς τε . . . πεποιημένον. This is the application of the oracle adopted by EURIPIDES (*Bacchæ*, 1333), who makes Dionysus prophesy to Cadmus:

πολλὰς δὲ πέρσεις ἀναρίθμῳ στρατεύματι πόλεις· ὅταν δὲ Λοξίου χρηστήριον διαρπάσωσι, νόστον ἄθλιον πάλιν σχήσουσι.

¹²² ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐστι. S has τὰδε μὲν instead of τὰ μὲν, and F leaves out ἐστι, which S inserts after μάχην. Gaisford prints ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην, &c., and continues the sentence on after the citation of the verses, as if πεποιημένα were to be understood after Μουσαίῳ.

¹²³ Μουσαίου. This is a conjecture of Bekker's, the MSS all having Μουσαίῳ. For the way in which that reading is to be explained, see the last note.

¹²⁴ στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μα-

κεδόνων. Herodotus has mentioned this individual so often before, that it was scarcely necessary for the purpose of perspicuity again to describe him. Perhaps he is so described here on account of his father having recently died.

¹²⁵ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. The στρατηγοί, whom Alexander named as persons whom he wished to see, are *Athenians*, possibly individuals with which he had dealings on the occasion of his embassy to Athens in the previous winter (viii. 136, *seqq.*). But still he thinks it desirable to make himself known to them at the end of his speech, as if he had been an entire stranger. PLUTARCH describes him as asking for *Aristides* (*Aristid.* § 15). In the course of a generation or two the celebrity of *Aristides* was sure to attract to him the floating traditions relative to the incidents of the war. See note 86 a on vi. 37.

ἔπεα τάδε τίθεται, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Πausanίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος· αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἑλληὴν γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαῖον, καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὀρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λέγω δὲ ὦν, ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε· νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἔαν χαίρειν, ἅμα ἡμέρη δὲ διαφασκούση συμβολὴν ποιέεσθαι· καταρρώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλευνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζεσθε· ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάλλεται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος, καὶ μὴ ποιῆται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες· ὀλίγων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία ¹²⁶. ἦν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναι τινα χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας, ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ τάξιν.

46

Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, ἔλεγον Πausanίῃ τάπερ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου· ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας ¹²⁷, ἔλεγε τάδε· "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἡῶ ἢ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεὼν ἐστὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στήναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν, ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τε εἴμεν καὶ ἀδαεές τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπεύρηται Μήδων· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροί εἴμεν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα χρεὼν ἐστὶ ἰέναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον." πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε· "καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐπεὶ τε εἶδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας,

Dread of being opposed to the Persians induces Pausanias to attempt an alteration in his line,

¹²⁶ ὀλίγων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. This statement is not at all easy to reconcile with the argument of Artabazus (§ 41), that they should fall back on *Thebes*, where there were ample supplies both for horse and man. There can be no question that, with the superiority

in cavalry possessed by the Persians, it would have been perfectly easy to maintain an uninterrupted communication between *Thebes* and the army in camp.

¹²⁷ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας. See note 153 on § 60, below.

ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τάπερ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι· ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι¹²⁸. καὶ ἐτοῖμοί εἰμεν ποιεῖν ταῦτα.” Ὡς δ' ἤρourke ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, 47 ἥως τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις¹²⁹. γνόντες δὲ οἱ *which the enemy foil by a corresponding movement, and he resumes his first dispositions, and they theirs.* Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεῦμενον, ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδονίῳ· ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναί καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὥς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ Πausanias, γνούς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἤγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρ- 48 δόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὥς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν¹³⁰ ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἶδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους, αὐτοὺς τε ἀντὶ δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους· ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθὸν ἔργα· ἀλλὰ πλείστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος, ὥς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλούμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μόνουσι Πέρσησι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἔοντες ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὔρομεν, ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μάλλον. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν, τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε δεδόξασθε¹³¹ εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς¹³², ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν μαχεσόμεθα; καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκέη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι, ἀλλ' ἡμέας μόνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσόμεθα·

¹²⁸ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι. 135.
See note 23 on viii. 10.

¹²⁹ ἥως τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις, “with the very break of day they changed their respective positions.” See note 551 on vii. 218.

¹³⁰ στάσιν. S and V have τάξιν.

¹³¹ δεδόξασθε. See note 370 on vii.

¹³² πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς. The phrase *βάρβαροι*, applied by the invaders to their own troops, plainly shows the Hellenic origin of this challenge of Mardonius. See note 126 on i. 37, note 104 on iii. 36, and note 243 on v. 91.

49

He attacks the whole line of the allies with his cavalry, and destroys the Gargaphian fountain, from whence the whole army was supplied with water.

οκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν." Ὁ μὲν, ταῦτα εἶπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνετο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω· ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα· ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ¹³³, ἐπήκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ὥς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππότες, ἐσινέοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακουτίζοντες τε καὶ τοξεύοντες, ὥστε ἱπποτοξόται τε ἔοντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι¹³⁴. τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην¹³⁵, ἀπ' ἧς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὦν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μῦνοι· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὥς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀρχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτεον· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γὰρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι, ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

50

The allies resolve to move to "the island," ten stades off, in the course of the next night.

Τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου γινομένου, οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ, ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Πausanίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ἄλλα γὰρ, τούτων τοιούτων ἔοντων, μᾶλλον σφεας ἐπελύττει· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἳ τέ σφεων ὁπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὥς ἐπισιτιεύμενοι, ἀποκεκλέατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἣν

51

"The island" is formed by two branches of a river named Oëroë.

ὑπερβίλονται κείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν μὴ ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣν ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίου ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νήσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἡπείρῳ· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον περ

¹³³ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ. That this is a Hellenic view of Mardonius's sentiments, and can have no foundation of truth, seems perfectly certain. See the contemptuous way in which he speaks of the want of strategical skill among the Greeks (vii. 9). He was not likely to have his spirits elevated on finding that he was opposed by as good a general as himself, and one who did not intend to give up the advantages of a

strong position. With the expression ψυχρῇ νίκῃ compare ψυχρὴ ἐπικουρίη, vi. 108.

¹³⁴ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι. Not "unable to engage in close fight," but "impossible to bring to close fight." Compare ἄποροι προσμίσγειν, which is said of the Scythians (iv. 46) from the same cause.

¹³⁵ Γαργαφίην. See above, note 64 on § 25.

τρία στάδια· καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τὸντὸ· οὖνομα δέ οἱ Ἰερόη· θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι¹³⁶. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χώρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνως καὶ οἱ ἵππες σφέας μὴ σινοίωτο, ὥσπερ κατ' ἰθὺ ἐόντων¹³⁷. μετακινέσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ δευτέρῃ φυλακῇ¹³⁸, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίωτο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμεωμένους, καὶ σφέας ἐπόμενοι ταράσσειεν οἱ ἱππότες. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χώρον τοῦτον τὸν δὴ ἢ Ἀσωπὶς Ἰερόη περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνα, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὥς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπείωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι¹³⁹.

Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν, προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου, εἶχον πόνον ἄτρυτον· ὥς δὲ ἢ τε ἡμέρῃ ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἱππῆες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γενομένης καὶ εὐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλίσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἐς μὲν τὸν χώρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ, ὥς ἐκινήθησαν, ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον¹⁴⁰. τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῆς πόλιός ἐστι τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι

52

On the army getting into motion at night, the greater part retreat as far as the *Hereum* at Plataea, twenty stades from the Gargaphian fountain.

¹³⁶ θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. See note 353 on vii. 129. This stream appears to have been crossed by the road running from Plataea to Thebes, but at what distance from Plataea does not appear. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 4. 4.) See COLONEL SQUIRE quoted in note 64, above.

¹³⁷ ὥσπερ κατ' ἰθὺ ἐόντων, "as they did, while they were directly exposed to them."

¹³⁸ δευτέρῃ φυλακῇ. The Greeks divided the interval of time between sunset and sunrise, not, like the Romans, into four parts, but into three. The second watch would therefore, at this time of the year, commence nearly two hours before midnight.

¹³⁹ ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι, "for they had been blocked up in Cithæron." The convoy in question had apparently intended to enter Boeotia by the way of Enoe, but was unable to descend into the plain for fear of the enemy's cavalry.

¹⁴⁰ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον. The deity in this temple was called Ἡρα τελεία or Ἡρα νυμφευομένη. She was a θεὸς γαμήλιος, and a festival called *Dædala* was celebrated by the Plateans in her honour every seventh year, or oftener. Every sixtieth year there was a grander celebration, in which were associated together with Plataea, Coronea, Thespiea, Tanagra, Chæronea, Orchomenus, Lebadea, and Thebes, and other smaller townships. Fourteen images of oak, attired as brides, were drawn in chariots along the banks of the Asopus, and from thence to the summit of Cithæron. There an altar was built up of square logs of wood like masonry, and heaped with fascines, and, a bull being sacrificed to Zeus and a cow to Here, by each of the townships taking part in the ceremony, the victims were burnt together with the wooden brides upon it. The altar itself at last taking fire, the whole produced a bonfire seen far and wide. (PAUSANIAS, ix. 3. 9.) It is this Here, whose temple was enriched,

53

On Pausanias ordering the Lacedæmonians to move, *Amompharetus*, commander of the *Pitanate* battalion, refuses to stir.

Pausanias halts the Lacedæmonians to avoid sacrificing him.

54

The Athenians do not move as agreed upon from distrust of the Lacedæmonians.

σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὄπλα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο· Πausanίης δὲ ὁρέων σφέας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὄπλα ἰέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προϊόντας· νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιαρχέων πείθεσθαι Πausanίῃ· Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω, λοχηγέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου¹⁴¹, οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην· ἐθώμαζε τε ὁρέων τὸ ποιεῦμενον, ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ· ὁ δὲ Πausanίης τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρύναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποיעῖντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκείνους σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κείνου ταῦτα νενωμένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ, ἣν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῖντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ· ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὥς οὐ χρεὸν εἶη ταῦτα ποιέειν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον, μῦνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεγετέων λελειμμένον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίεον τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα, ὥς ἄλλα φρονέοντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων¹⁴². ὥς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα

and added to with the spoils of Plataea, when the Spartans and Thebans destroyed the town in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. (THUCYDIDES, iii. 64.)

¹⁴¹ τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου. See note 136 upon vi. 57. It is scarcely useful to speculate much upon the cause of Herodotus's error with regard to this battalion's name. Possibly the story of Amompharetus, a Spartan of the old school, may be derived from the same source as that of Archias and Lycopas, the two brave soldiers who fell at Samos. This last was told to Herodotus (or his informant) by an individual who resided at Pitana (iii. 55). Now if this person himself served under Amompharetus at Plataea, and the battalion contained others from the same deme; he would, in speaking of Amompharetus, very naturally use such an expression as "*our* colonel,"—which might no less naturally be interpreted as in the

text, by any one who assumed that the Lacedæmonian army was organized as an aggregate of local militia.

¹⁴² ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα, ὥς ἄλλα φρονέοντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. The attribution of treachery to the Lacedæmonians was a popular topic at Athens. EURIPIDES:

Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια,
ψευδῶν ἄνακτες, μηχανορράφοι κακῶν,
ἐλκτικά, κούδεν ὑγιᾶς ἀλλὰ πᾶν περίξ
φρονούντες.—(*Andromache*, 446.)

ARISTOPHANES doubtless spoke the current sentiments of his countrymen in the person of Hierocles:

συνθήκας πεποίησθ', ἄνδρες χαροποιῶσι
πιθήκοις, &c.—(*Peace*, 1065.)

and where he describes the Lacedæmonians as persons οἷσιν οὔτε βωμὸς, οὔτε πίστις, οὐθ' ἔρκος μένει. But history

ὀφόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειροῖεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐπείρεσθαι τε Πανσανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἶη ποιεῖν; Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κήρυξ ἐς τοὺς 55 Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τέ σφεας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους, καὶ ἐς νεῖκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους· ὥς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὃ τε Εὐρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Πανσανίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν μένοντας μόνους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἔπειθον· ἐς ὃ ἐς νεῖκεά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπικέατο, καὶ ὁ κήρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος· νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος, λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι χερσὶ, καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Πανσανίω, ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους· ξείνους λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους¹⁴³. ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκείνον, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, λέγειν ὁ Πανσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἐχρήζέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρήσαι τε πρὸς ἑω- 56 τοὺς¹⁴⁴, καὶ ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τάπερ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρίνο-

At daybreak
Pausanias

does not bear out the charge of any especial bad faith on the part of the nation, in the proper sense of the word. No doubt the predominance of one party or the other in the government of Sparta produced a corresponding variation in the external policy of the country. A Spartan statesman had, in his foreign as well as his domestic policy, constantly to steer between Scylla and Charybdis, to avoid on the one hand the danger of alienating the Achæan population, and on the other that of endangering the Cadmeo-dorian supremacy; and a course so fettered would always, when seen from without, assume a tortuous appearance. The light in which the Romans viewed Carthage, and that in which the continental nations of modern Europe are apt to view Great Britain, furnish something of a parallel. Napoleon, had he invaded this country, would doubtless have complained of treachery, on finding that he was not joined by the whigs. In the text, the charge against the Lacedæmonians is made to cover the fault of obstinacy or unskilfulness committed by the Athenians, who did not obey the orders of the general commanding.

¹⁴³ ξείνους λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. The peculiarity of the Lacedæmonians to use

the term ξῆνοι where others would say βάρβαροι, has been remarked above (§ 11). It would be a mistake however to infer any especial mildness of feeling towards the foreigner from this circumstance. The Latin word "*hostis*" at one time was used in the sense of "peregrinus," that which was in later times called "*hostis*" being denoted by the word "*perduellis*." (FESTUS v. *Hostis*.) This circumstance is thus commented on by CICERO: "*Equidem illud etiam animadverto, quod, qui proprio nomine perduellis esset, is Hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi tristitiam rei mitigante.*" "*Hostis*" enim apud majores nostros ita dicebatur quem nunc "*peregrinum*" dicimus." (*De officiis*, i. 12.) But the real state of the case is, that both ξῆνος in Greek and "*hostis*" in Latin originally meant "an alien;" and from the foreigner being in most instances an enemy, came to involve from the very beginning the idea of hostility. The process of association is exactly the same as that which produced the use of the English word "unkindness,"—originally the feeling towards those who are not of the same *kin* or *kind*, i. e. ἀλλοφύλους.

¹⁴⁴ προσχωρήσαι πρὸς ἑωτοὺς, "to close up to his own division."

moves on, expecting that the abandonment of Amompharetus will put an end to his perverseness.

μένους πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἡὼς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ¹⁴⁵ ὁ Πανσανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, (τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο,) σημήνας ἀπήγγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἶποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἦσαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ,

57 κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδῖον. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ, ἀρχὴν τε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Πανσανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων ¹⁴⁶ δὲ τῶν σὺν Πανσανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθεὶν τέχνη ¹⁴⁷ ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὅπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στίφος· τὸ δὲ, ἀπελθὼν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια, ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ¹⁴⁸ ἰδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἦσται ¹⁴⁹. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα, ἢν μὴ ἀπολίπη τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφαρέτος τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθεῖοι ὀπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους. καὶ οἳ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα ¹⁵⁰. οἱ γὰρ ἰππύται ἐποίουν οἶον καὶ

After proceeding ten stades, he halts in the vicinity of the river Moloeis, in a place called Argiopium, where a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter stood.

¹⁴⁵ κατήμενος. See note 225 on iii. 83.

¹⁴⁶ προτερεόντων. This is the unanimous reading of the MSS here; although in § 66, below, some have προτερεύων.

¹⁴⁷ ἰθεὶν τέχνη, "plainly," i. e. without any attempt to disguise the matter.

¹⁴⁸ Μολόεντα. One manuscript (K) has Μολέοντα, and another (S) Μοδέντα.

¹⁴⁹ τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἦσται. Herodotus makes no mention of the story connected with this temple, which PLUTARCH relates (*Aristid.*, § 11). The Athenians were promised victory by the Delphic oracle, on condition of their previously offering prayers to Zeus, the Cithæronian Here, Pan, and the nymphs called *Sphragitides*, of sacrificing to Androcrates and certain other local heroes, and also fighting the battle in their own territory in the plain of the Eleusinian Demeter and Core. They were puzzled at this, as the oracle seemed to fix upon two distinct localities; when Arimnestus, the

Platæan commander, had a dream, which induced him to take counsel with some of the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen. After consultation with them, it was found out that there was an extremely ancient temple dedicated to the Eleusinian Demeter and Core near Hysie, under the flanks of Cithæron. On arriving there, it appeared that the site was most favourable for infantry to resist cavalry in, and just by was a chapel of the hero Androcrates. To conform to the oracle the better, the Platæans decided on throwing down the landmarks between their own territory and Attica. THIRLWALL (*History of Greece*, ii. p. 334) regards this story as "perhaps an Athenian or Platæan tradition, not generally current." It appears to me to be a story of a later time than that of Herodotus, and such seems to be the opinion of Thirlwall with regard to the latter part of it.

¹⁵⁰ καὶ οἳ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν . . . προσέκειτο πᾶσα. Translate, "and exactly as Amom-

ἑώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεὶ ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇσι προτέρησι ἡμέρησι, ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω· καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποιοχομένους ὑπὸ 58
νύκτα, εἶδε τε τὸν χῶρον ἐρήμον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισσαῖον Θώρηκα Speech of
καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήϊον, ἔλεγε· “ὦ Mardonius
παῖδες Ἀλεύω, ἔτι τί λέξετε, τάδε ὀρέοντες ἐρήμα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ to the Aleu-
οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, adæ on dis-
ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρῶτους· τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετ- covering
ισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἶδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιοχομένην that the
νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὀρέομεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεὶ σφεας Lacedæmo-
ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχῃ διακριθῆναι, nians had
ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἔοντες¹⁵¹ ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδει- moved.
κνύατο¹⁵². καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὴ ἕκ γε
ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ συν-
ηδέατε¹⁵³. Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην, τὸ καὶ
καταρρωδῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους, καταρρωδῆσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι
γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεὸν εἷη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον¹⁵⁴
ἵεναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστει πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ
βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος· νῦν δὲ
ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί· ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ
ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας
πάντων δίκας.” Ταῦτα εἶπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ, δια- 59
βάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν, κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς δὴ ἀπο- He crosses
διδρησκόντων· ἐπέιχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεάτας the Asopus
μούνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων and presses
οὐ κατώρα· Πέρσας δὲ ὀρέοντες ὠρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἕλλη- onward after
νας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες, αὐτίκα πάντες the Lacedæ-
monians and
Tegeans.

pharetus's troops effected a junction with them, the whole cavalry of the barbarians charged.” For the construction, see note 551 on vii. 218.

¹⁵¹ ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἔοντες, “that being, after all, *nobodies*.” Compare SOPHOCLES, *Aj.* 1135: οὐ γὰρ ἡξίου τοὺς μηδένας.

¹⁵² ἐναπεδεικνύατο. This is the reading of all the MSS; but in i. 176 they all agree in the form ἀπεδείκνυντο.

¹⁵³ συνηδέατε. The MSS vary between *συνηδέαται* and *συνηδέαται*. But *ε* and *αι* are continually interchanged by the copyists, having been for several centuries pronounced alike in modern Greece. The word in the text is regularly derived from *συνῆδεα*, a familiar variation of *συνῆδεν*, the præterperfect of *συννοῖδα*.

¹⁵⁴ ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον. See note 118 on viii. 60.

ἦραν τὰ σημήϊα, καὶ ἐδίωκον ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστος¹⁵⁵ εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὔδενι κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξιν καὶ οὔτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ δμίλῳ ἐπήϊσαν, ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι¹⁵⁶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

60 Πausanias δὲ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱππέα λέγει τάδε· “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράντων· νῦν ὧν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ποιητέον ἡμῖν¹⁵⁷. ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους· εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐς ὑμέας ὥρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρῆν δὲ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’ ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθεῖν ὑμῖν· νῦν δὲ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπαντα κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἰέναι. εἰ δ’ ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθεῖν, ὑμεῖς δ’ ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοις¹⁵⁸,

61 ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν.” Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὥρμεατο βοηθεῖν, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν καὶ σφί ἤδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως γενομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθήσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενόν σφεας ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὲ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται, ἔοντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν πεντακισμῦριοι,

¹⁵⁵ ἕκαστος. A, B, F, have ἕκαστοι. But the singular is found in i. 169: ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἐωντοῦ ἕκαστος μαχομένοι.

¹⁵⁶ ἀναρπασόμενοι. S and V have ἀρπασόμενοι. But all the rest have the compound, which, in viii. 28, is the unanimous reading of all the MSS.

¹⁵⁷ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ποιητέον. This is the reading of S. The other MSS, which Gaisford follows, have τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον, which not impossibly may be a union of two alternative readings,—τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν and τὸ ποιητέον.

¹⁵⁸ συνοίδαμεν ὑμῖν . . . ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοις. Compare v. 91: συγγινώσκουμεν αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν οὐ ποιήσασι ὀρθῶς. This tribute of praise to the Athenians for their general conduct

throughout the war, coming in the midst of an urgent despatch from a Lacedæmonian commander on the field of battle, bespeaks, like many other features in the narrative of the campaign, an Athenian authority. It is quite of a piece with the representation (§ 46, above) that from terror of the Persians Pausanias wished to change his position so as to get the Athenians opposed to them,—an arrangement which would have been tantamount to conceding them the post of honour in the whole allied army. The hostile feeling of the narrator (or rather his authority) shows itself by the remark (§ 54, above): ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα, ὡς ἄλλα φρονούντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων.

Τεγεῖται δὲ τρισχίλιοι ¹⁵⁹. οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδὲ μὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἐπιπτόν τε αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῶ πλευνες ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα ¹⁶⁰ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως οὕτω, ὥστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων, ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Πανσανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἑραῖον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεὸν, χρηίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος ¹⁶¹. Ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλυμένου, προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῖται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους· καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Πανσανίῳ ἐγίνετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά. ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχῃ· ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε,

62

A general action begins.

¹⁵⁹ ἔδντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι . . . τρισχίλιοι. These numbers would be thus made up :

Spartan hoplites .	5,000 (§ 28, above)
Light troops attached to them	35,000
Lacedæmonian hoplites (picked perioeciæans)	5,000 (§ 11, above)
Light troops attached to them	5,000 (§ 29, above)
Tegean hoplites .	1,500 (§ 28, above)
Light troops attached to them	1,500 (§ 29, above)

53,000

¹⁶⁰ φράξαντες τὰ γέρρα. This expression is well elucidated by the sculptures of Nimroud. The shield used in some cases is so large as to cover the whole body, and to be carried by a second warrior who attends the archer. Sometimes two archers are represented with one oblong shield between them. In sieges this is sometimes furnished with a square projection like a roof at right angles to the body of the shield, which served as a partial defence of the head against missiles discharged from the walls by the defenders. (LAYARD, *Nineveh*, ii. p. 345.) These last seem to be the γέρρα of the text. Fixed in the ground they formed a palisade (see below, § 99), from which the short spear carried by the archer projected

in front. Behind this he discharged his reed arrows from a long bow (vii. 61).

¹⁶¹ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος. The hope which Pausanias prayed might not be frustrated, apparently was that the whole army of the enemy might be brought to action at close quarters. The important thing for the allies was, to neutralize the power of the enemy's cavalry, especially the horse-archers. Now the retreat of the allied force had done much towards this. The Persian army imagining their opponents in full flight, followed them in a disorderly manner, ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστος εἶχον (§ 59). When the whole had crossed the Asopus, the space between the Lacedæmonian line and the enemy must have been so narrowed, that such manœuvres on the part of the cavalry as had been so effective the day before, were out of the question. But instead of coming to the charge, as seemed certain, the Persians pitch their shields in the ground and begin a galling fire of arrows. It appeared, for the moment, as if the advantage gained was again to be lost, and the hope of a decisive engagement frustrated. The problem for Pausanias was to keep his troops perfectly in hand, without any show of a disposition to attack, until the onset of the enemy became so general, that they no longer would have it in their power to avoid a pitched battle.

ἤδη ἐγίνετο μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον, καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλὸν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι μὲν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἔσσαντες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι· ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἔοντες, καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν, καὶ οὐκ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἓνα, καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλευνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας, καὶ διεφθείροντο.

63 Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ, ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μὲν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὥς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε, καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκείνουν τεταγμένον, ἐὼν ἰσχυρότατον, ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· πλείστον γάρ σφεας ἐδηλέετο ἢ ἐσθῆς, ἐρήμος ἐοῦσα ὕπλων·

64 πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἔοντες γυμνήτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῖντο. Ἐνθαῦτα ἢ τε δίκη τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον¹⁶², τοῖσι Σπαρτιήταισι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπιτελέετο· καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλιόστην ἀπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Πausanias ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τῶν δὲ κατύπερθε οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται¹⁶³ ἐς Λεωνίδην· ὧντοὶ γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἔοντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου¹⁶⁴, ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου· ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ¹⁶⁵, πολέμου ἔοντος, Μεσση-

¹⁶² κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον. This is the oracle from Delphi, spoken of above (viii. 114).

¹⁶³ τῶν δὲ κατύπερθε οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται. See above, vii. 204.

¹⁶⁴ ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου. PLUTARCH (*De oraculorum defectu*, § 5) says that Mardonius was killed by a blow with a stone, — a fate which had been foretold by the vision which his emissary had in the cave of Trophonius. If killed by a stone, however, he would hardly have fallen by the hand of any Spartan of consideration. Plutarch (l. c.) makes the name of the individual who slew Mardonius to be *Arinnestus*, which is the reading of S, d, and Valla in this passage. See note 183 on § 72, below. It is observable that

THUCYDIDES (iii. 52) speaks of a Platean named *Lacon*, a son of one *Aeimnestus*. This goes somewhat to confirm the reading in the text. We may conceive the words ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου not to mean a Spartan of consideration, but a foreigner (perhaps a Platean citizen) of great influence in Sparta, like the Tegean Chيلةus (above, § 9). If he were in such a position, it is not unnatural that he should call his son *Lacon*, on the same principle that the son of Archias of Pitana was named *Samius* (iii. 55).

¹⁶⁵ ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ. The engagement in which *Aeimnestus* was slain doubtless took place in the third Messenian war, of which see note 101 on § 35, above. From the way it is mentioned, one may conceive

Mardonius is slain by one *Aeimnestus*, a person of note in Sparta,

νίοισι πᾶσι καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι. Ἐν δὲ 65
 Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὥς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,
 ἔφένγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐωυτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ
 τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον¹⁶⁶ τὸ ἐποίησαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαίδι. θῶμα and the Per-
 δέ μοι ὅκως, παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων, οὐδὲ εἰς sian army
 ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών. totally
 περί τε τὸ ἶρόν οἱ πλείστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον· δοκέω δὲ, εἰ τι routed.
 περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἢ θεὸς αὐτῇ σφεας οὐκ
 ἐδέξατο, ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἶρόν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνακτόριον¹⁶⁷.
 αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἀρέσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς 66
 λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύω Artabazus
 οὐδὲν ἦννε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἔων· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε, ὥς οὐκ carries off
 ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιουμένοισι. of 40,000
 τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος· εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην, ἀλλὰ men into
 καὶ ἐς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων¹⁶⁸ περὶ ἐωυτὸν· τούτους, ὅκως Phocis.
 ἢ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἐμέλλε ἀποβίσεσθαι
 ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένους¹⁶⁹, παραργείλας κατὰ τῷτο

Leimnestus surprised by a sudden revolt, and cut off before relief could reach him. The name Stenyclerus of itself would indicate a naturally strong position; and no doubt Leimnestus commanded the garrison which was intended to maintain military possession of the country. Stenyclerus was in the centre of Messenia, and was on that account, according to EPHORUS, selected by Cresphontes as the seat of his government (*ap. Strabon.* viii. c. 4, p. 183). Ithome was the acropolis of it, as the Acrocorinthus was of Corinth; and Demetrius Phalereus compared the hold upon the Peloponnesus which was secured by the possession of these two points, to the mastery over a bull which is obtained by getting hold of his two horns. (STRABO, l. c.)

¹⁶⁶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον, "into the log-fort," the fortified camp, which Mardonius is spoken of as designing to construct, above, § 15.

¹⁶⁷ ἀνακτόριον. Gaisford adopts this form, but the MSS are equally divided between it and ἀνάκτορον. It is originally, not the whole temple, but that part which constituted the *sanctuary*, where the sacred images were kept. A portion

of the temple at *Celeæ* (five *stadēs* from Phlius), in which orgies exactly similar to those at Eleusis were celebrated every three years, was likewise called by the name ἀνάκτορον (PAUSANIAS, ii. 14. 4), and this is probably the reason why Herodotus uses the qualificatory words: τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. EURIPIDES applies the term ἀνάκτορον to the fane of Apollo at Delphi (*Andromache*, 1157), to that of Artemis in Tauri (*Iph. Taur.* 41 and 66), and to those of the local Trojan deities (*Troad.* 15).

¹⁶⁸ ἐς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων. See note 251 on viii. 129.

¹⁶⁹ ἦγε κατηρτημένους. The MSS vary between ἦγε and ἦτε, and κατηρτισμένους and κατηρτημένους or κατηρτημένους. Gaisford prints ἦτε κατηρτισμένους. I should translate, "led out in marching order." The great mass of the army had rushed to battle in a tumultuary manner, on seeing the Lacedæmonians retreating before the Persians. Artabazus seems to have kept his corps back until they had put on what answered to the *kit* of the modern soldier,—a very reasonable precaution even in the event of the allies being beaten, as he would then have been prepared to fol-

ἵεναι πάντας τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγήηται, ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν ὀρέωσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα¹⁷⁰. ταῦτα παραγγείλας, ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν¹⁷¹. προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ¹⁷², ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· οὕτω δὲ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχιστὴν ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων, οὔτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος, ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἀπικέσθαι καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακέοντων, Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν· οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων¹⁷³, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην, μαχεόμενοι τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας οὐκ ἥπερ οἱ Πέρσαι· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὄμιλος οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος ἔφευγον. Δηλοῖ¹⁷⁴ τε ἐμοὶ ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτηντο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμίξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὤρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον, πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτῆς· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιςτα ἐοῦσα ἀπείργουσά τε τοὺς φίλους

67
Of all the Greeks in the Persian army the Boeotians alone made a stout resistance.

68
The Persian force appears to have been the only part of the invading army to be relied on.

low them up. There is no reason to suppose that he foresaw the *defeat* of his own party, still less that he contributed to it by deserting them, although it is very natural that this would be the Hellenic interpretation of his proceeding. At the Persian court his reputation, which had been high before, was raised by his conduct at Plataea,—that is, doubtless, by the skill with which he brought off his division (viii. 126).

¹⁷⁰ ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν ὀρέωσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. Compare ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα (vi. 116); ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον (above, § 59); ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαστος (viii. 107).

¹⁷¹ ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν. He led the troops out *professedly* (δῆθεν) to battle. Compare vi. 1: ὡς οὐδὲν δῆθεν τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων ἐπιστάμενος, “as if, *forsooth*, he was entirely ignorant of the things going on.”

¹⁷² προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ. See note 146 on § 57, above.

¹⁷³ οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, “for the Median party in Thebes.” There

appears to have been an oligarchy established in Thebes at this time, whose sentiments were opposed to those of the commonalty. PAUSANIAS (ix. 6. 1) speaks of it as if it had been an inroad upon the ancient constitution (ἡ πατριος πολιτεία); but this can scarcely be true, if he means that there was ever a democracy in Thebes before the times of the Persian invasion. It is very likely, however, that the government had gradually become confined to a few powerful families, in the sequel of that policy of centralization which had been pursued for some time past, and which alienated Plataea and Hysiae from the Boeotian confederacy.

¹⁷⁴ δηλοῖ. This word is not to be taken as an impersonal verb. Its real nominative is the sentence, τὸ τότε τοὺς φεύγειν, gathered by inference from the words εἰ καὶ τότε ἔφευγον. Translate, “and if these even then took to flight (as they did) before crossing swords with the enemy, because they saw the Persians also doing so, it proves to me, &c.”

φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Οἱ μὲν δὲ νικῶντες εἶποντο, τοὺς 69

Ξέρξῳ διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ νικῶεν οἱ μετὰ Πausanίῳ· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσιν ἄνω, ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Διήμητρος· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλιασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Φλιάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππῶται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον, ἤλυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους· τῶν ἱππάρχει Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου· ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιῶνα. Οὗτοι μὲν δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ 70

ἀπώλυντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι· ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράξαντο ὡς ἡδυνέατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, κατεστήκεε σφι τειχομαχίῃ ἐρρωμενεστέρῃ· ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλεον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχείειν¹⁷⁵. ὡς δὲ σφι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὲ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγένετο τειχομαχίῃ καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ, ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τεύχεος, καὶ ἤριπον· τῇ δὲ ἐσεσχέοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τά τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων ἐοῦσαν χαλκῆν πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μὲν νυν φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης¹⁷⁶ Τεγεῆται· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸν οὐτόν, ὅσαπερ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στίφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τεύχεος, οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο· ἀλύκταζόν¹⁷⁷ τε οἶα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ πεφοβημένοι

Of the Greeks not actually engaged in the battle, the Megarians and Phliasiens suffered much from the Theban cavalry.

The Persians retreat to the fortified camp and defend themselves successfully against the Lacedaemonians, until the arrival of the Athenians, who make a breach in the wall, by which first the Tegeans and afterwards all the rest pour in.

¹⁷⁵ ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχείειν. Schweighäuser expresses surprise that they should not have set fire to the log-fort. It was doubtless constructed of perfectly green wood.

¹⁷⁶ Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης. Of the temple of

this deity, see note 221 on i. 66.

¹⁷⁷ ἀλύκταζον. The form ἀλαλύκτῃ (as from a present ἀλυκτέω) occurs in the *Iliad*, x. 94, where the Scholiast explains it by the word τεθορύβημαι.

τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατελιγμέναι ¹⁷⁸ ἀνθρώπων παρὴν τε τοῖσι
 "Ἑλλησι φονεῦν οὕτω, ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, κατα-
 δεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφηνγε, τῶν λοιπῶν
 μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ
 Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἑννεήκοντα,
 Τεγεγετῶν δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα ¹⁷⁹.

71

Among the
 enemy the
 Persian
 infantry,
 the Sacan
 cavalry, and,
 as an indi-
 vidual, Mar-
 donius, most
 distin-
 guished
 themselves.
 Among the
 allies the
 bravest
 man was
 Aristode-

Ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων, πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ
 ἡ Σακέων ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δὲ, ἀγαθῶν
 γενομένων καὶ Τεγεγετῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλλοντο ἀρετῇ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἄλλω μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημῆσθαι, (ἅπαντες
 γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἐωυτοὺς ἐνίκων,) ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον
 προσενείχθησαν, καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο
 μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας· ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυ-
 λέων μόνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς, εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην ¹⁸⁰.
 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἡρίστευσαν Ποσειδωνίος τε καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ
 Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιτῆς· καίτοι, γενομένης λésσῃς ¹⁸¹ ὃς

¹⁷⁸ κατελιγμέναι. This is a conjecture of Schweighäuser's, but undoubtedly a true one. Of the word εἰλέω (to crush) and its derivatives, see the excellent article in BUTTMANN'S *Lexilogus*.

¹⁷⁹ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης . . . πεντήκοντα. By the way in which these numbers are mentioned, one may expect that the loss sustained by the corps of 5000 Lacedæmonian peræcians, and by the light-armed troops, which together amounted to 74,500 (above, § 29), is not taken into account. The public monuments gave 1360 as the whole number slain on the side of the allies. (PLUTARCH, *Aristid.* § 19.) Herodotus only mentions 759, including the 600 Megarians and Phliasians cut down by the Theban cavalry (above, § 69). According to CLIDEMUS, all the Athenians who fell belonged to the tribe *Æantis*. The numbers of the enemy slain are quite incredible. The whole number of the allied force under arms, including the light troops, was, according to Herodotus's highest statement, 108,200, and the number of the enemy destroyed more than 267,000, giving a proportion of between two and three for every man engaged on the side of the victors. It is a curious circumstance that this was almost exactly the case at Meanee, where nearly 6000 Beloochees were killed and disabled by Sir Charles Napier's little

army of 2000. But the destructive power of the British artillery, which is described on the latter occasion as "blowing the enemy away by twenties at a time," prevents the two examples from being at all parallel. Besides, of the whole army of the confederates, only the Lacedæmonians, Tegeans, Athenians, and perhaps the Plateans, amounting on the whole to only 71,200, were actually engaged. And it must not be forgotten, that the 300,000 do not include either the Greeks in the Persian service (estimated by Herodotus at 50,000, § 32) or the cavalry. All the killed and disabled from these, therefore, would have to be added to the above number. But in fact the numbers of the Persian army, if not of both, obviously rest upon very loose *data*. See above, note 92 on § 32.

¹⁸⁰ εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. See above, vii. 231.

¹⁸¹ γενομένης λésσῃς, "on a discussion having taken place." The word λésσῃ originally signified nothing more than a seat in a warm situation, defended either by its situation or by artificial means from the cold winds, and consequently offering an agreeable place of resort, especially to the aged, in a country where so much time was habitually past out of doors, and where fires, except for purposes of utility, were unknown. As civilization advanced,

γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος¹⁸², ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων, mus in the author's opinion, but the Spartans placed three others before him.
 Ἄριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερώς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρ-
 εούσης οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα
 ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα. Ποσειδῶνιον δὲ, οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν,
 ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσούτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ
 ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες,
 πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι
 ἐγένοντο. Ἀριστόδημος δὲ, βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προ-
 ειρημένην αἰτίην, οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

Οὔτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο· Καλλι- 72
 κράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ
 στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
 Anecdote of Callicrates, the handsome Spartan.

the sunny bench or sunny walk became in some cases a stately building, something like a cloister. Such was the *Lesche* at Delphi (PAUSANIAS, x. 25, seqq.), ornamented by the paintings of Polygnotus, which, it is calculated, occupied a length of ninety or one hundred feet of wall. But in general the *Leschæ* were smaller. An extant example of one probably is the semicircular high-backed stone seat in the old ἀγορὰ at Pompeii, calculated to hold ten or a dozen persons. From their object it is very natural that they should have been dedicated to Apollo (CLEANTHES *ap. Photium*, v. λέσχη), who indeed is said in some places to have been invoked under the appellation λέσχης ὕριος, (*Id. ib.*)

From their facing the south for warmth, the epithet ἐπαλῆς (which is only a Doric form of ἐφήλιος) seems to have been currently applied to them. HESIOD (*ἔργ.* 491) couples χάλκειον θῶκον καὶ ἐπαλέα λέσχην together, as the places haunted by the idle in the winter for the warmth which might be obtained there. They are found in a similar combination in the *Odyssey*, xviii. 329:

οὐδ' ἐθέλεις εἶδεν χαλκήϊον ἐς δόμον
 ἐλθὼν
 ἧέ που ἐς λέσχην.

It is plain that, resorted to in the first instance for the sake of the animal enjoyment of warmth, they would necessarily become places for gossip and chit-chat, especially as they were frequented most of all by the aged, whose chilled blood most required the comfort they furnished, and who, while sitting idle in them, would de-

light in talking over the wonders of their youth. Accordingly at Athens it is said that the number of *Leschæ* amounted to no less than 360. (SCHOL. *ad Hesiod. ἔργ.* 491.) They formed in fact the substitute for the coffee-houses and clubs of modern times. PERSIUS (v. 177) recommends a bountiful largess to the ambitious ædile, that the "aprici senes" may recollect his exhibition of the Floralia. In modern times the analogous motive held out would be, that the entertainment might become "club-talk" (περιλεσχίνευτον).

From this use of the λέσχαί the several secondary senses in which the word is employed derive themselves most readily. The *company* gathered within the seat would naturally, after the analogy of the English "club," be called by the same name as the *place* of their gathering. This is the use of the word in ÆSCHYLUS (*Eumenid.* 365), where the Erinyes describe their exclusion from the circle of the Olympian gods by the words: Ζεὺς γὰρ αἵματος ταγὲς ἀξιόμισον ἔθνος τόδε λέσχας ἄς ἀπηϊώσατο. The several senses of "a meeting for the purpose of conversation,"—"the conversation held in such a meeting,"—and "the kind of conversation held in such meetings" (*i. e.* gossip),—are familiar to every one, and require no particular illustration.

¹⁸² ὅς γε γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος. The more correct expression would have been, τίς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος. But the text is defended by vi. 124: ὅς μέντοι ἦν ὁ ἀναδέξας οὐκ ἔχω προσωτέρω εἰπεῖν, and vi. 37: πλανωμένων δὲ τῶν Λαμψακηνῶν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοις, τὸ θέλει τὸ ἔπος εἶναι.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὃς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγμάζετο Πανσωνης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά· καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὁ δ' ἐξηνηνεγμένος ἐδυσθανάτέε τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον¹⁸³, ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστὶ οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἐωυτοῦ ἄξιον, προθυμυμένον ἀποδέξασθαι.

73

Among the Athenians the most distinguished was Sophanes of Declea. Mythical anecdote of the Decleans.

Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῖθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν ποτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι· ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδαι ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθει, καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενον τε τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι, καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενον σφί το πᾶν πρήγμα, κατηγγέσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας· τὰς δὴ Τιτακὸς, ἐὼν αὐτόχθων, καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδαρίδῃσι· τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεύσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίη διατελέει ἐς τὸδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινεομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελῆς

74

ἀποσχέσθαι¹⁸⁴. Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων, διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει· τὸν μὲν, ὡς

¹⁸³ Ἀρίμνηστον. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the manuscripts M, P, K, F. Others, including S and V, have Ἀεῖμνηστον. In § 64, above, where the majority have Ἀειμνήστον, S, d, and PLUTARCH have Ἀριμνήστον. PAUSANIAS was told that *Arimnestus* was the leader of the Plateans, both at the battle of Platea and that of Marathon. His statue stood at the feet of an image of *Athene Areia*, in the temple which was built with the spoils which fell to the share of the Plateans at the battle of Marathon (ix. 4. 2). When the Plateans made their defence against the charge of the Thebans after the capture of their town, one Lacon, the son of an *Aeimnestus*, was their spokesman. This Lacon was the Lacedæmonian consul (*πρόξενος*) at Platea. (THUCYDIDES, iii. 52.) All the MSS of Thucydides have Ἀειμνήστον.

¹⁸⁴ Δεκελῆς ἀποσχέσθαι. THUCYDIDES, in describing the invasion under king Archidamus, says that the Spartans, after failing in their hope to bring the Athenians to a general action by devastating the region of Acharnæ, proceeded to lay waste *some other* demes between the ranges of Parne and Brilessus (ii. 23). But although Declea lay in this direction, the phrase of Thucydides, so far from contradicting Herodotus (as some have supposed), rather indirectly confirms it. And the community of religious traditions, indicated by the story about Helen, suggests that it was not merely the position of Declea which pointed it out as a favourable site for an *ἐπιτελιχισμὸς* against Athens. Perhaps the population of it was cognate with the Achæan element at Lacedæmon.

ἐκ τοῦ ζωστήρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκὴν ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρῆν· τὴν, ὅπως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμοίοισι, βαλλέσκειτο, ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινήσῃ μὴ δυναίατο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων, δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν· οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται· ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων, τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων¹⁸⁵ λέγεται, ὥς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρεε ἐπίσημον ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρῆν. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνει λαμ-
 75
 πρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένοι, ὅτι περικατημένον Ἀθηναίων Αἴγιναν, Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον¹⁸⁶ ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε, ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν¹⁸⁷ ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετὰλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχεόμενον.

Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο¹⁸⁸ οἱ βάρ-
 76
 βαροι, ἐνθαυτά σφι ἐπὶ ἤλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἣ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εὐῶσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος¹⁸⁹ τοῦ Τεάσπιοι, ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμη-

Anecdote of a Cean lady, daughter of Hegetorides, who had been forced

¹⁸⁵ ἀμφισβατέων. This is the reading of Gaisford, following M, P, K, and F; and it is defended by the analogy of ἀμφισβασίη in viii. 31, which Gaisford has restored on the authority of the three last-mentioned manuscripts, and which can hardly be other than the true reading. S, V, d, have ἀμφισβητέων. See note 41 on iv. 14.

¹⁸⁶ Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον. The incident of the death of this individual is related above (vi. 92), where see note 209. In this passage Valla's version and the manuscripts S and V have Εὐρυβιάδην instead of Εὐρυβάτην, but in vi. 92, they are unanimous in favour of the reading in the text. On the assumption, therefore, that the two stories of the death of Sophanes's opponent proceed from the same source, the reading Εὐρυβάτην is certainly the preferable one. This assumption, however, is not to be regarded as altogether unquestionable one. See note 387 on iv. 150.

¹⁸⁷ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν. The settlers in the expedition referred to fell in a sudden attack upon them by the Edonians,

after they had succeeded in getting all the land as far as Drabescus into their hands. Their confusion was said to have been augmented by a thunderstorm, which scattered bolts among them. (PAUSANIAS, i. 29. 5.) This is said to have happened at the time when Lysicrates was archon at Athens, i. e. in the year 453-2 B.C. It is not, however, mentioned by Thucydides in his short summary of the events between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars; perhaps because the expedition was of the nature of a bucaniering attempt, and produced no important political results. A Glaucon son of a Leagrus commanded the small Athenian squadron which interfered in the naval engagement between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. (THUCYDIDES, i. 51.)

¹⁸⁸ κατέστρωντο. See above, note 110 on viii. 53.

¹⁸⁹ Φαρανδάτεος. So Gaisford prints from the majority of MSS. But S and V have Φαρανδάτεος. The individual, however, is doubtless the same as the commander of the Mares and Colchians (vii.

into the
harem of
Pharan-
dates.

σαμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ αἱ ἀμφίπολοι, καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρεουσέων, καταβάσα ἐκ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης, ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἔοντας· ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Πausanίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὖνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτριν, ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Πausanίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης¹⁹⁰, ῥῦσαί με τὴν ἰκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης· σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὦνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὅπιν¹⁹¹ ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῶν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἥγητορίδew τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω· βίῃ δέ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· “γύναι, θάρσει, καὶ ὡς ἰκέτις, καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λέγουσα, καὶ εἷς θυγάτηρ Ἥγητορίδew τοῦ Κῶν, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξείνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ κείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων.” ταῦτα εἶπας, τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεούσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγινα, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77

The *Mantineans* and *Eleans* arrive after the termination of the battle.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμένοισι¹⁹². μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἤκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίας· (Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν¹⁹³·) οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἦκον Ἡλεῖοι· καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἡλείους τοσαῦτα.

79), who in all the MSS is called either Φαρανδάτης or Φερενδάτης.

¹⁹⁰ ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης. Pausanias was not really *king* of Sparta, but guardian of the king Plistarchus, the young son of Leonidas (§ 10, above). But there seems no reason to suppose that the Coan lady forgot this fact in her joy at her deliverance. Pausanias was to all practical purposes during the campaign king of the Spartans, and would naturally be addressed by the title of highest honour, where the object was to conciliate his favour.

¹⁹¹ ὅπιν. See note 303 on viii. 143.

¹⁹² ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμένοισι, “after all was done.” So above: ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον (viii. 94).

¹⁹³ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. These words are not (I apprehend) to be translated as if the Lacedæmonians hindered the Mantineans from pursuing the retreating enemy, but merely to be considered in the light of a statement of their own habitual practice. “The Lacedæmonians forbade the pursuing of a retreating force.”

Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἦν 78
 Δάμπων ὁ Πύθεω¹⁹⁴, Αἰγινητέων τὰ πρῶτα¹⁹⁵, ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον
 ἔχων λόγον ἵκετο¹⁹⁶ πρὸς Πανσανίην. ἀπικόμενος δὲ, σπουδῇ
 ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυῖς
 μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος· καὶ τοὶ θεοὶ παρέδωκε, ῥυσάμενον τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.
 σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποιήσον, ὅπως λόγος τέ σε
 ἔχη ἔτι μέζων, καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσεται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ
 ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Λεωνίδεω
 γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀπο-
 ταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδούς,
 ἔπαινον ἔξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὐτὶς δὲ καὶ
 πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας, τετι-
 μώρησαι ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην.” Ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρί- 79
 ζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε· ὁ δ' ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσδε· “ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα,
 τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαι σεῦ· γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρ-
 τηκας χρηστῆς· ἐξάρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πᾶτριν καὶ τὸ
 ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ,
 ἦν ταῦτα ποιέω, φᾶς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον
 βαρβάροισι ποιέειν, ἢ περ Ἕλλησι· καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν.
 ἐγὼ δ' ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα μήτε Αἰγινήτῃσι ἄδοιμι, μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα
 ἀρέσκειται· ἀποχρᾶ δ' ἐμοὶ, Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν
 ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν· Λεωνίδῃ δὲ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι,
 φημί μεγάλως τετιμωρῆσθαι· ψυχῇσί τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμή-
 τοιςι τετίμῃται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευ-
 τήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθης
 ἔμοιγε, μήτε συμβουλευέσης· χάριν ἴσθι τε ἐὼν ἀπαθής.” ὁ μὲν
 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο.

Anecdote
of the bru-
tality of
Lampon the
Æginetan,

and the
magnani-
mity of
Pausanias.

¹⁹⁴ Δάμπων ὁ Πύθεω. It has been thought probable that the Pytheas, whose son makes the disreputable proposal in the text, is identical with the Pytheas whose gallantry excited the admiration of his captors (vii. 181), and who was retaken by an Æginetan galley at Salamis (viii. 92). But if the father had been treated in so honourable a manner, it is unlikely that the son, however intense his hatred of Persia, should indulge in an unworthy insult of the body of Mardonius.

And it is also unlikely, had he done so, that the writer would have omitted to compare his conduct towards that general with the conduct of the Persians towards his own father.

¹⁹⁵ τὰ πρῶτα. This is the reading of the best MSS, and is printed by Gaisford. The old editions have τὰ πρῶτα φέρων.

¹⁹⁶ ἵκετο. This is the reading of S and V. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, adopts ἵετο.

- 80 Παισανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μήδενα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς λήϊης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἴλωτας τὰ χρήματα· οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσεούς, καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἀμαξέων εὕρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρυσεοί τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς¹⁹⁷, καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκεις, ἔοντας χρυσεούς· ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγένετο οὐδὲ εἰς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινῆτας οἱ εἴλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτέων οὐκ οἶα τε ἦν κρίναι· ὥστε Αἰγινῆται οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεύτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν, ἅτε ἔοντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν¹⁹⁸, παρὰ τῶν εἰλωτέων ὠνέοντο.
- 81 Συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφις τοῦ χαλκείου¹⁹⁹ ἐπεστεῶς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ· καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία²⁰⁰ ἀνέθηκαν· καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἐπτάπηχυν χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο· ταῦτα ἐξελόντες, τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων, καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν, καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον, καὶ ἄλλα χρήματά τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. ὅσα μὲν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύουσι αὐτέων ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ

¹⁹⁷ ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοῦς. See above, note 226 on viii. 113. The *acinaces* probably was gold hilted.

¹⁹⁸ ἅτε ἔοντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν. Larcher quotes as a parallel the case of the Swiss, who, after the battle of Granson, took the silver plate of the Duke of Burgundy, which fell into their hands, for tin, and sold his largest diamond, imagining it to be glass, for a florin.

¹⁹⁹ ὄφις τοῦ χαλκείου. PAUSANIAS (x. 13. 9) says the serpent remained, but that all of the offering which was of gold had gone in the sacred war. He mentions it next in order to the second group described in note 57 on viii. 27, so that it seems probable that that group also stood near the altar, and is different from the one mentioned by Herodotus as οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστώτες. The brazen serpent was removed

by Constantine, together with many other of the relics and offerings at Delphi, and it stands to this day in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. It is described as being about fourteen feet high, and as not being really a three-headed serpent, but three serpents, whose bodies interlaced together form the shaft of a very rapidly diminishing column. Judging however from the figure of it (which is given, from Wheler and Spon's drawing, in the *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*), it presented to the eye of a spectator the appearance of a single three-headed serpent coiled closely round a conical pillar; and it seems not impossible that such was the original idea of the artist, the cone being intended for the ὀμφαλὸς γῆς. See note 367 on i. 105.

²⁰⁰ δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία. See above, note 78 on § 28.

τούτοισι δοθῆναι. Πausανήν δὲ πάντα δέκα²⁰¹ ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες, ἵπποι, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὥς δὲ αὐτως καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν²⁰² καταλίπει τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. Πausανήν ὦν, ὀρέοντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῶ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοισι κατασκευασμένην, κελεύσαι τοὺς τε ἀρτοκόπους²⁰³ καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιούς κατὰ ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίουν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Πausανήν, ἰδόντα κλῖνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας, καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας²⁰⁴, καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγύντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ, κελεύσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους²⁰⁵ παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον²⁰⁶, τὸν Πausανήν γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς· συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων, εἰπεῖν τὸν Πausανήν, δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου τὴν παρασκευήν²⁰⁷. “ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μῆδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δεῖξαι ὅς τοιῆνδε δίαιταν ἔχων, ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω οἰζυρὴν²⁰⁸ ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος” ταῦτα μὲν Πausανήν λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ὑστέρῳ⁸³ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὗρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τότε ὕστερον ἔτι τούτων, τῶν νεκρῶν περιφιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐς ἓνα χώρον· εὐρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐοῦσα

82

Anecdote illustrating the contrast between Persian luxury and Spartan homeliness.

83

Much buried gold and silver was afterwards dug up by some of the Plataeans. Also some re-

²⁰¹ πάντα δέκα, “ten of every article.” See note 213 on iii. 74.

²⁰² κατασκευήν. ATHENÆUS (iv. p. 138) quotes this passage with the variation of παρασκευήν.

²⁰³ ἀρτοκόπους. ATHENÆUS has ἀρτοποιούς. It is certainly not impossible that in the uncial MSS the two words should be interchanged; but see note 163 on i. 51.

²⁰⁴ εὖ ἐστρωμένας . . . ἀργυρέας. The manuscript S leaves out this clause, obviously owing to an ocular error on the part of the transcriber. ATHENÆUS

leaves out the word εὖ.

²⁰⁵ τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους. ATHENÆUS has the dative: τοῖς ἑωυτοῦ διακόνοις.

²⁰⁶ ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον. Compare i. 125: οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον.

²⁰⁷ δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου τὴν παρασκευήν. S and V omit ἐς, and F, a, f the article before παρασκευήν. ATHENÆUS cites the passage: ἐπιδείξας ἑκατέρου τῶν δείπνων τὴν παρασκευήν.

²⁰⁸ ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω οἰζυρὴν. ATHENÆUS has ὡς ἡμᾶς οὕτω ταλαίπωρον.

markable
bones.

ὁστέον· ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος καὶ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου, ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μουνουφύεας ἐξ ἐνὸς ὁστέου πάντας²⁰⁹, τοὺς τε ὀδόντας καὶ τοὺς γομφίους· καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὅστέα ἐφάνη.

84

The body
of Mardo-
nius was
secretly
buried.

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο· ὑπ' ὅτεν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ ἀτρεκές οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν· πολλοὺς δέ τινας ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντew²¹⁰ τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον. ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδόνιον, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι· ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης²¹¹, ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος, θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες

85

Tombs of
the several
Hellenic
states on
the field of
Platea.

ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν λήϊν διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι²¹². Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς ἐποίησαντο θήκας· ἐνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας²¹³ ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύνων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται· ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, οἱ εἰλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον. Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἀλέας· καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ὁμοῦ· καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλιάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας²¹⁴.

²⁰⁹ ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μουνουφύεας ἐξ ἐνὸς ὁστέου πάντας. Larcher mentions several instances recorded by the ancients of this peculiarity,—among others, Pyrrhus king of Epirus, and a son of Prusias, king of Bithynia.

²¹⁰ Ἀρτόντew. The MSS are unanimous in this form here. But see note 353 on iii. 128, and note 219 on vii. 67.

²¹¹ ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης. See note 10 on vii. 3.

²¹² ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. PAUSANIAS, in describing the barrows of the dead, says that there are separate tombs for those of the Athenians and those of the Lacedæmonians who fell, but that the rest of the Greeks were buried together, and that an altar of *Zeus Eleutherius* stands not far from this last mound. It seems not impossible that the mounds he saw were the *three* Lacedæmonian barrows, and that he mistook that of the helots (which would naturally be much the largest) for the common sepulchre of all the Greeks. Epitaphs, said to be by Simonides, were upon the other two (ix. 1. 5).

²¹³ τοὺς ἱρένας. This is a conjecture of Valcknaer's, which is adopted by Schaefer and Gaisford. The MSS have *ιρέας*. *Iren* or *Eiren* was the phrase applied at Sparta to denote a youth in the first two years after the termination of boyhood. (PLUTARCH, *Lycurg.* § 17.) The eldest boys were called *μελλείρενες*. If, however, Amompharetus was only of the age of nineteen or twenty, it seems strange that he should be in command of a *lochos* (§ 53, above). I should almost be inclined to suspect that the whole clause, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος . . . ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, is an addition of later times, when perhaps the additional feature of being in the bloom of youth had been added to the personal qualities of the Spartan hero. If we suppose him in command only of a battalion of youths like himself, this could hardly have been called by a local name. See above, note 141 on § 53.

²¹⁴ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. These are the six hundred slain by the Theban cavalry who covered the retreat of the Persians to their fortified camp. See above, § 69.

τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεις ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Cenotaphs
 ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἑόντες τάφοι, τούτους δὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ afterwards
 πενθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστύϊ²¹⁵ τῆς μάχης, ἐκάστους made.
 χῶματα χῶσαι κεινὰ²¹⁶, τῶν ἐπιγυνομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων.
 ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγυνητέων ἐσκέ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ
 ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα, δεηθέντων τῶν Αἰγι-
 νητέων, χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον
 ἑόντα αὐτῶν.

Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, 86
 αὐτίκα βουλευομένοις σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεῦεσθαι²¹⁷ ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας, Eleven days
 καὶ ἐξαιτέειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας²¹⁸. ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν after the
 Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγίνον, οἱ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν Thebes, and
 ἣν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ have the
 ἐξέλωσι· ὡς δὲ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς Persian par-
 συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι tizans given
 τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τὴν τε up to them,
 γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ 87 especially
 ἐπαύοντο σινεόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τι- genides.
 μηγενίδης τάδε· “ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι
 Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι
 Θήβας, ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὦν ἡμέων εἵνεκα γῆ ἢ
 Βιωτίη πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ· ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηρίζοντες
 πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δώμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ·

²¹⁵ ἀπεστύϊ. Gaisford has ἀπεστοῖ. See note on i. 85. The word in the text is adopted from the conjecture of Valcknaer. The Ionic dialect is especially partial to forms in *vs*. Thus Herodotus uses *κτιστὺς* below, § 97; *ληιστὺς* above, v. 6; *καταπλαστὺς*, iv. 75. HESYCHIUS interprets the word *ἀπεστὺς* by *ἀποχώρησις*.

²¹⁶ ἐκάστους χῶματα κεινὰ. This assertion seems quite incompatible with the existence of the names of the cities thus disparaged upon the base of the brazen statue of Zeus Eleutherius. See above, note 78 on § 28. But the account which PLUTARCH (*Aristides*, § 21) gives of the discussions which followed the battle shows how very much statements varied. He makes all the Greeks resign their pretensions to credit in favour of the Plataeans,—of whom Herodotus makes no

mention whatever,—and says that an annual congress of the Greeks was held at Platea in memory of the battle,—of which there is no trace elsewhere. But Plutarch is no doubt following the local traditions prevalent at Platea in his own time, and these would naturally be shaped to the glorification of Plateans. There was a festival held on the spot on the third day of Boedromion, which was considered to be the day on which the battle had been fought. For *Cleades*, the reputed builder of the Aeginetan cenotaph, the manuscripts M, K, P, F, *b* have *Aleades*.

²¹⁷ στρατεῦεσθαι. So Gaisford prints from the majority of MSS. M, P, and F have *στρατεύειν*.

²¹⁸ τοὺς μηδίσαντας. See note 44 on § 16, above.

σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμῇδίσσαμεν²¹⁹, οὐδὲ μῦνοι ἡμέες· εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθέως δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην²²⁰ παρέξομεν.” κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ἐς καιρόν· αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Πανσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι, θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ὡς δὲ ὠμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, Ἀτταγίνος μὲν ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄσπετος· παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Πανσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίους· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδωσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν, καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων, τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε, καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε²²¹. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβῃσι γενόμενα.

88

Attaginus escapes, but the rest are put to death by Pausanias.

Anecdote of the hurried retreat of Artabazus through Thrace to Byzantium.

89 Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος, φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ καὶ πρόσω ἐγίνετο· ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφείας ἐπὶ τε ξεινία ἐκάλεον, καὶ ἀνειρώτευν περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος, γνούς ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλοι σφί πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθειάν τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἶετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα· ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος, οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξαγόρευε οὐδὲν, πρὸς τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· “ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοὶ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἐπείγομαί τε κατὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἑλὼν ἐς Θρηῆκην, καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τι πρήγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμός ἐστι· τοῦτον καὶ

²¹⁹ σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμῇδίσσαμεν. See above, note 173 on § 67.

²²⁰ ἐς ἀντιλογίην. This phrase, which is repeated in the next section, is a very peculiar one, and is not similarly used, so far as I am aware, in any other writer. ἀντιλογία appears to be ‘the pleadings on each side.’ Translate ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην παρέξομεν: “we will give ourselves up to be tried.”

²²¹ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. THIRLWALL designates this act as “the first indication that appears of the imperious character of Pausanias.” I should

be more inclined to explain it by the supposition, that even at this time Pausanias had been intriguing with Persia, and that he put the Theban oligarchs to death in order to conceal the evidence which they might have given against him, had they been brought to trial. (See notes 8, 24, and 34, above.) His dismissal of the allies before destroying the accused is a very striking feature in the story; and so is the liberation of Attaginus’s children, the father being himself at large, and therefore formidable.

ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει.” ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας, ἀπέλαυνε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων τε κατακοπέντας²²² κατ’ ὁδόν, καὶ λιμῶ συνστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ· ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆσπερ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὸ τῶμα ἐγένετο, 90
 συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἅμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἡλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδew καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρη τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος²²³, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα· ὡς ἦν μόνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἴωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενεύουσιν· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἐτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὐρεῖν ἂν αὐτούς·

Engagement at Mycale in Ionia on the same day as the battle of Plataea.

Overtures from Samos are made to the allied fleet stationed at Delos.

²²² ὑπὸ Θρηίκων τε κατακοπέντας. In the time of DEMOSTHENES it seems to have been the common belief that the calamity referred to in the text was due not to the Thracians, but the Macedonians. He says: Περδίκκα τῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βαρβάρου ποτ’ ἐπιστρατεῖαν βασιλεύοντι Μακεδονίας, τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας ἐκ Πλαταιῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπὸ τῆς ἥττης διαφθείραντι καὶ τέλειον τἀτύχημα ποιήσαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο [οἱ ὁμέτεροι πρόγονοι] ἀγώγιμον εἶναι, ἐάν τις ἀποκτείνῃ Περδίκκαν· ἀλλὰ πολιτεῖαν ἔδωκαν μόνον (c. *Aristocrat.* p. 687). But it appears that Alexander, the father of this Perdiccas, was still alive in B.C. 463, at the time when Cimon recovered Thasos; for PLUTARCH speaks of a suspicion which attached to Cimon of having been influenced by him to the detriment of Athenian interests. (*Cimon*, § 14) To hypothesize a regency of Perdiccas during the life-time of his father is a less satisfactory way of explaining the variation, than to account for it by the ordinary

phenomenon, observable in every country, of the inaccuracy of popular traditions with regard to dates and persons. (See note 213 on i. 63, and 247, a, on vi. 108.) Nothing is more likely than that Alexander himself should have acted treacherously towards his Persian patron when he found him decidedly the weaker of the two contending parties. (See the provision he makes for such a contingency, above, § 45.) The ethnical affinity of the Thracians with the Macedonian commonalty, and the indefiniteness of the boundary between the two countries (see above, note 45 on v. 17; note 349 on vii. 127; and note 277 on viii. 136), would readily lead to the confusion of the two nations in common estimation.

²²³ Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος. See note 170 on viii. 85, above. The manuscripts M, K have Θεομήτορος, and S, Θεομνήτορος, but obviously from an error of transcription. In viii. 85 there is no corresponding variation.

θεοὺς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων, προέτρπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας
 "Ἑλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον" εὐπετέες τε
 αὐτοῖσι, ἔφη, ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς
 πλέειν ²²⁴ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιωμαχοὺς κείνοισι εἶναι· αὐτοὶ τε, εἴ τι ὑπο-
 πτεύουσι μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἐτοῖμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ
 91 τῇσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὄμηροι εἶναι. Ὡς δὲ πολλοὺς ἦν λισσό-
 μενος ²²⁵ ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἶρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος
 εἴνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι, εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεύντος· ✕
 "ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Ἡγησίστρατος·"
 ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἴ τινα ὄρμητο λέγειν ὁ
 'Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε· "δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνόν, τὸν 'Ἡγησίστρατον" ²²⁶,
 ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε· σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποίεε ὅκως αὐτός τε δὸς πίστιν ἀπο-
 πλεύσειαι, καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἐόντες οἶδε, ἧ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προ-
 92 θύμους ἔσσεσθαι συμμάχους." Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον
 προσῆγε ²²⁷. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεύντο
 συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς "Ἑλληνας· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, οἱ
 μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν 'Ἡγησίστρα-
 τον" ²²⁸, οἰωνόν τὸ οὔνομα ποιεύμενος ²²⁹. οἱ δὲ "Ἕλληνες ἐπισχόντες
 ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφί

Leotychides
 complies
 with the
 application,
 and sails in
 the company
 of *Hegesist-
 ratos*, one
 of the Sami-
 an com-
 missioners.

²²⁴ τὰς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν. The greater part of the ships which the Persians had with them were probably those which had not been in the brunt of the battle at Salamis, of which Artemisia speaks so contemptuously: *Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὕφελός ἐστι οὐδέν* (viii. 68). It must be remembered that the estimate of their powers was made by Asiatic Greeks, who would be strongly prejudiced against them.

²²⁵ ὡς δὲ πολλοὺς ἦν λισσόμενος. See note 346 on i. 98.

²²⁶ δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνόν, τὸν 'Ἡγησίστρατον. Valcknaer would exclude the words τὸν 'Ἡγησίστρατον as a gloss. I should be rather disposed to do so with τὸν οἰωνόν, if anything. But the two may well stand together. See note 285 on viii. 137, and compare ARISTOPHANES, *Plut.* 63: *δέχου τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ὄρνιν τοῦ θεοῦ*.

²²⁷ προσῆγε. The manuscript S has *προῆγεν*. If *προσῆγε* be retained, the words τὸ ἔργον *προσῆγε* must mean "acted thereupon."

²²⁸ τὸν 'Ἡγησίστρατον. These words

do not exist in S and V.

²²⁹ μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε . . . οὔνομα ποιεύμενος. The name *Hegesistratus* was not merely lucky in itself, but even more so as suggesting *ἡγήτωρ στρατοῦ*, the title under which Apollo was worshipped in the *Carnea*, the festival in which the successful invasion of the Peloponnese was commemorated. *Hegesistratus* would be, in a manner, considered as an *avatar* of the tutelary deity sent for this special occasion. Hence the point made by the Spartan king not to let him add the name of his father, which he would naturally have done. (See note 265 on viii. 132.) CICERO tells a story of L. *Æmilius Paulus*, who, on going home from the senate-house just after having been appointed to conduct the war against the Macedonian king *Perseus*, found his little daughter in tears for the loss of her lap-dog. He kissed her and asked the reason. "Father," she said, "*Persa is dead*." "Tum ille *arctius* puellam complexus, 'accipio,' inquit, 'mea filia, omen.'" (*De Divinatione*, i. 46.)

Δηϊφόνου τοῦ Εὐηνίου, ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιῆτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ²³⁰. τοῦ τὸν πατέρα κατέλαβε Εὐήνιον πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· Ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἰρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ ποταμὸν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμωνος οὔρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρας ἐς θάλασσαν, παρ' Ὀρικόν λιμένα· τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένεϊ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα, ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκάς. ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε· καὶ κοτε αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν²³¹, παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξήκοντα· ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήϊσε²³², εἶχε συγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενὶ, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιῆτας ταῦτα γεγόμενα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον²³³ κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῇ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπὸν· πρόφαντα²³⁴ δέ σφι ἐν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπειρώτευν τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρόντος κακοῦ, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον, ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἰρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοῖς²³⁵ γὰρ ἐπορμήσαι τοὺς λύκους· οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ, πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλῃται καὶ δικαιοῖ²³⁶. τούτων δὲ τελεομένων,

93

Anecdote of Evenius, father of the seer of the allies, Deiphonius, of Apollonia.

²³⁰ Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. This clause is quite necessary to distinguish the town from the other of the same name in the Euxine,—which was probably more familiar to Herodotus than this. See iv. 90.

²³¹ κατακοιμήσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν. This appears to be the reading of all the MSS except one (S), in which the word κατακοιμήσαντος is written, although corrected by the same copyist. But XENOPHON uses the expression κατακοιμίζειν τὸ χρησιμώτατον τῆς ἡμέρας (*Memorab.* ii. 1. 30); and the very phrase κατακοιμίζειν τὴν φυλακὴν is used in the sense of “to fall asleep” in *ÆLIAN* several times. If, therefore, there were the sanction of MSS, I should think κατακοιμίσαντος the better

reading.

²³² ἐπήϊσε. This is the aorist from ἐπαῖω. “But he, as he perceived it.”

²³³ ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον. The common expression would be ὑπάγειν ἐς δίκην or ἐς δικαστήριον. But the expression in the text is used elsewhere by Herodotus. See vi. 72; also ὑπὸ τοῦς ἐφόρους, vi. 82; ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον, vi. 136.

²³⁴ πρόφαντα. The manuscripts S and V have πρόβατα, probably originating in a marginal gloss.

²³⁵ αὐτοῖς. This word apparently refers to the θεοὶ in Dodona and Delphi, gathered by inference from the word προφήτας.

²³⁶ καὶ δικαιοῖ. I suspect these words to be an alternative reading to ἐλῃται, taken into the text from the margin.

94 αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλοὺς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταυτὰ σφι ἐχρήσθη· οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι, προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρήξαι· οἱ δὲ σφι διέπρηξαν ὧδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ, ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει²³⁷. ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτεον τίνα δίκην ἂν ἔλοιτο, εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας ὑποστήναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν; ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοὺς τὸ θεοπρόπιον, εἴλετο εἵπας· εἴ τίς οἱ δοίῃ ἀγροὺς τῶν ἀστῶν, ὀνομάσας τοῖσι ἡπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοις, τὴν ἥδεε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει· τούτων δὲ, ἔφη, ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμῆνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ παρέδρου εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες· “Εὐήνιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποιέετο, ἐνθευτεν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐξαπατηθείς· οἱ δὲ, πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτεμένων, διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἴλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ οὐνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

95 Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηίφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνίου, ἀγόντων Κορινθίων, ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἥδη δὲ καὶ τότε ἤκουσα, ὡς ὁ Δηίφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου²³⁸ οὐνόματος, ἐξελάμβανε²³⁹ ἐπιὼν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμῆς πρὸς Καλάμοισι²⁴⁰,

The allies sail from Delos to Samos,

²³⁷ ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει, “until at last they ended with expressing sympathy with his calamity.” For the explanation of the phrase καταβαίνειν, see note 316 on i. 90.

²³⁸ ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου. Compare iii. 63: ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος.

²³⁹ ἐξελάμβανε. This expression is a very singular one, and perhaps best to be understood by remembering that it is the correlative term of ἐκδοῦναι. It is used in that sense by PLUTARCH, of a painter who contracted to execute a drawing: ἐκλαβὼν γὰρ ἵππον ἀνιδούμενον γράψαι,

and ἐκλαβὼν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πῖνακα γράψαι μάχης ἐτέρας (Pelopidas, § 25); and so it is by BASIL, in reference to the parable in *Matth. Evang.* xxi. 33: τῶν γεωργῶν τῶν ἐκλαβόντων μὲν τὸν ἀμπελῶνα, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς μὴ ἀποδιδόντων. Deiphonius seems to have travelled over Greece, and to have been consulted on special cases where there was a need for the exercise of his art. In fact he was a travelling fortune-teller.

²⁴⁰ πρὸς Καλάμοισι. This is a conjectural emendation of Wesseling's. The MSS have ἐν Καλαμίσοις, except S, which has Λαμίσοι. The name would

οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὀρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἡράϊον τὸ ταύτη, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφεαὶ προσπλέειν, ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν· βουλευομένοισι γάρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιεέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἐδόκεον ὁμοιοὶ εἶναι· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἔοντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ· ὃς, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, Ἰωνὴν ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πλήθους μὲν ἦν ἕξ μυριάδες· ἐστρατήγησε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης, κάλλεϊ τε καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλευσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ ²⁴¹ ἀνείρυσαι τὰς νέας, καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος, ἔρυμα τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνῆγοντο· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ **97** παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνιέων ἶρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνα τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἑλευσινίης ἐστὶν ἶρὸν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἰδρύσατο Νεϊλεῶ τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστὴν, ἐνθαῦτα τὰς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἡμέρα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν· καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσουντες, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα· ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο ²⁴².

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγόντων· ἐν ἀπορίῃ τε εἶχοντο ὅ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου· τέλος δ' ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιεῖν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον· παρασκευασάμενοι ὦν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας ²⁴³ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ

where they find that the Persian fleet has gone to Mycale, to be under the protection of the land force under Tigranes, commanding in Ionia.

97
A fortified camp protects their galleys, which are drawn up on the shore.

98
On the arrival of the allied fleet, Leoty-chides endeavours to excite the Ionians in the enemy's

seem to indicate the marshy nature of the site; and it is at first sight strange that the Heræum should have been built in such a situation. But perhaps it occupied the spot on which the first settlers located themselves, who, if a half commercial, half piratical race, as in such times was to be expected, would be more likely to remain in the marshes than to occupy the interior. ALEXIS OF SAMOS mentions a temple of Aphrodite at Samos, called by some Aphrodite ἐν Καλάμοις, and by others Aphrodite ἐν Ἑλειατικοῖς (*ap. Athenæum*, xii. p. 572). He is no

doubt speaking of the same locality as Herodotus. It seems not at all improbable that the Samian *Here* absorbed into her ritual both that of the Artemisium and that of the Aphrodisium. See note 143 on iii. 48.

²⁴¹ οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοί. These words are omitted in S.

²⁴² ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο, "for they made their preparations at their leisure." The meaning of ἐπιλέγειν is "to think and talk any matter over."

²⁴³ ἀποβάθρας. These are the gang-

army to
revolt,

δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλὰ ὄρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ²⁴¹, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχερίμψας ²⁴⁵ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα Λευτυχίδης, ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων· “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγων· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι τὼν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι· ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνήσθαι τινα χρὴ ἐλευθερίας μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ, τοῦ συνθήματος Ἑβης· καὶ τάδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἑσακούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἐπακούσαντος.” ὧν τὸς δὴ οὗτος ἐὼν τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ²⁴⁶. ἡ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἣ ἔπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ποιήσειν ἀπίστους [τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ²⁴⁷].

99

and then
debarks his
troops and
prepares to
attack the
camp.
The Per-
sians, dis-
trusting the
Samians,
disarm
them, but
put the
Milesians
in an im-

Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου, δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίειν οἱ Ἕλληνες· προσχόντες τὰς νέας, ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην, καὶ τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σάμιους τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν, ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὄπλα· οἱ γὰρ ὦν Σάμιοι, ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τὼν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδίασαντες ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· τὼν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἦκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τὼν Ξέρξεω πολεμίων λυσάμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ

boards, which were laid out from a vessel's side to the shore to enable a landing to be effected. It was while passing along one of these, in order to get ashore at Pylos, that Brasidas received a blow which caused himself to fall backwards into the galley, while his shield dropped into the sea and so came into the hands of the enemy. (THUCYDIDES, iv. 12.) The same, or a similar, machine would probably be used to facilitate boarding when two ships engaged out at sea happened to fall foul of one another.

²⁴¹ πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, “and a numerous land force which had been brought into position along the line of coast.” See note 140, a, on viii. 70.

²⁴⁵ ἐγχερίμψας. Several MSS have the

form ἐγχερίμψας, but in ii. 60 all but S have ἐγχερίμψαντες, which by inadvertence I have omitted to substitute for Gaisford's reading. Still nothing can be more uncertain than Herodotus's use of such forms; for S is one of the MSS which in this passage have ἐγχερίμψας. The verb is active, and ραῖν or some such word is to be supplied. See ii. 60.

²⁴⁶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. See above, viii. 22.

²⁴⁷ [τοῖσι Ἑλλησι]. These words seem to have been a gloss from the hand of a scholiast who imagined the word ἀπίστους to be used in an active sense, and to refer to βαρβάρους instead of Ἴωνας. They however are in all the MSS, and are retained by Gaisford without suspicion.

τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσ-
σουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοις²⁴⁸ φυλάσσειν, ὥς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν
μάλιστα τὴν χώραν ἐποίουν δὲ τούτου εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ
στρατοπέδου ἔωσι τούτους μὲν Ἴωνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον
νεοχμὸν ἂν τι ποίειν δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοι-
ούτοις προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ
γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναι σφι.

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο²⁴⁹ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, προσήϊσαν πρὸς
τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἰοῦσι δὲ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπε-
δον πᾶν, καὶ κηρυκῆιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον²⁵⁰. ἡ δὲ
φήμη διήλθ' ἐν σφι ὧδε, ὥς οἱ Ἕλληες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν
νικῶεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὲ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοις
ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμ-
πιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος
ἔσεσθαι τρώματος, φήμη τοῖσι Ἑλλησι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἑσταπύκετο,
ὥστε θαρσῆσαι τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῶ μᾶλλον, καὶ ἐθέλειν
προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν. Καὶ τότε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, 101

100
On com-
mencing the
attack a ru-
mour flies
through
the army
that Mar-
donius is
beaten.

²⁴⁸ τοῖσι Μιλησίοις. It does not clearly appear from the narrative of Herodotus who these Milesians were. After the suppression of the Ionian revolt, which had been caused by the intrigues of Histiaeus, Miletus was taken, and the surviving population transported to the islands in the Erythraean sea. The *Persians themselves* (Herodotus says) occupied the plain, and the highlands were given to a Carian population. (See note 54 on vi. 20.) But when the new settlement of Ionia was made by Darius (vi. 42), it is not unlikely that the cultivators of the soil for the Persian conquerors were allowed to acquire a beneficial interest in it, and that these are the "Milesians" referred to in the text. The conquerors would certainly not cultivate the soil for themselves, and the easiest method of deriving benefit from it would be to leave it in the hands of the natives, exacting in return a certain proportion of the produce. Probably at the time the arrangement was made, the perioeci found their situation improved, and were well disposed to support their new masters against their old. But after twelve or thirteen years had passed, the old hardships would be forgotten; and they would be glad of an opportunity to get rid of the burdens which were still

imposed upon them, and convert their tenancy into an absolute possession,—which of course would result from the expulsion of the Persians. Hence perhaps we may account both for the confidence placed in them, and for their abuse of it.

²⁴⁹ παρεσκευάδατο. As this is the plural form, Bekker conjectures *παρεσκευάστο*. I should be more disposed to expunge the words τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. These may have been placed in the margin as a gloss of σφι, and from thence have been inserted in a wrong place of the text.

²⁵⁰ ἰοῦσι δὲ σφι . . . ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον, "and as they advanced not only had they a rumour spread suddenly among the whole force, but there appeared on the edge of the beach a herald's staff lying." DIONORUS makes Leotychides put a herald with a very loud voice into the galley which he sent along the line of the barbarian encampment, and order him to declare that the allies, having defeated Mardonius at Platea, are come to Asia to liberate the Greeks of that continent. This conversion of the omen into a premeditated stratagem, is of a piece with his version of the escape of Sesostris. See note 301 on ii. 107.

Another strange co-incident occurred in the fact that both battles took place in the vicinity of a fane of Demeter.

Δημήτρος τεμμένα Ἑλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγένετο (ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται) ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσσεσθαι γεγενῆσθαι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Πausanias Ἑλληνῶν ὀρθῶς σφί ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρῶτ' ἐτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγένετο· τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δείλῃν· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι, μηνὸς τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφί ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγένετο. ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδίη σφί πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὔτω, ὥς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς· ὥς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφί ἐσέπτματο, μᾶλλον τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεύντο. οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἕλληνας καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς σφί καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλησπόντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.

102

After a very obstinate defence the enemy gives way,

Τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοις τεταγμένοις, μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὁδὸς ἐγένετο κατ' αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χώρον· τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοις τεταγμένοις, κατὰ τε χαράδρην καὶ οὖρεα· ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήϊσαν, οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ κέρεϊ ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἕως μὲν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀρθία ἦν τὰ γέρρα²⁵¹, ἡμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσαν εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατὸς, ὅπως ἐωυτῶν γένηται²⁵² τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι, ἔργου εἶχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα²⁵³. διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι, φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἀλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι, καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀμυνόμενοι, τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυνῶνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι, (οὔτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι,) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· ὥς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὔτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγὴν τε ὀρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλην Περσέων· οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι²⁵⁴, ἐμάχοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν

²⁵¹ ὀρθία ἦν τὰ γέρρα. See note 160 on § 61, above.

²⁵² γένηται. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the majority of MSS. The rest have γένοιτο. See note 40 on i. 9.

²⁵³ ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. Compare vii. 225, ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νείκος.

²⁵⁴ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι, "forming into small knots."

Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταΐντης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτῃς ²⁵⁵, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες, ἀποφεύγουσι· Μαρδόντης ²⁵⁶ δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης ²⁵⁷ μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι. Ἔτι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Δακεδαίμονιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχειρίζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι, καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι, ἔοντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαιρημένοι τὰ ὄπλα, ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκία ²⁵⁸ τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἡδυνέατο, προσωφελείην ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἑλλησι· Σαμίους δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες ἄρξαντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροις. Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν τῶν Περσέων ²⁵⁹ τὰς διόδους τηρεῖν, σωτηρίας εἶνεκά σφι· ὥς, ἣν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνῃ οἰά περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας σώζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης· ἐτάχθησαν μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι, τούτου τε εἵνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιοίεν· οἱ δὲ πᾶν τὸ ἐναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίουν, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοί σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι αἱ δὲ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἴωνίῃ ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

103

the Ionians
in his army
turning
against him,

104

and the
Milesians
proving the
deadliest
foes of all.

Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἡρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων, Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθύνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἔοντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι ²⁶⁰, ἐν Κύρῳ τῆς Καρυστίας

105

Among the
allies the
most distinguished
were the

²⁵⁵ Ἰθαμίτῃς. This individual was the nephew of Artayntes, and associated with him and Mardontes in the command of the fleet. (See viii. 130.)

²⁵⁶ Μαρδόντης. Probably the son of Bagæus mentioned in vii. 80, and viii. 130.

²⁵⁷ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης. In the roll of the grand army Tigranes is merely in command of the Medes. But we may perhaps suppose that a change of appointments took place after the arrival of Xerxes in Asia; and moreover the army at Mycale was composed almost entirely of Medes and Asiatic Greeks.

(See above, § 96.)

²⁵⁸ ἑτεραλκία. S and V have ὑπεραλκία. (See note on viii. 11.)

²⁵⁹ τῶν Περσέων. It does not seem necessary either to read ἐκ τῶν Περσέων, or to consider τῶν Περσέων to be governed by the preposition πρὸς in the compound verb προσετέτακτο. It is the genitive case after διόδους. Translate, "to the Milesians orders had been given to secure the communications of the Persians."

²⁶⁰ πολέμου ἔοντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι. THUCYDIDES, in his brief summary of the events between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, speaks of

*Athenians,
and of them
one Hermo-*

χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ, κείσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῶν μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους, Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροϊζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἡρίστευσαν.

106

*Ircus.
The allied
fleet returns
to Samos,
and the
future policy
is discussed.*

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν, τὴν ληΐην προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· καὶ θησαυροὺς τινὰς χρημάτων εὗρον· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβουλευόντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅπη χρεὸν εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι, τῆς αὐτοῖς ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν· τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπείναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετο σφί εἶναι ἐωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι²⁶¹ φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον· καὶ ἐωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένον, Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν²⁶². πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπόρια ἐξαναστήσαντας, δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἴωσι ἐνοικῆσαι· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν, Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον²⁶³, οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετέρων ἀποικιέων βουλευεῖν· ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι· καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ

Rise of the

this war as one in which no other of the Euboean towns took a part, and which was terminated by a pacific arrangement. This happened after the extension of the Athenian relations to Macedonia by the occupation of Eion on the Strymon (i. 98). From the site of Carystus and the character of its population (see note 227 on vi. 99), it appears likely that outrages would be committed on Athenian trading vessels going northward through the Euboean channel, and driven by stress of weather on the shore. In this case, satisfaction would be given by the extradition of offenders. Had it been a war of conquest of which Thucydides speaks, it could hardly have ended as it did. Themistocles had extorted money from Carystus after the battle of Salamis, and, after this, its territory had been devastated by the allies (viii. 112. 121).

²⁶¹ Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι. See note 74 on viii. 36.

²⁶² Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. "They had no hope that the Ionians would be

quit of the business without suffering at the hands of the Persians." The fear of the allies was, that the Ionians would be utterly exterminated by the Persians as soon as their protectors had left; but to express this directly would have shocked the feelings of a Greek, who above all things avoided words of ill omen. Hence οὐ χαίροντας, being the substituted equivalent for τὰ ἔσχατα παθόντας or some similar phrase, is put in the regimen appropriate to that.

²⁶³ Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον. Such a measure as that proposed, would, if carried out, have given the Lacedaemonians a predominance not only in the Peloponnese, but also in Boeotia and Thessaly, which would have overwhelmed all other interests. Naturally, therefore, it encountered an opposition on the part of the Athenians, which would be the more effective, as their contingent formed far the largest part of the fleet, and a refusal of their ships would have entirely baffled the project had it been resolved on.

Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἱ ἔτυχον συστρα-
 τευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε
 καταλαμβάντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι, ἐμμένειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι· τοῦ-
 τούς δὲ καταλαμβάντες ὀρκίοισι, ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντας· ἔτι
 γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὐρήσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου
 ἔπλεον.

permanent
 confederacy
 against
 Persia.

Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τε τῆς Μυκάλης
 κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγένετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις.
 πορευομένων δὲ, κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης²⁶⁴ ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ
 πάθει τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταύτην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ
 κακὰ, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίῳ φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρα-
 τηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώ-
 σαντα· παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι γυναικὸς κακίῳ ἀκοῦσαι δέννος
 μέγιστός ἐστι· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος, σπᾶται
 ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκεια, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων· καὶ μιν ἐπι-
 θέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλειω, ἀνὴρ Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς,
 ὅπισθε ἐστεῶς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύντεω, ἀρπάξει μέσον²⁶⁵, καὶ ἐξάρας
 παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι Μασίστεω προέστησαν
 ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστη τιθέ-
 μενος²⁶⁶ καὶ Ξέρξη, ἐκοῶζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἦρξε, δόντος βασιλέος·
 τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον ἐγένετο τούτων,
 ἀλλ' ἀπικνεύονται ἐς Σάρδις· ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν
 βασιλεὺς, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεὶ τε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, προσπταίσας
 τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, φυγὼν ἀπίκετο.

107

A small
 number of
 the Persian
 troops get
 back to
 Sardis, on
 the road to
 which a
 quarrel
 between
 Masistes and
 Artayntes
 nearly costs
 the former
 his life.

Τότε δὲ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐὼν ἄρα ἦρα τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικὸς,
 εἰούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα· ὥς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο
 κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσέφερε, προμηθεύμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν
 Μασίστην· τὸντὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναικα· εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο
 βίης οὐ τευξομένην· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων,
 πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον²⁶⁷ τῷ παιδί τῷ ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα

108

Anecdote
 of the licen-
 tious con-
 duct of
 Xerxes and
 of the bitter
 spite of the
 sultana
 Amestris.

²⁶⁴ Μασίστης. See note 56 on § 20, above.

²⁶⁵ ἀρπάξει μέσον, "seizes him by his waist." The idiom exists also in Latin. TERENCE, *Adelph.* iii. 2. 17:

Tum autem Syrum impulsorem, vah? qui-
 bus illum lacerarem modis!

Sublimem medium primum arriperem, et
 capite in terram statuerem,
 Ut cerebro dispergat viam.

²⁶⁶ χάριτα τιθέμενος, "putting under
 an obligation." See note 98 on vi. 41.

²⁶⁷ πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον, "he
 makes up this match."

- τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, ὑρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλανε ἐς Σοῦσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἡγάγετο ἐς ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείω τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὲ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὃ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἦρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς, Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρὸς· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ
- 109 ἦν Ἀρταῦντη. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐξυφήνασα Ἀμηστρις, ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνή, φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον, διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ· ὃ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρταῦντην· ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ, ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὃ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων ²⁶⁸. πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν· τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίῃ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξῃ· “δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω;” ὃ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι, ὑπισχνέετο καὶ ὤμοσε· ἡ δὲ, ὡς ὤμοσε, ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος· Ξέρξης δὲ παντοίοις ἐγίνετο ²⁶⁹, οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι· κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἀμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσω ²⁷⁰. ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, καὶ στρατὸν τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἄλλ’ ἢ ἐκείνη· Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὃ στρατὸς δῶρον· ἄλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φᾶρος· ἡ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ, ἐφόρεε τε καὶ ἡγάλλετο ²⁷¹. καὶ ἡ
- 110 Ἀμηστρις πυνθάνεται μιν ἔχουσαν. Μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιούμενον, τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον· ἡ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίνην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλεε ὀλεθρον· φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς Ξέρξῃν φασιλήϊον δείπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δείπνον παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγίνετο βασι-

²⁶⁸ οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων. These words do not exist in the manuscript S, and the first not in F and b.

²⁶⁹ παντοίοις ἐγίνετο. See note 340 on iii. 124.

²⁷⁰ μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσω, “lest his intrigue should at last become known to her who even before had an inkling of what was going on.” Several of the MSS have κατεικάζουσα, which Gaisford adopts. In that case the sentence ought to have

ended, οὕτω καταλάβῃ πρήσσοντα. But wherever a sudden change of construction takes place, there is always in the older writers a motive, originating in the desire to express some shade of meaning which the sentence in its normal shape would fail to convey. Here nothing of the kind would be effected by the change, and therefore I prefer the old reading.

²⁷¹ ἡγάλλετο. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. But S, V, P, and F, which Gaisford follows, have the form ἀγάλλετο.

λεύς²⁷². οὖνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ Περσιστὶ μὲν ΤΥΚΤΑ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, ΤΕΔΕΙΟΝ²⁷³. τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μῦνον βασιλεὺς²⁷⁴, καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ Ἀμιστρίς, χρήζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθῆναί οἱ τὴν Μασίστεω γυναῖκα· ὁ δὲ δεινὸν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο, τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτήν ἐοῦσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνήκε γὰρ τοῦ εἶνεκεν ἐδέετο. Τέλος μέντοι, 111 κείνης τε λιπαρεούσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἑξεργόμενος· ὅτι ἀτυχεῖναι τὸν χρήζοντα οὐ σφί δυνατόν ἐστι βασιλεῖος δείπνου προκειμένου· κάρτα δὲ ἀέκων κατανεύει καὶ παραδοὺς ποιεῖ ὧδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται, ὁ δὲ μεταπεμφάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε· “Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός²⁷⁵. πρὸς δ’ ἔτι τούτοισι, καὶ εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναῖκί δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις, μὴ συνοίκες· ἀλλὰ τοι ἀντ’ αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν· ταύτῃ συνοίκες, τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοὶ, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα.” ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα, λέγει τάδε· “ὦ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδες νεηνίαι τέ εἰσι καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδί τῷ σεωυτοῦ ἡγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτὴ τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα, ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα, θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δὲ, βασιλεῦ, μέγα μὲν ποιεῖμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα· σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιώ πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δεόμενος²⁷⁶. ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἥσσω, ἐμέ τε ἕα γυναῖκί τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικέειν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ

²⁷² ἐν ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς. The natural signification of these words would be, “in the day in which he became king;” but there seems little doubt that the day in question was the monarch’s birth-day, which was by far the highest feast of all among the Persians. (Above, i. 133, and DINON *ap. Athenæum*, iv. p. 147.) PLATO (*Alcibiad.* i. § 36) says that the birth-day of the reigning sovereign was observed as a festival throughout the whole of Asia. Thus too the festival in which Herod could not refuse a boon was τοῖς γενεσίοις αὐτοῦ. (*Marc. Evang.* vi 21.) But the word βασιλεὺς was commonly used without the article, just as if it were a proper name, when applied to the Persian king. (See

vii. 174.) This passage, therefore, may perhaps be rendered, “on the day on which *His Majesty* was born.”

²⁷³ ΤΕΔΕΙΟΝ. When Herodotus uses this word elsewhere, he adopts the form τέλειον, after the analogy of ἐπιτήδεος, ὑπάρεος, &c., instead of the common ἐπιτήδειος, ὑπάρειος.

²⁷⁴ βασιλεὺς. S and V have ὁ βασιλεὺς. But see note 272, above.

²⁷⁵ εἰς Δαρείου τε παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός. He was the brother of Xerxes by both father and mother (vii. 82).

²⁷⁶ σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιώ πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δεόμενος, “and do thou not think of pressing thy request for such a proceeding.”

τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται· Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει τάδε· “οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τοι δῶν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνη πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις· ὡς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι.” ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἶπας τοσόνδε, ἐχώρεε ἔξω·

- 112 “δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κώ με ἀπώλεσας.” Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἀμηστρις μεταπεμφαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω, διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναικα τὴν Μασίστεω· τοὺς τε μαζοὺς²⁷⁷ ἀποταμούσα κυσὶ προέβαλε, καὶ ῥίνα, καὶ ὄτα, καὶ χεῖλεα· καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμούσα, ἐς οἶκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην. Ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδὲν κω ἀκηκοὺς τούτων, ἐλπίόμενος δὲ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναικα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ, ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι ἐωντοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δὴ κού τισι καὶ ἄλλοισι, ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον, καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα· τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, εἶπερ ἔφθῃ ἀναβὰς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους²⁷⁸ καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν τέ μιν, καὶ ἦν ὑπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων· ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκείνου πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν στρατιήν, ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιήν τὴν ἐκείνου²⁷⁹. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

- 114 Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὀρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ’ Ἑλλησπόντου

²⁷⁷ μαζοὺς. S and V have *μαστούς*. See note 516 on iv. 202.

²⁷⁸ τοὺς Βακτρίους. The power of the Bactrians at the time of Cyrus’s accession to the throne was very great indeed. See the passage of CTESIUS cited in the note 441 on i. 130. And even after the accession of Cambyses, the country seems to have been only nominally dependent upon the Median sovereign. Κύρος δὲ μέλλων τελευτᾶν Καμβύσην μὲν τὸν πρῶτον υἱὸν βασιλεῖα καθίστη, Ταννοξάρκην δὲ τὸν νεώτερον ἐπέστησε δεσπότην Βακτρίων καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ Χοραμνίων (forte legendum Χορασμίων) καὶ Παρθίων καὶ Καρμανίων, ἀτελεῖς ἔχειν τὰς χώρας διορισάμενος. (CTESIUS *ap. Phot. Biblioth.* p. 37.) Under such circumstances, it was not unnatural that it should have been comparatively little affected by the centralizing

policy of Darius, and furnish a ready instrument to any disaffected member of the blood-royal. It should not be overlooked, that Masistes, being the son of Atossa, would have in his veins the blood of Astyages’s daughter, the representative of the old Medo-magian dynasty. And his enemy *Amestris*, whether the daughter of Otanes or Onophas, comes of the stock of one of the seven conspirators who slew the Magian. (See note 192 on vii. 61.)

²⁷⁹ τὴν στρατιήν τὴν ἐκείνου. There is no occasion to regard the word *στρατιήν* as a marginal gloss, or to change it into *θεραπήτην*. As satrap of Bactria, Masistes would undoubtedly always be attended by his guards, just as an English noble before the wars of the Roses was by his retainers.

πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὄρμεον²⁸⁰, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες· The allies
ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἀβυδον, καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον διαλελυ-
μένας τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας²⁸¹. καὶ τούτων οὐκ
ἤκιστα εἵνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἀμφὶ
Λευτυχίδεα Πελοποννησίοισι ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα·
Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ, αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας
πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου²⁸². οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπέπλεον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ,
ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες²⁸³ ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον, Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρ-
κεον. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος
τῶν ταύτης²⁸⁴, συνῆλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρῆναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς
τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, ἕκ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περιοικίδων καὶ δὴ καὶ
ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος²⁸⁵ Οἰόβαζος²⁸⁶, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν
γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικώς· εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι
Αἰολεές, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς
ὄμιλος. Ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὑπαρχος²⁸⁷
Ἀρταύκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης²⁸⁸, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος· ὃς καὶ
βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλειω τοῦ
Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἑλαιούντος²⁸⁹ ὑφελόμενος²⁹⁰. ἐν γὰρ Ἑλαι-
οῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλειω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ
αὐτὸν, ἐνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ, καὶ φιάλαι χρύσειαι καὶ ἀργύραι,
καὶ χαλκὸς, καὶ ἐσθῆς, καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταύκτης

115
main, and
besiege
Sestos, the
strongest
place in the
Chersonese.

116

Story of Ar-
tayctes, the
commander
of the dis-
trict.

²⁸⁰ περὶ Λεκτὸν ὄρμεον. *Lectum* is a promontory formed by one of the roots of Mount Ida running down to the sea in a direction somewhat to the south of west. It is the most western point of the continent of Asia. Under it the allied fleet would be sheltered from the force of the Etesian winds.

²⁸¹ τὰς ἐδόκεον εὐρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας. See note 212 on viii. 109, above.

²⁸² τοῖσι μὲν νυν . . . τῆς Χερσονήσου. See THUCYDIDES, i. 89.

²⁸³ διαβάντες. S has *διαβάλontes*. But although this latter word is sometimes used of a transit by sea, the former seems the true reading.

²⁸⁴ ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτης. See note 76 on v. 30.

²⁸⁵ ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος. See note 80 on vi. 33.

²⁸⁶ Οἰόβαζος. This is the name of the Persian whose sons were, according to the story in iv. 84, barbarously put to death by Darius just before his expedition into Scythia. The son of an Œobazus also

has a command in the army in Xerxes's expedition (vii. 68).

²⁸⁷ τοῦτον τοῦ νομοῦ . . . ὑπαρχος. For the nature of the Chersonese satrapy, see notes 64 and 76 on v. 25. 30, and 91 on vii. 22.

²⁸⁸ ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης. His father's name was Chorasmis, or Cherasmis. See note 244 on vii. 79.

²⁸⁹ ἐξ Ἑλαιούντος. For the position of *Elæus*, see note 91 on vii. 22.

²⁹⁰ ὑφελόμενος. The manuscripts S and V, confirmed by Valla's translation, give the reading *αἰτήσας*, which some have preferred on the ground that when Artayctes was misleading Xerxes he had not as yet laid hands on the treasures of the fane. But this may possibly not have been the case; and, anyhow, the text as it stands means no more than that he both robbed Protesilaus and deceived the Persian king. Still it does not seem so likely that *αἰτήσας* is due to an arbitrary correction, as that this is another instance of an early variation of recensions.

ἐσύλησε, βασιλέος δόντος· λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξεα διεβάλετο·
 “δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἕλλημος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν
 στρατευσάμενος, δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε· τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον,
 ἵνα καὶ τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεῦσθαι” ταῦτα λέγων,
 εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξεα δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν
 ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε· ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρα-
 τεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλῃων ἔλεγε, νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν
 νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι²⁹¹ Πέρσαι, καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος·
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη τὰ χρήματα, ἐξ Ἑλαιούντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε,
 καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο· αὐτὸς τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς
 Ἑλαιούντα, ἐν τῷ αὐδὲν γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγητο²⁹². τότε δὲ ἐπολιορ-
 κέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε παρσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε
 προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἀφυλάκτῳ²⁹³ δέ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

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Sestos holds
out till the
autumn,

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισιν σφί φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἡσχαλ-
 λον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι
 ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν σφεας
 ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν, πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν
 σφεας μεταπέμψηται· οὕτω δὲ ἔστεργον τὰ παρόντα. Οἱ δ' ἐν
 τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἡδὴ κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους
 ἔψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον,

118

although
suffering
grievously
from fa-

²⁹¹ ἑωυτῶν εἶναι. The Persian kings considered themselves the representatives of the Median and Assyrian dynasties, and hence Xerxes is made to speak of Pelops as the vassal of his ancestors (vii. 11). Whether the Assyrian empire really ever extended to these parts is of little consequence. All oriental sovereigns of importance have probably regarded themselves, and been regarded by their subjects, as possessing a claim to universal dominion. PLATO, however, makes the dynasty of Priam vassals of that of Ninus (*Legg.* iii. § 6); and the name *Assaracus* (Asur-ac) is a decisive proof of some connexion of Assyria with the neighbourhood of Troy. The name of the builder of the N. W. palace in the mound of Ninroud is read *Ashur-ac-bal*, as well as *Asur-adn-bal* (Sardanapalus).

²⁹² ἐν τῷ αὐδὲν γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγητο. This is probably the Hellenic version of the fact that Artayctes converted the demesne and temple of Protesilaus into a paradise and seraglio. Such a secularisation of sacred lands would no doubt involve the

destruction of many rights of the citizens of Elæus,—for the whole town belonged to the hero (PAUSANIAS, i. 34. 2),—as well as cause enormous scandal. The contrast between the reckless proceeding of Artayctes, and the tenderness of Xerxes for religious institutions of exactly the same character as the Protesilaus-worship (see vii. 43), is not to be overlooked. The women whom Artayctes collected (*ἀγνώετο*, vii. 33) in his harem probably were, as they are at the present day, Circassians; for he commanded the contingent in Xerxes's army which came from that part of the Persian king's dominions. See notes 243 on vii. 78, and 274, 275 on iii. 94.

²⁹³ ἀφυλάκτῳ. This reading is adopted by Gaisford on the authority of S and V. The rest of the MSS have ἀφύκτως, to which a very fair sense may be given; for the main gist of the story is to show the formidable issue of the vengeance of Protesilaus. That the word ἀφύκτως should be unusual is no objection, as it is formed according to analogy.

οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἴχονται ἀποδράντες οἳ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρ- mine, which
ταύκης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὅπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες τῇ ἡμ- at last com-
ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων ὥς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησίται Persians gar-
ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς rison to
πύλας ἀνοιξαν· τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν evacuate
εἶχον. Οἰόβαζον μὲν νυν ἐκφυγόντα ἐς τὴν Θρηήκην Θρήϊκες 119
Ἀψίνθιοι ²⁹⁴ λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστῶρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ, τρόπῳ They are
τῷ σφετέρῳ· τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου, ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ destroyed.
ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταύκτην ὕστεροι ²⁹⁵ ὀρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὥς κατ-
ελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγοι ἔοντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς Ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι
χρόνον ἐπὶ συχρὸν, οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ
συνδήσαντές σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἦγον ἐς Σηστόν· μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ
Ἀρταύκτην δεδεμένον, αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ. Καί τεφ 120
τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτιέων, ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι Singular
τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλ- omen which
λοντό ²⁹⁶ τε καὶ ἥσπαιρον, ὅκως περ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν befel Ar-
περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύκης ὥς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας tacytes,
τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη· “ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ whose ran-
τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε· ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαι- som is re-
οῦντι Πρωτεσίλειω, ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὺς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς fused, and
θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι· νῦν ὦν ἄποινά οἱ τάδε ἐθέλω he himself
ἐπιθεῖναι ²⁹⁷. ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, ἑκατὸν crucified.
τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ· ἀντὶ δ' ἐμευτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς
ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι, περιγεγόμενος.” ταῦτα
ὑπισχόμενος, τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ
Ἐλαιοῦσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλειῳ τιμωρόντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρη-
σθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ ὁ νόος ἔφερε· ἀπαγαγόντες
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔξευξε τὸν πόρον ²⁹⁸, (οἱ δὲ

²⁹⁴ Ἀψίνθιοι. These are perhaps the perioeci of *Ænus*. See note 81 on vi. 34, and note 183 on vii. 58.

²⁹⁵ ὕστεροι. S, V, and F, have ὕστερον. In the next line S alone has ὀλίγοι, and the rest ὀλίγον, which Gaisford prints.

²⁹⁶ ἐπάλλοντο. This word has nothing to do with ἄλλεσθαι, but is the imperfect passive of πάλλω. Compare δέματι παλλόμενοι in the oracle (vii. 140), and the word παλλομένους applied to the leaping of fish just drawn out from the water

(i. 141).

²⁹⁷ ἄποινά οἱ τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι. The more usual phrase would be ἄποινα διδόναι or ἐκτίνειν. (See vi. 79, above.) But what Artayctes is doing is to impose a penalty on himself for his impiety. Translate, “Now therefore I am willing to fix this satisfaction for him.” He uses indeed the phrase which would be appropriate to the arbiter, not to one of the parties in the case.

²⁹⁸ ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔξευξε τὸν πόρον. In the description which the

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The Athenians return home.

λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος,) σανίδα προσπασσαλεύσαντες, ἀνεκρέμασαν τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω κατέλευσαν. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τῶν γεφυρέων, ὡς ἀναθήσαντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἔτι πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

122

Anecdote of Artembares, the grandfather of Artayctes.

Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσῃσι ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον, τὸν ἐκείνοι ὑπολαβόντες Κύρῳ προσήνεικαν²⁹⁹, λέγοντα τάδε· “ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσῃσι ἡγεμονίην διδοί, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοί, Κύρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγεα· φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτῆμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέην, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην ἔχωμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκαστέρω τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι· οἶκός δὲ ἄρχοντας ἄνδρας τοιαῦτα ποιέειν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κίλλιον, ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίης;” Κύρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα· οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε, κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἄλλ’ ἀρξομένους· φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας γίνεσθαι· οὐ γάρ τοι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια· ὥστε συγγινόντες Πέρσαι οἷχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου· ἄρχειν τε εἴλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες³⁰⁰ μᾶλλον, ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

author gives of the bridges (vii. 33), he assigns this locality to the scene of Artayctes's punishment, without mentioning any other.

²⁹⁹ Κύρῳ προσήνεικαν, “attributed to Cyrus.” It is the view of Artembares: ἐκ μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὶ ἄνδρες, which is the λόγος of the text,—the argument.

³⁰⁰ ἄρχειν τε εἴλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες. The facts scarcely bear out this statement; for Cyrus, as well as Cambyses after him, appears to have made Agbatana his capital, and in fact to have placed himself in

every respect in the position of the Median sovereigns whom he succeeded. (See *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 429.) The ruffianly conduct of Artayctes is very much of a piece with the violence which is imputed to some individuals of the old Persian party. (See iii. 118, and note 435 on iv. 166.) And the opinion ascribed in the text to his grandfather is just such a one as might be expected from a man brought up under the influences of barbarism, and endeavouring to find a reasonable justification for his prepossessions.

EXCURSUS ON IX. 19.

CTESIAS AND THE BATTLE OF PLATÆA.

THE account which is given from CTESIAS of the expedition of Xerxes, while in its main features it agrees with the narrative of HERODOTUS, yet differs in some respects so remarkably from it, that it is worth while to present it in a connected form; in order to show what widely different stories had obtained currency in Greece respecting events occurring scarcely more than a generation before. It is only fair to a writer who has been somewhat unduly depreciated, to state, that there is in his account less exaggeration of numbers than in that of Herodotus, while at the same time there appears no tendency to disparage the extraordinary success of the Hellenic efforts at resistance.

According to him the whole force collected by Xerxes for the expedition consisted of 1000 triremes and 800,000 land troops, besides war-chariots. While these were crossing the bridge of boats at the Hellespont, Demaratus, the exiled king of Lacedæmon, met the invader, and endeavoured to dissuade him from directing the expedition against his native country; but whether this attempt was made by arousing Xerxes's fears or by deprecating his anger, the brief notice of the summary does not allow us to determine. At Thermopylæ the first resistance appears. Artabanus is sent on thither with an advanced body of 10,000, but effectually resisted by Leonidas. His force is doubled, and afterwards increased to as many as 50,000, but with no better success, and the attempt is given up at the time. Afterwards, however, by the agency of two Trachinians, 40,000 troops are brought into the rear of the Lacedæmonians, and the whole of them cut to pieces. After this, another army 120,000

strong, under Mardonius, is dispatched against Plataea at the instigation of the Thebans. Pausanias the Lacedæmonian meets them at the head of 300 Spartans, 1000 Lacedæmonian pericæcians, and 6000 allies, totally defeats them, and compels Mardonius, who is himself wounded in the engagement, to retreat in disorder. Then follows the account of an expedition for the purpose of despoiling the temple of Apollo, headed by this same Mardonius; but his success is no greater in this instance, and he loses his life by a storm of enormous hailstones in the attempt,—an event which (Ctesias remarks) occasioned extreme grief to Xerxes.

By the way in which these events are related, one is induced to believe that, in the story of Ctesias, the main army was represented as occupying some portion of Greece north of Thermopylae, while strong expeditionary detachments were sent forward for special purposes. After the death of Mardonius, however, Xerxes is represented as himself marching upon Athens, and burning, first the city, and afterwards, when deserted by its defenders, the acropolis also. Then, descending to the coast to the neighbourhood of the Heraeum, he attempts to carry a mole across the strait between Salamis and the main, the Athenians from the city having in the mean time taken refuge in the island and carried over to it 120 ships. It would seem as if this operation was interrupted by the aid of a subsidiary force of bowmen brought from Crete by the advice of Aristides and Themistocles. Next follows the great naval action, between more than 1000 vessels on the side of the Persians under the command of Onophas (the father, according to Ctesias, of the sultana Amestris), and 700 on that of the allies. Five hundred of the Persian galleys are destroyed; and Xerxes, under the influence of the intrigues of Aristides and Themistocles, retreats, having in the course of the expedition lost 120,000 men in battle. Once arrived in Asia, and on his march to Sardis, he sends another expedition to lay waste the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and insult the deity. Megabyzus, to whom the command is offered, declines it, and the expedition is put under the orders of an eunuch named Mataees, who, after executing his commission, returns back to Xerxes ¹.

It is a singular circumstance that, in the above account, while the

¹ See note 30 on viii. 39, above.

main historical events constituting the turning points of the war, appear in nearly the same important light as in the narrative of Herodotus, their chronological arrangement is entirely different. Plataea, Thermopylae, Salamis, and the retreat of the Persians through the intrigues of Themistocles, are with both historians the salient features of the picture; in both, too, Athens is represented as having been burnt, and a temple of Apollo attacked without success. But the prolongation of the war by Mardonius after the retreat of Xerxes is peculiar to Herodotus, being not merely unnoticed by Ctesias, but altogether incompatible with his notion of the progress of events.

Few persons will be disposed to renounce that long-standing belief as to the details of this celebrated campaign, which has grown up on the basis of the description of it by Herodotus; but nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the account of Ctesias is not only more in accordance with verisimilitude, particularly as regards the numbers attributed to the invaders, but likewise favoured to some extent, in one or two particulars, by the contemporary poet ÆSCHYLUS². The precipitate retreat of the Persian king *immediately* after the battle of Salamis is a point strongly put forward by the dramatist, and is quite compatible with Ctesias's view of the attempt at forming the mole to the island, but not so with that of Herodotus. The great panic, too, which accompanied the return of the army through Thrace is difficult to understand, if their retreat was covered by an entire army under the commander-in-chief. Again, that there should be no allusion whatever in the drama to the calamity at Plataea is somewhat strange; but less so if the battle there was on the scale and at the time represented by Ctesias, than if we are guided in our estimate of it by the account of his rival. In the one case it certainly challenges attention as the first successful repulse of the invader; but after all it does no more than oppose a temporary check to his advance. He moves on, weakened indeed by losses, and discouraged by minor failures, but still on the whole quite irresistible, until he has overrun the main, and wants nothing to complete his triumph but the command of the strait of Salamis. Then, the destruction of half his fleet there, and with it the loss of the command of the sea,

² See ÆSCHYLUS quoted in note 191 on viii. 97, above.

becomes an overwhelming calamity, and justifies the cry of woe which Æschylus puts into his mouth on seeing the "depth of his misfortunes." Under such circumstances the Hellenic triumph at Plataea obviously bears so small a proportion to that at Salamis, that it might well pass unnoticed in a performance devoted to the magnifying the latter. But as Herodotus represents the matter, the case is altogether different. Mardonius was so formidable, that in spite of the misfortune at Salamis, he still expected to conquer Hellas³. The scoff of Xerxes to the Spartan herald in Thessaly shows that in the mind of the king himself this expectation amounted to an undoubting conviction⁴; and the apprehensions of the troops at Mycale are an evidence that the probability was considered a very great one even by the Greeks themselves⁵. Add to these circumstances the attempt to carry the mole across to the island of Salamis,—if we accept the time which Herodotus assigns to the operation,—and we have a state of things which would render panic on the part of the Persian army nearly inconceivable.

The movements of the Hellenic army antecedently to the battle of Plataea are, in the narrative of Herodotus, extremely difficult to understand. Mardonius appears to have occupied the whole of Attica, or at least to have had it in his power to do so. The rapid advance of the Peloponnesians takes him by surprise, and he withdraws his army into Bœotia, with apparent difficulty, by the aid of Theban guides, through the easternmost passes only of Cithæron⁶. The most direct road would have been by Œnoe and Eleutherae to Hysiaë, which was the position really occupied by the extreme right of his army when the allies came into the presence of it⁷. It is by this road that they themselves marched, and compared with that by which Mardonius is represented as retiring, it is as the chord to the

³ viii. 109.

⁴ ὁ δὲ γελάσας καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ ἐτύγγανε παρεστῶς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε· τοιγάρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὕδρ' ἰκέας δώσει τοιαύτας ὅας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει. viii. 114.

⁵ ix. 101. Compare the argument of Alexander on his embassy (viii. 140), τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλεῖ ἀνταειρόμενοι, κ.τ.λ., the force of which is not questioned in the reply: καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῇ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἥπερ ἡμῶν (viii. 143).

⁶ ix. 15.

⁷ For the great strength of Œnoe as a position commanding the access to the Plataeis from Attica, see LEAKE quoted in note 197 on v. 74.

are of a segment of a circle. If then we are guided by Herodotus's description, the rapid movement of the allies must be viewed as an attempt to cut Mardonius's army in half, by an attack upon that portion of it which occupied the line of the Asopus, before the return of the remainder from Attica through the eastern passes. But it must be remembered that such a supposition implies the possession of the whole line of approach from Eleusis to Hysiaë; and that this should have been left uncovered by Mardonius seems inconceivable except upon some hypothesis to which Herodotus's narrative gives no clue, such, for instance, as the previous occupation of Œnoë by a Hellenic force, or the inability of Mardonius to hold it for want of magazines. The attempt of Pausanias however is foiled by the superiority of the enemy in cavalry; which obliges the Lacedæmonian general to halt as soon as he debouches from the passes on to the northern incline of Cithæron⁸. Unable to contend against this superiority even on the flanks of the hills, he retires to the Gargaphian spring, and the immediate vicinity of Plataea⁹, where ultimately the decisive action takes place. But this site is undoubtedly one where we cannot conceive a force any thing like that mentioned by Herodotus capable of being drawn up¹⁰. The numbers of Ctesias, on the other hand, whatever may be his general authority, are such as occasion no difficulty.

The retirement of the allies from their first position appears to have put the debouchement of the road by Œnoë and Hysiaë into the command of the Persians; for the convoys which they eight days afterwards succeeded in cutting off were advancing not by that route, but by the *Oakheads*, a pass which must certainly be looked for to the west of it¹¹. Now the maintenance in an advanced position of a sufficient force to command this road, and at the same time to keep up a continual galling attack upon Pausanias in his new station, may well have occasioned difficulty to Mardonius; and thus we may possibly understand the discussion between him and Artabazus which Herodotus mentions¹². The numbers of the Greeks would "daily increase,"—not indeed in Pausanias's *camp*,—but on the line of Œnoë and Hysiaë, thus rendering it necessary for Mardonius to continually

⁸ ix. 19, 20.⁹ ix. 25.¹⁰ ix. 28.¹¹ ix. 39, where see note 109.¹² ix. 41.

strengthen the detachment from the fortified camp at Scolus which masked those two burghs, and to supply it with forage and provisions. If it were in any material degree diminished, opportunity would be afforded the allies for striking a heavy blow, by a simultaneous advance of Pausanias and of the garrisons upon it. The plan of Pausanias seems to have been, to draw more and more of the enemy into this false position, and at last oblige them to fight with the Asopus at their back; that of Mardonius, so to annoy the division of Pausanias by his cavalry, as to oblige him either to retire from the north side of Cithæron, or else fight a pitched battle in order to drive the Persians from their lines, which of course could not be done without crossing the Asopus and engaging under circumstances which would have given a decided superiority to them. Artabazus appears to have thought that in this trial of patience Pausanias would be the successful party, and accordingly to have recommended Mardonius at once to withdraw his advanced division within his lines, where there would be a facility of supplying them, and within which he might remain secure to try the effect of temporising. That this advice should be in after times represented as counsel to break up the camp and retire within the *actual city walls* of Thebes is not at all surprising.

In the narrative of Ctesias, the advance of the enemy being supposed to be altogether from the north, and before a footing had been gained by him in Attica, any hypothesis to account for his non-occupation of the strongholds in it becomes unnecessary. But this advantage adds little to the presumption in favour of the correctness of the arrangement of events. Pausanias could hardly have been in command of the Lacedæmonian army during the life-time of his father Cleombrotus; and there is nothing in Ctesias contradictory to the account which Herodotus gives of the time and circumstances of Cleombrotus's death.

If the actual history of Ctesias still existed, we might perhaps be able with tolerable confidence to point out the origin of the difference between the two historians, and decide upon the exact particulars in which credence should be attached to each. But as all our knowledge is derived from an extremely meagre compilation of the work, little more can be done than to call attention to the fact of the difference between them, and to the amount of variation in the cur-

rent opinions of the day which that difference indicates. It seems not unlikely that in the times immediately following the repulse of the invaders, Salamis was the one triumph which occupied the attention of the Athenian people. The share which they had in the victory at Plataea was—as may be gathered even from Herodotus's partial narrative—a very small one indeed. On the other hand it was quite obvious to all, that at Salamis they were the saviours of Greece. Hence it would not be wonderful if at first it was the fashion to say very little at Athens about Plataea; and thus perhaps the silence of Æschylus is to be explained. The Lacedæmonians on the other hand, accustomed to look upon naval warfare with little respect, would not unnaturally regard the whole of the proceedings by land, from the occupation of Thermopylae by Leonidas to the final defeat of the Persians by Pausanias at Plataea, as so many parts of one continued campaign, and think of the operations of the fleet both at Artemisium and Salamis as merely affairs incident to its function of flanking and supporting the army. Hence it is very conceivable that in Lacedæmonian traditions there should be a connected account of the proceedings by land, independent of any allusion to the engagement at Salamis; just as at Athens (if we may regard Æschylus as the representative of public opinion) the possession of that city was represented as the real object of the Persian invasion, and the victory of its citizens at Salamis the only important event of the war. Time, however, reducing all things to their proper position in the world's history, would soon put a stop to the prevalence of either of these exclusive views. Even the Lacedæmonians themselves were revolted by the arrogant pretension of their own king to have destroyed the common enemy; and the popular admiration of the victory at Salamis, which had led to such signal distinctions being at once conferred on Themistocles, soon produced a recognition of the services of his countrymen. On the other hand, the battle of Plataea, when its important consequences showed themselves, not only in the immediate expulsion of the Persians from the whole of Greece south of the Strymon, but eventually from almost every position on the European continent, could no longer be ignored by Athenian vanity. It had clearly been a decisive battle: this it was no use to pretend not to see. The best course then was to magnify the share which the Athenians had in it; and from this feeling sprang (I conceive) most

of the details which Herodotus has embodied in his account of the action, the very doubtful character of which, in a historical point of view, has been pointed out in several of the notes on the Ninth Book. He may throughout his account of the invasion be considered as the representative of the views current at Athens, while Ctesias may perhaps in the same way be regarded as a Lacedæmonian authority. In the original work of the latter it is indeed possible that the account of the battle of Salamis was not really chronologically displaced, but that, being related in an insulated manner, after the completion of the history of the land operations, its position in the written work led a hasty compiler to assign it to a wrong place among the actual events.

The above solution of the difficulty arising out of the variations of the two Greek historians is, undoubtedly, one which can only be regarded as a hypothetical suggestion, enabling us to understand how their differences *may* have arisen, without rashly branding either with the charge of wilful falsification. It is however an hypothesis which is entirely in accordance with the habits of the time in which the events described occurred; and it will (I believe) be received with some favour by those who have been careful to examine the nature of the authorities on which our acquaintance with the early history of Greece reposes.

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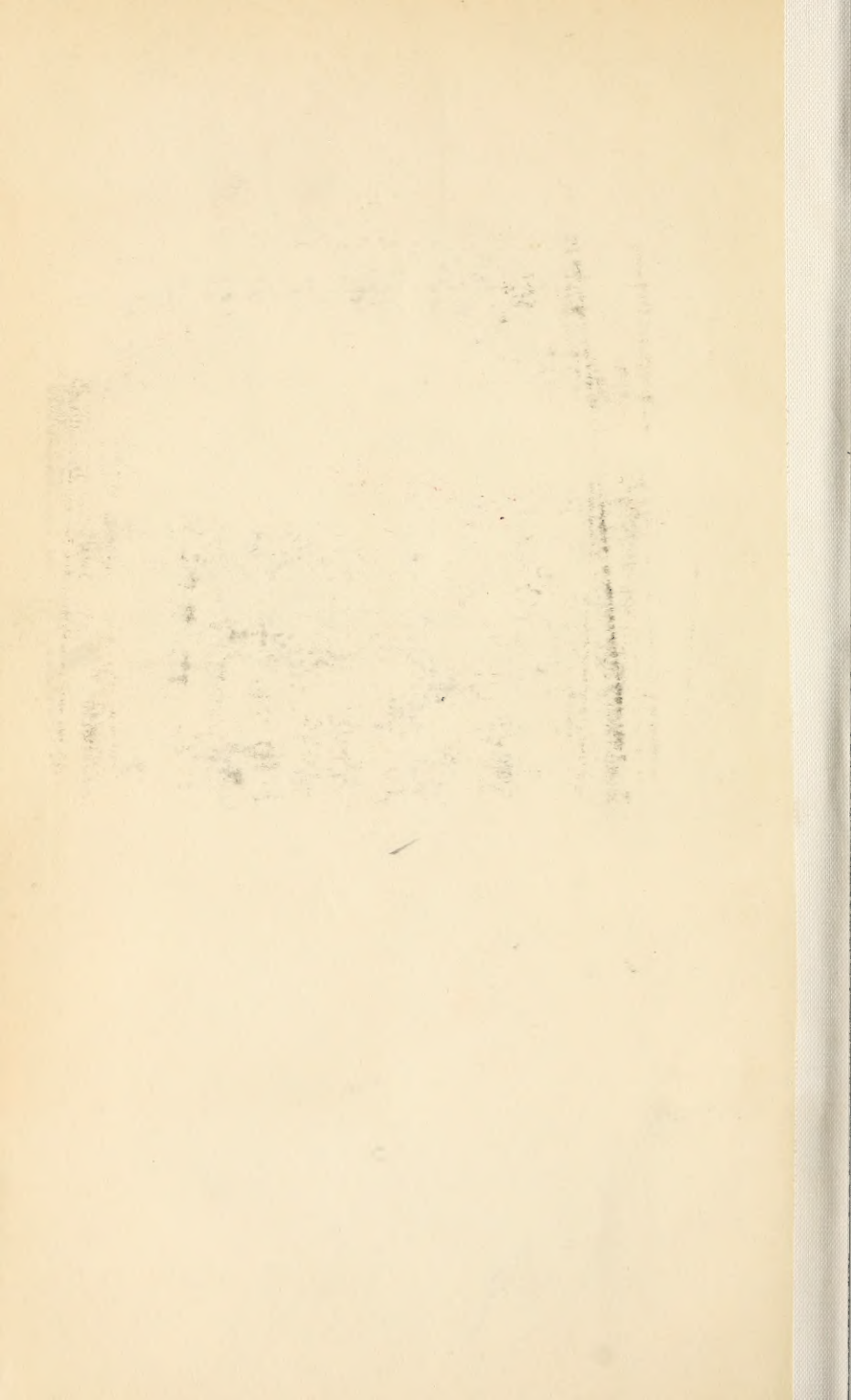
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